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INDOLOGICA TAURINENSIA

Official Organ of the
International Association of Sanskrit Studies

VOLUMES III - IV
1975 - 76

Proceedings of the
SECOND WORLD SANSKRIT CONFERENCE
(Torino, 9-15 June 1975)

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INDOLOGICA TAURINENSIA

Rivista di Studi Indologici
diretta da

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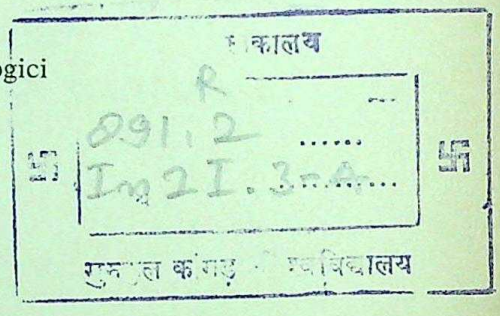

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J. Filliozat (Paris)
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L. Sternbach (Paris)

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PREMESSA - FOREWORD

Indologica Taurinensia, che ha avuto il privilegio di essere prescelta in occasione del 30° Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Umane dell'Asia e dell'Africa del Nord (Città del Messico, 3-8 agosto 1976) come Organo Ufficiale dell'International Association of Sanskrit Studies, raccoglie nel presente volume gli Atti della Second World Sanskrit Conference, svoltasi a Torino nel giugno del 1975.

Nella seduta inaugurale di tale Convegno esprimemmo già la nostra sincera gratitudine alla Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli, che con rara sensibilità e con generosa larghezza di mezzi rese possibile la realizzazione del Congresso torinese, i cui lavori sono stati coronati, è doveroso dirlo, dal più lusinghiero successo.

Resta oggi il dovere di ringraziare gli Enti e le Industrie torinesi che attraverso **Indologica Taurinensia** hanno voluto onorare degnamente la memoria del Conte Ferruccio Ducrey Giordano che in questa Rivista ha sempre e appassionatamente creduto più che in ogni altra iniziativa scientifica e culturale. È il loro generoso contributo che assicurando la continuità di pubblicazione di **Indologica Taurinensia** ha consentito, pur in momenti tanto difficili, la pubblicazione di questi Atti ai quali è affidato il ricordo tangibile di un Congresso che ha avuto così grande risonanza e che ha certo fatto onore al mondo culturale italiano.

A questi Enti e Industrie torinesi: **Associazione Provinciale degli Industriali Lanieri**, che per vent'anni ha avuto in Ferruccio Ducrey Giordano il Suo brillante Presidente, **Associazione Provinciale Industriali dell'Abbigliamento, Associazione degli Industriali Cotonieri, Camera di Commercio Industria e Agricoltura, Ceat, Istituto Bancario San Paolo, Unione Industriale**, esprimiamo pertanto, con animo grato e con memore pensiero, il nostro più vivo e sincero ringraziamento.

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Alla memoria di

Ferruccio Ducrey Giordano

accipe fraterno multum manantia fletu,
atque in perpetuum, frater, ave atque vale.

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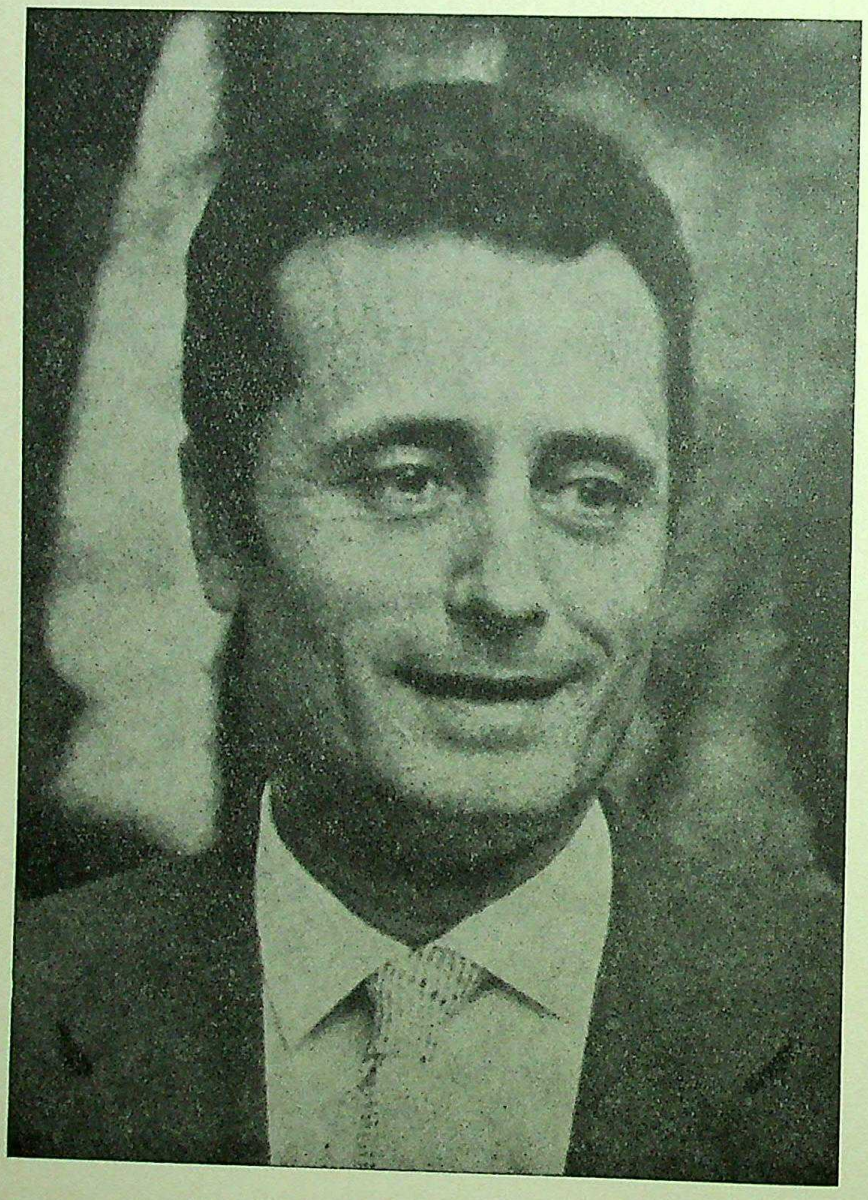

Ferruccio Ducrey Giordano
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FERRUCCIO DUCREY GIORDANO

L'8 luglio 1976 una atroce sciagura stradale ha strappato al nostro affetto e ai nostri studi il Conte Ferruccio Ducrey Giordano, ed è sconforto senza pari doverlo ricordare da queste pagine destinate a conservare nel tempo la memoria di un Congresso che proprio a Lui ha dovuto la sua realizzazione e il suo successo.

Ferruccio Giordano era arrivato agli studi indologici per elezione spontanea: sensibile, per temperamento, a tutti i problemi dell'arte in assoluto, era particolarmente e genuinamente aperto al richiamo di quelle forme d'arte e di pensiero che la civiltà indiana proponeva, innumeri e affascinanti, al Suo spirito.

Nato a Torino il 3 ottobre 1928 da una delle più illustri famiglie dell'aristocrazia piemontese, Ferruccio Giordano aveva dovuto affiancare ai propri interessi umanistici un'intensa attività manageriale — alla quale si era preparato con anni di studio in Germania e in Inghilterra — che lo aveva portato prima alla direzione di una grande azienda tessile di cui era proprietaria la Sua famiglia, poi alla Presidenza ventennale dell'Associazione Laniera e contemporaneamente a quella, decennale, del Salone Internazionale del SAMIA.

I viaggi che aveva compiuto in Oriente, dove si era recato una prima volta appena diciassettenne, avevano lasciato nel Suo spirito una traccia incancellabile, dando forma sempre più certa a quelle attese che ancora indefinite si agitavano nel Suo intimo, offrendo per tanti aspetti la sola risposta valida a quella sincera e irrequieta ricerca del « bello » destinata a restare per tutta la vita la connotazione più genuina della Sua personalità spirituale. Soprattutto l'India dei villaggi e della fede, l'India dei santi, degli asceti e dei pellegrini, millenaria e immutabile, immersa in un passato senza tempo, l'India che attingeva il sublime con l'intensità dei suoi slanci mistici e con l'ineguagliabile serena bel-

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lezza dei suoi templi parlava il linguaggio più intimamente congeniale alla Sua umanità ricca e appassionata. Ed erano stati proprio i templi che costellano le terre del « profondo Sud », i templi di Kāñcīpuram e di Tiruvannamalai, di Chidambaram e di Tiruchirapalli, di Tanjore e di Madurai, scavati all'interno di contrafforti rocciosi o eretti a cielo aperto in imponenti architetture pronte ad accogliere le più calde iconografie delle forme divine, che lo avevano così profondamente avvinto alle esperienze dell'arte dell'India. In queste Egli riconosceva la realizzazione di quelle istanze che costituivano il Suo « modo di sentire » e a queste Egli dedicò con intensità appassionata tutta la Sua attività scientifica, indirizzando le Sue indagini secondo i criteri di un'attenta e documentata lettura filologica dell'opera d'arte.

Scrittore piacevolissimo, aveva raccolto in pagine costellate di notazioni pensose, schizzate in squarci nervosi, di tono quasi impressionista, le esperienze di un Suo viaggio nell'isola di Ceylon (Ceylon ed altre immagini, *Torino, 1968). Ed era stata, subito, la testimonianza del Suo spiccato gusto estetico, della Sua rara capacità di cogliere e di rivivere intensamente i valori essenziali di un messaggio spirituale che la mano dell'uomo aveva affidato lungo i secoli all'opera d'arte. Poi la Sua indagine si era fatta sempre più rigorosa, sempre più esigente: gli scritti che egli ha dedicato a* Jai Siṅgh e i suoi giardini astronomici *(Torino, 1973) e ad* Alcuni Gupta imperiali *(Torino, 1974) portano il segno di una brillante progressione verso la più spiccata e piena maturità scientifica, quella maturità di cui Egli ha dato eloquente misura nel saggio dedicato ad* Alcune rappresentazioni iconografiche dell'*avatāra* di Narasiṃha alla luce del *Narasiṃhapurāṇa* e di altre fonti *(Roma, 1977).*

La follia di un destino avverso ha voluto che questo Suo contributo, davvero magistrale, venisse alla luce soltanto dopo la scomparsa di Lui, e che due altre trattazioni, dedicate ai Caitya *e alle* Sette Madri, *rimanessero purtroppo e per sempre incompiute.*

Resta così, sul piano della scienza, il rimpianto di aver perso, con la scomparsa di Ferruccio Giordano, uno studioso di grande valore scientifico, e di vedere interrotta un'opera che era destinata a risultati di indubbio prestigio; ma resta soprattutto, sul piano umano, ed è più amara assai, la tristezza di aver perso un Amico eletto e sincero, per generosità e bontà d'animo impareggiabile e insostituibile. Alla Sua memoria, da queste pagine che abbiamo vissuto insieme, va il nostro estremo, commosso saluto.

Oscar Botto

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PART ONE

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I

CALENDAR

MONDAY JUNE 9th

11 a.m. **OPENING PLENARY SESSION**

Official Greetings: The President of the « Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli ».

Prof. OSCAR BOTTO. Head of the Dpt. of Oriental Studies and Chairman of Indology, University of Torino.

Dr. V. RAGHAVAN. President of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies.

3 p.m. **Chair: Prof. S. K. Chatterji**

G. BONGARD-LEVIN, *New Sanskrit and Prakrit Texts from Central Asia.*

Observations: Dr. V. Raghavan.

J. BROUGH, *Some aspects of Chinese-Sanskrit Buddhist Lexicography.*

SATYA VRAT SHASTRI, *Sanskrit usage.*

Observations: Professors S. K. Chatterji, V. Raghavan.

5.30 p.m. Greetings of H.E. Dr. Apa B. Pant, Ambassador of India.

6 p.m. Opening lecture by Dr. V. Raghavan.

TUESDAY JUNE 10th

9.15 a.m. **Chair: Prof. J. Filliozat**

A. PARPOLA, *Sanskrit* kālá- « *time* », *Dravidian* kāl « *leg* » *and the mythical cow of the four yugas.*

Observations: Professors S. K. Chatterji, R. N. Dandekar, V. Raghavan, J. Gonda.

T. POBOZNIAK, *Sanskrit and the Romani language.*

Observations: Professors S. K. Chatterji, V. Raghavan J. Filliozat, J. Gonda.

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O. LACOMBE, *Le Sanskrit et la philosophie de l'être.*

Observations: Professors V. Raghavan, S. K. Chatterji, M. Dhavamony, A. Morretta.

J. NAUDOU, *L'analyse de l'entité psycho-somatique en corps-parole-pensée dans le Bouddhisme indien tardif.*

Observations: Professors G. Roth, V. Raghavan, H. Brunner.

A. MORRETTA, *Sanskrit and the Sacred Language.*

3 p.m. « India and the World in the realm of Higher Thought ». Open lecture held by National Professor in Humanities S. K. CHATTERJI *.

5.30 p.m. « La médecine traditionnelle de l'Inde ». Open lecture held by Prof. J. FILLIOZAT at the Accademia delle Scienze di Torino.

WEDNESDAY JUNE 11th

9.15 a.m. **Chair: Prof. J. Gonda**

H. BRUNNER, *Importance de la littérature āgamique pour l'étude des religions vivantes de l'Inde.*

Observations: Professors C. G. Diehl, S. K. Chatterji, V. Raghavan.

M. DHAVAMONY, *Yāmuna's Catuśślokī: an analysis and interpretation.*

Observations: Dr. V. Raghavan.

R. E. EMMERICK, *Ravigupta's place in Indian Medical Tradition.*

Observations: Professors A. K. Warder, L. Sternbach, J. Filliozat, A. Wayman, V. Raghavan, J. Naudou, S. K. Chatterji.

11 a.m. **GENERAL MEETING OF I.A.S.S.**

3 p.m. **Chair: Prof. N. Tsuji**

A. M. ESNOUL, *Padmatantra.*

Observatons: Prof. J. Filliozat.

Z. MATISIC, *The title Tantrākhyāyikā as opposed to the title Pañcatantra.*

Observations: Professors A. K. Warder, V. Raghavan, A. Wayman, S. K. Chatterji and others.

S. PIANO, *Note in margine al Viṣṇu-māhātmya.*

Observations: Prof. S. K. Chatterji.

SATYA VRAT SHASTRI, *Sanskrit Synonyms.*

Observations: Professors V. Raghavan, S. K. Chatterji, A. K. Warder.

5 p.m. « Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s and Inscriptions as Sources of Sanskrit Poetry ».
Open lecture held by Prof. L. STERNBACH.

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6 p.m. « Poetry in Classical Sanskrit ».
Open lecture held by Prof. J. BROUGH.
Dr. V. Raghavan recited off-hand in original Sanskrit the description of Autumn at the beginning of the 3rd chapter of Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* which Prof. J. Brough quoted in English translation in his lecture.

THURSDAY JUNE 12th

9.15 a.m. **Chair: Prof. A. Wayman**

C. Della Casa, *Ahiṃsā: significato e ambito originari della non violenza.*
Observations: Professors J. Filliozat, G. Cogni.
N. H. Samtani, *On trasmission of text from Hīnayāna to Mahāyāna* *.
Observations: Professors J. Brough, A. K. Warder, V. Raghavan.
C. Töttössy, *The participium absolutum in the Sanskrit, Greek and Latin.*
Observations: Prof. A. Wayman.
H. M. Mishra, *Re-appraisal of Pāṇini.*
Observations: Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri.
J. Lamboo-A. Lamboo (MERU), *Pure consciousness as the source of Language. Subjective and objective research in Consciousness* *.
G. Cogni, *Un raro testo buddhista: Maṇicūḍāvadāna.*

11.30 a.m. **MEETING OF THE BOARD OF THE I.A.S.S.**

3 p.m. **Chair: Dr. V. Raghavan and Prof. A. K. Warder**

R. Sarkar, *The poetical transmutation of some philosophical concepts in Kumārasambhava.*
Observations: Professors J. Filliozat, V. Raghavan, S. K. Chatterji.
G. Roth, *Observations on the first chapter of Asaṅga's Bodhisattvabhūmi.*
Observations: Professors J. Filliozat, A. Wayman, S. K. Chatterji, V. Raghavan.

4.30 p.m. « The beginnings of Vaiṣṇavism ».
Open lecture held by Prof. R. N. DANDEKAR.

5.30 p.m. « L'Inde et les sciences humaines modernes ».
Open lecture held by Prof. J. FILLIOZAT.

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FRIDAY JUNE 13th

9.15 a.m. **Chair: Prof. J. Brough**

G. R. FRANCI, *Śrī Aravinda (Aurobindo) interprete della cultura indiana più antica.*

Observations: Prof. R. Sarkar.

C. CAILLAT, *Expressions de la quête spirituelle dans le Dohāpāhuḍa (anthologie jaina en apabhraṁśa), et dans quelques textes brahmaniques.*

Observations: Professors J. Brough, G. Roth, V. Raghavan.

G. BONFANTE, *Iràmico e Indo-ario.*

Observations: Professors J. Brough, S. K. Chatterji, G. Bongard-Levin, R. E. Emmerick.

C. MALAMOUD, *Convergence d'un raisonnement mīmāṃsaka et d'un motif poétique de l'Atharvasaṃhitā.*

Observations: Professors J. Gonda, R. Sarkar, J. Filliozat, A. Parpola.

11.30 a.m. **GENERAL MEETING OF I.A.S.S.**

3 p.m. **Chair: Prof. G. Roth**

M. PIANTELLI, *Attention and Communication: some observations on the contribution of Śaṅkara to the lexicon of Sanskrit as a metalanguage in Taittirīyopaniṣadbhāṣya 2,1,1.*

Observations: Professors S. K. Chatterji, A. Wayman, V. Raghavan.

A. WAYMAN, *The Significance of Mantras, from the Veda down to Buddhist tantric practice.*

Observations: Professors S. K. Chatterji, V. Raghavan, R. N. Dandekar, A. M. Esnoul, M. Piantelli, J. Gonda, A. Parpola.

4.30 p.m. « New excavations in Soviet Central Asia and Indian Culture » (with slides).

Open lecture held by Prof. G. BONGARD-LEVIN *.

5.30 p.m. « L'intervento dello Stato nell'economia pubblica e privata dell'India antica ».

Open lecture held by Prof. O. BOTTO.

SATURDAY JUNE 14th

9.15 a.m. **Chair: Dr. G. Bongard-Levin**

W. MORGENROTH, *Albrecht Friedrich Weber. A Pioneer of Indology.*

Observations: Prof. R. N. Dandekar reads a Sanskrit tribute to A. F. Weber. Homages to the same by Professors J. Brough, S. K. Chatterji, A. Parpola.

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* Text not received.

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G. FERRARI, *Computer-aided lexicography and Sanskrit language.*
Observations: Professors A. K. Warder, A. Parpola, R. E. Emmerick, L. Sternbach, E. Pauly.
G. G. FILIPPI, *La nozione di « līlā » nel Medioevo indiano.*
A. C. AMBESI, *Teorie reincarnazioniste e fonti sanscrite.*
Observations: Prof. G. G. Filippi.

11.30 a.m. **CONCLUDING SESSION**

Chair: Dr. V. Raghavan

Vote of thanks offered by Prof. S. Lienhard.
S. K. CHATTERJI, *Saṃskṛta Digvijaya.*
Official conclusion: Professors L. Sternbach, O. Botto, V. Raghavan.

Advertisement - *Papers and Open lectures will follow in alphabetical order.*

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II

OPENING GREETINGS

1. Dr. GIOVANNI GRANAGLIA, on behalf of the President of « Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli ».

« A nome del nostro Presidente, Avv. Giovanni Agnelli, assente da Torino per ragioni di lavoro, ho il piacere di dare il benvenuto della « Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli » ai partecipanti e agli organizzatori della Seconda Conferenza Mondiale di studi sanscriti.

Anche se gli studi sanscriti sono molto lontani dai nostri prevalenti campi di interesse, che sono piuttosto rivolti a temi di natura socio-economica, la Fondazione Agnelli ha, non di meno, ritenuto opportuno accogliere l'invito ad ospitare questa conferenza rivoltole dall'Istituto di Indologia dell'Università di Torino.

Ci è parso questo anche un modo di ricordare quegli studiosi piemontesi, come Gaspare Gorresio, Giovanni Flechia, Italo Pizzi, Michele Kerbaker, Mario Vallauri che nel secolo scorso e in questo secolo hanno dato vita qui a Torino a una scuola di studi sanscriti che ebbe notevole importanza e che ha segnato una tappa di rilievo nello sviluppo in Italia e in Europa di queste discipline.

A noi quindi non rimane che rinnovare il nostro augurio di buon lavoro agli ospiti stranieri e italiani e agli organizzatori ».

2. Prof. OSCAR BOTTO - Head of the Dpt. of Oriental Studies and Chairman of Indology - University of Torino.

« Authorities, Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Second World Sanskrit Conference represents an event of exceptional importance, not only for our own city but for the whole world of Italian culture, highly honoured by the presence in Torino of such distinguished scholars.

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Turin, as you well know, has a long and illustrious tradition of Sanskrit studies. It was here, way back in 1854, that the first chair in Sanskrit was held with great distinction by Gaspare Gorresio to whom we owe the first edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* based on a Bengali version and published in Paris by the Imprimérie Nationale thanks to the enlightened patronage of the King Carlo Alberto of Savoy. This tradition of Sanskrit studies has continued uninterruptedly upto our days thanks to Sanskrit scholars of great repute such as Michele Kerbaker and my own teacher the late Mario Vallauri. Needless to say, the choice of Turin as the seat of the present conference means a great deal to all those who at the Institute of Indology of the University of Turin represent the living continuity of a past we are understandably very proud of and of whose tradition we try to be worthy. The famous personalities who are gracing the present meeting represent some of the greatest living names in the field of Sanskrit studies, a guarantee for a complete success of the conference.

In the present times we witness a peculiar tendency to mystify the true meaning and purpose of an ancient traditional culture as if it were something decrepit or at best the unusual expression of an improductive strain confined only to antiquarian interests. The organisation of a Sanskrit conference affirms the living actuality of an ideal exchange of views among competent specialists. Such an effort of exploring original, time-honoured texts will surely, I believe, enlighten us all, revitalising our own culture, the various aspects of our spirituality, the reasons of our past, in a word, our existence itself.

It is for all this and more that we express our profound gratitude to the Agnelli Foundation who through a generous aid and a genuine sensibility made this conference possible.

We bid the illustrious President, Dr. Raghavan whose industry and learning are as vast as the Indian culture itself and to whom all the sanskritists and indologists are deeply indebted, the Members of the Board of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies, all those who are attending the Congress, our warmest welcome.

To my dear collaborators Prof. Ferruccio Ducrey Giordano and Prof. Stefano Piano who have helped me in all possible ways with their tireless and precious cooperation, I wish to express publicly my personal and hearty thanks ».

3. Dr. V. RAGHAVAN - President of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies.

After the Official Greetings, Dr. V. Raghavan, President of the IASS, referred to the formation of the IASS at the Paris session of the International Congress of Orientalists in 1973, in pursuance of a reso-

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lution passed at the concluding session of the First International Sanskrit Conference organised by the Ministry of Education of the Government of India in the last week of March 1972, in New Delhi. He was Chairman of the Academic Committee of the First International Sanskrit Conference in New Delhi and was elected President of the new body of IASS which was set up in Paris. Since the formation of this body, he, the Secretary-General Dr. L. Sternbach and Prof. J. Filliozat, one of the Vice-Presidents, had been exploring the possibilities of holding a meeting of the IASS and along with it, a Second International Sanskrit Conference under the auspices of the IASS. They all were grateful to the G. Agnelli Foundation of Turin and Prof. Oscar Botto of the University of Turin for making it possible for them to hold their Second Conference in Turin. They all expressed their gratitude to the Foundation and Prof. Botto for their invitation and hospitality.

Dr. Raghavan said that it was quite appropriate that they should meet in Italy for their very first session after the IASS came into being. Italy and India have had historical contacts, through exchange of missions, commerce, travellers etc., from the early centuries of the Christian era. Very much earlier than Sir William Jones, it was an Italian man of letters Filippo Sassetti (1540-88) who had visited India and lived in Kerala and Goa for a few years, who first suggested the kinship of Sanskrit with the European languages. The First Sanskrit Chair in Italy was founded in the University of Turin. It was here that G. Gorresio, the first Professor of Sanskrit at Turin, brought out in several volumes, the Devanāgarī text and Italian translation of the Eastern recension of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, a book which, Dr. Raghavan said, was one of his own constant companions. Although Sanskrit was first taught by an Englishman in Paris, to French and German scholars, and later Germany developed Sanskrit studies on a large scale with a number of Chairs for Sanskrit, and in modern times, the U.S. had evinced a great deal of interest in Sanskrit studies, a special place of honour was thus due to Italy in the history of Sanskrit studies in the West. A Bibliography of Indian studies in Italy for the years 1911-38 published in Florence, showed about 800 contributions, both books and papers, by about 100 scholars, covering a wide range of subjects in Sanskrit and allied fields. (*Studi d'Indianistica in Italia dal 1911 al 1938, by Giulia Porru, University of Florence*). That the output in Sanskrit and Indological researches in Italy was continuing could be seen from the recent publication « India and Italy » (IsMEO, Rome, 1974). Today there were Sanskrit and allied subjects provided for in more than 10 University centres in Italy. With the establishment of the IsMEO in Rome, and the initiative, leadership and organising capacity of Prof. G. Tucci, the publications of both Journals and books, and the collection by him of manuscript materials bearing on Buddhism etc. from Nepal and Tibet — which is one of the largest of specialised collections in all Europe —, had made Rome a red-dot centre in the map of Sanskrit and Indological studies in the world.

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Dr. Raghavan recalled his visit to and tour of Italian centres for a fortnight in January 1954, spending 3 days in Turin with Prof. M. Vallauri and their friend Prof. Oscar Botto, who was then a young research scholar. Work in Turin had greatly developed, particularly since Prof. Botto became the Head of the Department and there had been many large undertakings here including an Encyclopaedia and histories of Indian philosophy and literature, in addition to special works in different other branches.

Dr. Raghavan said that on this occasion he should make a special reference to two sad events that had occurred and the loss that the world of Sanskrit and Indian studies had suffered in the passing away in India of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and in U.S. of Prof. William Norman Brown. With his brilliant gifts of exposition, the late Dr. Radhakrishnan had through all his career contributed to the greater understanding of Indian thought and culture in the West. A Professor of Philosophy, he had a remarkable career as Vice-Chancellor of Universities in India and then he became the first Spalding Professor of Eastern Religion and Ethics at the Oxford University; he was honoured with a knighthood by the British Government. In independent India, he became an Ambassador of India in Moscow and then, successively, a Member of the Constituent Assembly of India and Vice-President and President of the Indian Republic. After the attainment of independence, the Indian Government had taken many steps for the preservation and advancement of Sanskrit Studies through the appointment of an official Sanskrit Commission and the setting up of a Sanskrit Department in the Ministry of Education. In this, as also in the Sanskrit activities of the Sahitya Akademi, they owed a great deal to Dr. Radhakrishnan's benevolent care and fostering interest in Sanskrit studies. It is significant that one of his last lectures and publications, connected with the Center for the Study of Great Religions at the Harward University was entitled « The Fellowship of the Spirit ». During his tours and lectures all over the world and his connection with the Executive of the UNESCO, he was, responsible for the wide-spread interest in Indian thought and culture and the official programmes for the greater mutual understanding of East and West. In the passing away of Prof. Norman Brown, of the University of Pennsylvania, they had lost the most active promotor of Sanskrit and Indian studies in US, especially in the period after the Second World War. Prof. Norman Brown's former students were teachers now in Universities all over America. He made regular annual visits to India. It was to him that they owed the establishment of the American Institute of Indian Studies in India, to help senior and junior Fellows of American Universities to visit India and carry on their researches on Indian subjects with first-hand knowledge of the materials. It was quite significant that one of his last publications dealt with some continuities in Indian culture (Man in the Universe - Some Cultural Continuities in India). Dr. Raghavan was personally asso-

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ciated with Prof. Norman Brown rather intimately and had called on him at his country-home outside Philadelphia in April last year, when he had just recovered after serious illness. Dr. Raghavan then requested the Members to stand for a minute in silence in honour of the memory of these two distinguished scholars.

Dr. Raghavan referred then to the First World Sanskrit Conference in Delhi. It was one of the largest Conferences in the academic field and they had an exceedingly large number of papers presented at that Conference. He, in cooperation of the Govt. of India, was making his best efforts to publish the Proceedings. He was glad that two volumes of the proceedings of the Conference, namely, Vol. I Part I and Vol II Part I, each of over 500 pages, were ready for being presented at the inaugural session of the Second Conference in Turin. Dr. Raghavan then presented copies of the two volumes to the IASS, and the Conference and they were received by the Secretary-General Dr. L. Sternbach.

This was followed by an announcement by Prof. O. Botto concerning the publication of the book of Dr. Raghavan on « Sanskrit and Indian Studies in the United States ». Prof. Botto said that it was on the same plan as Dr. Raghavan's earlier publication on Sanskrit and Indological Studies in Europe (1956) and it was particularly appropriate that the book should be released at the International Sanskrit Conference. Prof. A. Wayman, Professor of Sanskrit, Columbia University, New York, then spoke about the book and referred to the enormous amount of data which Dr. Raghavan had collected and presented in the work which would be widely used as a book of reference.

Several other publications brought out by the University of Turin, by the French Institute of Indology in Pondicherry and by Dr. L. Sternbach were also announced.

With this, the inaugural session came to a close.

4. H. E. Dr. APA B. PANT, Ambassador of India.

« È per me un grande privilegio essere con voi in questa bella ed antica città di Torino dove sono lieto di poter dare il benvenuto ad un così illustre gruppo di pensatori, scrittori, filosofi, umanisti, che si sono riuniti nel nome della sacra lingua, il Sanscrito.

Il Sanscrito, la lingua del popolo civilizzato, civilizza, purifica e crea nella mente la capacità di acquistare saggezza, *prajñā*, al di là delle cognizioni.

Il Sanscrito, tecnicamente, strutturalmente, grammaticalmente forse la lingua più perfetta mai sviluppata, ha la capacità di dare espressione alle emozioni e alle esperienze più sottili, sublimi e profonde.

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Il Sanscrito ha sviluppato e perfezionato l'arte dell'abbreviazione (*sūtra*). In una parola o al massimo due, un mondo di esperienza profonda sconfinato nel Tempo e nello Spazio può essere espresso. Il *praṇava* « auṃ », e gli altri sacri e segreti *mantra*, i *mahāvākya* come *tat tvam asi, ahaṃ brahmāsmi, sarvaṃ khalu idaṃ brahma*, che hanno ispirato e guidato migliaia di cercatori della verità per innumerevoli generazioni.

Il Sanscrito, la lingua dei poeti, dei filosofi, dei mistici, dei Santi (*Siddha*) è stata un ponte tra le civiltà, le culture e le lingue. In tutte le lingue Indo-Europee e Slave e in quelle derivate da esse, migliaia di parole sanscrite sono comunemente usate anche oggi.

Il Sanscrito è la lingua dei *Veda*, delle *Upaniṣad*, reso raffinato e perfezionato dai grandi grammatici Pāṇini e Patañjali, da Bhagavan Mahāmuni Vyāsa che hanno presentato al mondo, tremila anni fa, la fonte incomparabile e perenne di ispirazione a tutti coloro che leggono il *Mahābhārata*, il più grande poema epico di tutti i tempi, e soprattutto la *Bhagavadgītā*. Il Sanscrito è la lingua del grande poeta e saggio Vālmīki che ha composto il *Rāmāyaṇa* e del grande *yogin* Vasiṣṭha. Il Sanscrito è infine la lingua di Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, Bhāsa, e di innumerevoli altri poeti, drammaturghi, storici e romanzieri.

Per una persona come me nata e cresciuta in mezzo al canto dei *mantra* vedici e ai riti e ai rituali, alle feste e alle cerimonie eseguite nella sacra lingua, essere presente in questa occasione della Conferenza Mondiale del Sanscrito è davvero motivo di gioia e di ispirazione. Questa grande lingua che ha dei simboli e dei suoni che possono trasportarti oltre la limitata esperienza dei sensi, è stata infatti studiata con grande devozione ed erudizione in questo vostro grande paese.

E mai potrebbe essere altrimenti perché l'Italia è stata la fonte e il centro della civiltà occidentale per gli ultimi duemila anni o più.

In quesa occasione che altro potrei dire oltre « *Saha nāv avatu saha nāu bhunaktu, saha vīryaṃ karavāvahāi ma vidviṣāvahāi, auṃ, śāntiḥ, śāntiḥ, śāntiḥ* ».

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III

DR. V. RAGHAVAN'S OPENING LECTURE

Monday June 9th - 6 p.m.

Dr. V. RAGHAVAN, President, IASS,

delivered the opening address on the first day at 6 p.m. with His Excellency the Indian Ambassador present at the meeting.

Tracing the origin of the IASS and its needs, he emphasised that the special character of the IASS was in the international aspect of the work of the Association. The IASS he said, would promote Sanskrit studies and projects and activities like the International Sanskrit Conference on an international basis. This international aspect of their work, he said, was something innate in Sanskrit and the various branches of its literature, since ancient times.

Sanskrit language, being a member of the Indo-European family had necessarily to be studied on the background of IE philology. Its earliest literature, the Vedas had to be studied in close relation to the Avesta; Vedic religion similarly had to be studied along with Iranian and IE mythology and practices. Coming to the two Epics, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* had spread their sway all over South Asia and even to Central Asia; in S.E.-Asia, the Sanskrit epics were a living force to this day and were the inspiration and medium of dance-drama, shadow-play, sculpture and other arts. In thought, philosophy and religion, Buddhism spread not only over the greater part of Asia, but also over the West, influencing Christianity and its ideas and concepts and stories. *Mithraism* also provided an international movement in the pre-christian times and the few immediately succeeding centuries of the Christian era. From the time Alexander the Great met Brahman sophists in the Panjab and Brahmans were reported to have been in Athens arguing with Aristotle, Vedantic and Yogic ideas began spreading in the Hellenistic world. Alexandria was the Banaras of the West and several schools of thought

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that developed there bore the influence of Indian philosophy and spiritual practices. In the realm of sciences, there was a great commerce of knowledge between the Hellenistic and Roman world and India. In the five *Siddhāntas* or schools of Indian astronomy, two bear foreign names *Romaka* and *Pauliśa*; also there were Sanskrit astronomical and astrological texts which were translations of Greek texts, e.g. *Yavanajātaka, Mīnarājajātaka.* Indian Pandits were no home birds, they visited the Roman centres and Gargācārya's well known verse said that among the foreigners, this science was well established and they were to be respected as much as their own Ṛṣis: *mlecchā hi yavanās teṣu samyak śāstram idaṃ sthitam. Ṛṣivat te 'pi pūṇyāḥ syuḥ.* Dr. David Pingree of Chicago had in recent years made visits to the Middle East libraries and found the originals of some of these Sanskrit treatises. This was also the case of Mathematics and Medicine which passed from India to Arabia and from there to Europe.

The most remarkable branch of Sanskrit literature in this international context was the fable literature in Sanskrit, the *Pañcatantra* animal stories, which, from their Pahlavi, Syriac and Arabic versions, were translated into most of the languages of Middle East and Europe, and formed the source of all the fable literature of the world.

After the discovery of Sanskrit by Western orientalists, a new revival of Sanskrit studies had come about and there was hardly one country in the world in whose University there was no Sanskrit chair or Department of Sanskrit study.

« One branch of Sanskrit study in which I have laboured all through my academic career was that of the Sanskrit Manuscripts. This also bore an international character. The Mss. were the basis of all their studies. What had been known and published was but a part of a vast literature which still lay in Mss. The Mss. were in all sorts of public and private possession, and in small and big collections, which had not been completely located. After the growth of Western interest in Sanskrit, Sanskrit Mss. had gone to Libraries and Museums and Universities, in Europe, USSR and America. A great part of this still remained to be examined, catalogued and made known to the scholars. During my tours of Europe, USSR and US I had made this work my special task and taken much trouble to search Mss. collections and prepare inventories of these collections. In 1953-4, when I toured Europe I prepared an inventory of 20,000 un-surveyed and un-catalogued Mss. in European Libraries; in many centres, I spent time examining the Mss. and preparing detailed notes from them. In India, I had been continuously doing this work. Somehow or other, whatever my other interests, ever since I started my research career in the Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore, in 1931 or took up in 1935 the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* project at the University of Madras, I had became involved with Mss. During Conferences, tours of Committees and Commissions all over India and Nepal, from time to time, I had made it a special

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mission to look for Sanskrit Mss. collections. In the Report of the Sanskrit commission of the Government of India, we gave a special chapter to the Mss. and in the Indology Committee and the Central Sanskrit Board of the Ministry of Education, New Delhi, I had submitted detailed proposals for setting up a *Manuscript Survey of India*, on the lines of the Archaelogical Survey for undertaking a systematic search, collection, cataloguing and editing of the Sanskrit Mss. Although such a survey had not yet been organised, the Sanskrit Board had been giving full financial assistance for preparing and publishing Catalogues of Sanskrit and other mss. Numerous Catalogues had been prepared and published in India under this scheme. I would like to mention in this connection the hand-book that I brought out for the Education Ministry called « Manuscripts, Catalogues, Editions » in 1963. Whatever Catalogues or lists of Mss. that I made or collected in Europe, US or USSR could not be included in the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* of which the first Volume was published in 1949, and the catalogues and lists forming its basis could not be added to in the subsequent Volumes. In addition to the many printed Catalogues which had since become available, there are with me lists of over 20,000 Mss. in countries outside India and about 50 long and short handlists of Sanskrit Mss. collections, large and small, in India, the contents of which are not known to scholars.

The importance of Mss. or the work of discovering new works in Mss. is not adequately realised even by scholars. Many scholars never looked into the collections near at hand even in their own institutions. Rare works remained there for decades waiting to be examined and revealed even in well known Library collections. The *Āgamaḍambara* or *Ṣaṇmatanāṭaka* of Jayanta, a pre-*Prabodhacandrodaya* philosophical play, was lying for a long period in the Govt. collections in BORI, Poona. It was a first rate discovery that I made when I identified it and subsequently edited it. It was wrong to imagine that the age of discovery of first rate works was past. Another ancient play that I discovered and which would soon be published was the *Udāttarāghava* of Anaṅgaharṣa Māyurāja, a Kalachuri Prince. Through information supplied by Dr. Warder, I recently got from Kerala a new ms. of the *Abhinavabhāratī*, not used for the GOS. edition and containing more correct readings and some additional passages. Other scholars had also recently made similar discoveries of outstanding classics considered to have been lost. Dr. Gnoli of Rome had discovered fragments of Udbhaṭa's lost commentary on Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṅkāra*. A Sannyāsin, a friend of mine, Swami Yogeśvarānanda of Banaras, discovered and published the valuable Nyāya work of Bhāsarvajña, the *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa*.

In each branch of literature the works produced in the earlier formative periods had gone into oblivion. As in life, so here too in literature and Mss., the best had been the enemy of the good. Where were the pre-Kālidāsa plays? Where were the pre-Śaṅkara *Bhāṣyas* and *Vṛttis* on

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the *Vedānta Sūtras*? Where were the pre-Abhinavagupta works on poetics and dramaturgy that he referred to? Was it not their duty to make their best effort to search for these treasures which still lay buried in some Mss. collections somewhere ».

The migration of Sanskrit literature and Mss. has been a continuous phenomenon. In ancient times China and Tibet took from India a large number of Sanskrit Buddhist texts, and sometimes a few non-Buddhist ones also, and translated them into Chinese and Tibetan. Almost all works in these Chinese and Tibetan translations were not available in their originals in India. The study and restoration of these into Sanskrit was a very important line of work. It had been going on sporadically; but only a planned « attack » on this front could bring to us all the materials which were necessary for our study not only of Buddhism but also of Indian logic in which Buddhist, Jain and Hindu logic had an interlocked growth. The gaining of fresh dimensions in our research was in store for us through this recovery of the lost literature.

From the ancient times, Sanskrit texts in Buddhism, medicine and even poetry and drama went to Central Asia. In the ruined monasteries there, expeditions from USSR, Germany, France and England brought heaps of fragments of Sanskrit literature which were now lying in Leningrad, Berlin, Paris and London. The deciphering of these texts and editing and interpreting them was now going on a small-slow pace; the work so far done on these was meagre and touched only the fringe. Justice could be done to this field of Sanskrit research only through an active internationally planned programme in which a large band of workers should be trained and set to work. All this provided a highly significant role for the IASS.

« In this connection I desire to place before you at this Conference two ideas. One is the compilation of a *Further Catalogus Catalogorum* of Sanskrit Mss., comprising the printed Catalogues published since 1949 and not included in the New Catalogus Catalogorum, as also the inventories and Mss. that I had prepared in my tours of Europe, USSR and US and the many other long and short hand-lists of known and unknown collections of Mss. in India which I had prepared over the years on my own initiative during my visits to different parts of India. I hope you will endorse this project and recommend it for assistance.

Secondly, there is a need to have a *Journal for Sanskrit Manuscriptology*. In this Journal lists of small Mss. collections could be published, and also Notes and critical accounts of rare and useful Mss., discoveries of particular important Mss. collections could be reported and information on Mss. could be exchanged. The starting of a Journal for Sanskrit Manuscriptology too, I hope, will be supported by you ».

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At the end of Dr. Raghavan's lecture, Prof. A. K. Warder of the University of Toronto who had, year before last, toured the greater part of India, visiting Mss. Libraries and examining Mss., spoke on the urgency and importance of the question of Sanskrit Mss., supported strongly the two proposals made by Dr. V. Raghavan for a further Catalogus Catalogorum of Sanskrit Mss. and a Journal of Sanskrit Manuscriptoolgy and appealed to the IASS to lend its weight and support to them.

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IV

PROCEEDINGS OF I.A.S.S. MEETINGS

1. *First General meeting of the IASS on Wednesday the 11th June at 11 a.m.*

At the outset Dr. V. Raghavan, President of the IASS, gave an account of the founding of the IASS in Paris in 1973, in pursuance of a resolution at the concluding session of the First International Sanskrit Conference in New Delhi in 1972. He also explained how after the setting up of the IASS he, Dr. Sternbach, the Secretary-General, and Prof. Filliozat, one of the Vice-Presidents, had been actively pursuing the matter of holding a meeting of IASS and a Second International Sanskrit Conference. They had hoped to hold such a meeting at the Conference in Yogyakarta, along with the Conference of Asian Historians, but did not succeed. Another subject which has been perused was setting up national organisations which could be affiliated to the IASS. In India, he had taken steps to establish an Indian Association of Sanskrit Studies and 30 Indian Associations working in the field of Sanskrit Studies including several reputed research institutes in different centres of India, had joined, paying a subscription of Rs. 50/— each. He hoped that 20 more would join and when there were 50 members, he proposed to call a meeting and elect an Executive Body for the Indian Association of Sanskrit Studies. He also added that in 1974 he visited Thailand, Japan, Honolulu, several centres in U.S. and Canada and in all the places he had met Sanskritists and spoken before institutions about the IASS. He also addressed the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society at Santa Barbara, California, and they resolved to entrust Prof. Van Buitenen with the work of setting up a Sanskrit body within the American Oriental Society.

He then requested members present to inform the meeting of the situation in their respective countries.

On behalf of England and Canada, Professors Brough and Warder said that there were few centres of Sanskrit study in their countries

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and it would be difficult to form a regular Association. All that they could do was for them to individually keep in touch with the IASS. They could also have some *ad hoc* Conferences or Seminars locally with the cooperation of representatives of related subjects like Indian Philosophy and by inviting Sanskrit scholars from neighbouring countries, for example those from US for meetings in Canada.

Prof. Gonda, Holland, reported that a Dutch-Indian Institute was organized, which had already affiliated itself to the IASS. They hoped to become more active shortly.

On behalf of France, Dr. Filliozat reported that a French Association of Sanskrit Studies had been started with Prof. Lacombe as President.

For Japan, Prof. Tsuji mentioned that there were already Japanese Associations of Indology and Buddhism which had been consulted. The result was not yet known.

In this connection Dr. Raghavan reported that during his visit to Japan last year, he had discussed the matter with the Professors of Sanskrit in Tokyo and also with Prof. H. Nakamura. Prof. H. Nakamura told him that he would set some of the younger scholars on the work of organising a Japanese Centre.

For USSR Dr. Bongard-Levin said that the Oriental Institute, Moscow, would set up a Committee or Commission for Sanskrit which would function as a representative body for USSR.

Dr. Emmerick, speaking on behalf of the Federal Republic of Germany, said that the German Oriental Institute would soon be affiliated to the IASS.

On behalf of the German Democratic Republic, Dr. Morgenroth said that they had an association of Indology, 5 Universities with provision for Sanskrit, and an Academy of Sciences. This year they would decide about joining the IASS. He mentioned also that they had recently organised successfully an international Sanskrit Conference in honour of Prof. Bopp and Weber.

On behalf of the United States, Prof. Alex Wayman of Columbia University, New York said that there were many centres of Sanskrit in U.S. and it was very difficult to travel about and contact them. Their common forum was the American Oriental Society and its annual meetings. They had also the Association of Asian Studies under which they had several groups devoted to particular subjects, languages and areas. He therefore considered that there was a need for a similar group for Sanskrit and promised to speak to his colleagues and also get into touch with Prof. Van Buitenen about this.

Scandinavia: Dr. Parpola observed that as some of the previous speakers had mentioned, there were few Sanskritists in his part of Europe. They had a Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies which recently resolved to convene annual conferences of Indian Studies. This could provide a Scandinavian branch for the IASS.

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On behalf of Poland, Prof. Pobožniak said that there was a Polish Oriental Institute which could function as the Polish centre.

Yugoslavia: On behalf of Yugoslavia, the members present mentioned that in the University of Zagreb they had recently started meetings, inviting people outside the University who were interested in Indian art and culture. On their going back, they would discuss the matter and explore the possibility of establishing a unit in their country to work round the Chair of Indology in the University.

Prof. Filliozat recalled to the members certain facts which justified the setting up of the IASS. They had for example an International Association of Tamil studies, of Chinese studies and so on.

Prof. Oscar Botto said that it was possible to set up an association in Italy.

Arising out of the above discussions, it was proposed by some members that the IASS need not have only one category of members namely National Associations, but might have also individual scholars as Members, particularly because, as mentioned in the meeting, there were countries in which there were only a few Sanskrit scholars and Chairs. This view was supported by the majority of members.

So far as the members of the Board of the IASS were concerned, agreement was expressed to have in the place of the late Prof. W. Norman Brown, Prof. Buitenen who had already been charged with the task of organising a Sanskrit section under the American Oriental Society. They also welcomed the election of Prof. Oscar Botto of Turin as a Vice-President. For the place of the Treasurer, who should necessarily be from Paris, to facilitate the transaction of business, the name of Mme Caillat was suggested. The meeting welcomed her election as Treasurer.

A proposal was made by some members that in addition to the Board there should be a Consultative Committee in which Sanskrit scholars representing different branches of studies and different countries could be represented. The proposal was discussed at some length and approved. The members present proposed also names of scholars from the different countries. (See list in the Board's proceedings).

The question of holding the Third International Sanskrit Conference was then discussed. Dr. Sternbach, the Secretary General, said that there was a property belonging to the University of Pennsylvania near Cannes in France. He said that the IASS might hold a session there and that this proposal was under consideration.

Dr. Filliozat said that a Jubilee celebration of the EFEO will be held in Paris in the first half of 1976. Though a full Sanskrit Conference could not be organised, he would explore the possibilities of having a Sanskrit section as part of the Jubilee celebration. Dr. Raghavan suggested that if this could materialise, they should choose a specific area of Sanskrit studies as the theme of this meeting. As it was to be held under EFEO, he thought it would be appropriate if they would concentrate on East and South East Asia and Sanskrit.

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Dr. Raghavan and Dr. Sternbach had been in correspondence with the organisers of the next International Congress of Orientalists in Mexico early in August 1976; there was every possibility of holding the meeting of the Board of the IASS in connection with that Congress. Help from UNESCO should be explored for holding such a meeting.

2. *Second General Meeting of the IASS on Friday the 13th June at 11.30 a.m.*

The Second General meeting of the IASS was held at 11.30 a.m. at the Giovanni Agnelli Foundation hall.

Dr. Raghavan, President, placed before the meeting the proceedings of the Board of the IASS which was held earlier, together with the texts of the resolutions and recommendations adopted by them. (For the report of the Board meeting and the recommendations, see minutes of the Board given above).

The proceedings of the Board and the resolutions were approved and carried.

3. *Meeting of the Board on Thursday the 12th June at 11.30 a.m.*

The Board of the IASS met on Thursday, 12th June 1975 at 11.30 a.m. at the Giovanni Agnelli Foundation building. Dr. V. Raghavan, President of IASS, presided. The following were present:

Dr. V. Raghavan, Prof. J. Filliozat, Prof. J. Brough, Prof. Tsuji, Prof. J. Gonda, Prof. L. Sternbach, Dr. Bongard-Levin, Professor (Mme) Caillat and Prof. Oscar Botto.

At the outset, the meeting expressed the thanks of the IASS, to the Giovanni Agnelli Foundation and the University of Turin, and to Prof. Botto, in particular, for their invitation to hold the Second meeting of the IASS in Turin.

2. The President referred to the proceedings of the general meeting on Wednesday 11th at 11 a.m. for discussion and approval by the Board.

The following amendments to the statutes of the IASS proposed at the general meeting were approved and adopted.

(a) There shall be seven Vice-Presidents and Dr. Van Buitenen of the University of Chicago and Dr. Oscar Botto of the University of Turin shall be elected Vice-President.

(b) There shall be a Consultative Committee of scholars representing different countries and different branches of Sanskrit studies; their number shall not exceed 15.

(c) There shall be two kinds of Members of the IASS, (i) National Associations or Institutions, already existing or newly formed and (ii) individual scholars.

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The Membership fee for Individual Scholars shall be £3/ or their equivalent sum in US dollars or French Francs.

The consequential changes in the statutes as approved at the Paris meetings were carried out.

3. The following changes in the statutes were also adopted: Art. 6. In addition to the Secretary-General, provision was made at Paris for two other Secretaries. This was removed and accordingly, in Art. 9 para 2 under Secretary-General, the sentence « The Secretary-General may delegate some of his functions to Secretaries residing in countries other than etc. » was changed to « The Secretary-General may delegate some of his functions to any of the Members of the Board ».

4. In the place of Prof. William Norman Brown, who had passed away, Prof. Van Buitenen of the University of Chicago, who was in charge of the Indian Section of the American Oriental Institute, was elected as a Vice-President.

Prof. Oscar Botto, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Turin, was elected as Vice-President.

Prof. (Mme) C. Caillat was elected Treasurer.

5. The setting up of a Consultative Committee proposed at the general meeting was then discussed and approved.

The following names suggested for the same were also approved.

1. Australia - Dr. J. W. de Jong
2. Austria - Dr. G. Oberhammer
3. Belgium - Dr. E. Lamotte
4. Canada - Dr. A. K. Warder
5. G.D.R. - Dr. W. Morgenroth
6. F.R.G. - Dr. H. Bechert
7. Finland - Dr. A. Aalto
8. Hungary - Dr. M. Harmatta
9. Mongolia - Dr. S. Bira
10. Scandinavia - Dr. S. Lienhard
11. Śrī Laṅka - Dr. J. Tilakasiri
12. Switzerland - Dr. J. May

It was resolved that names for Nepal, Thailand and Indonesia, would be adopted after consulting the scholars in these countries.

It was announced that at the next meeting of the IASS, the National Associations of Sanskrit Studies may suggest their candidates as members of the Consultative Committee.

6. Regarding the publication of the proceedings of the present Conference, Prof. O. Botto informed the Bureau that these would be published by next year as Special Volumes of the Journal *Indologica Taurinensia*.

7. Regarding the holding of the Third International Sanskrit Conference, the three possibilities already mentioned in the general meeting on the 11th were discussed and recorded. It was resolved to pursue all these three possibilities.

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8. Then, the Board considered various projects proposed by members or institutions and the following Resolutions and recommendations were adopted:

I

The IASS met at the Second World Sanskrit Conference in Torino, and the Institute of Indology of the University of Torino, and Prof. Oscar Botto in particular for making possible for the IASS to have the Second World Sanskrit Conference under their auspices and generous patronage.

II

The IASS expresses its thanks to the Giovanni Agnelli Foundation endorses the appeal made by Dr. Raghavan (Madras), President of the IASS and the Conference about the urgent need to carry out search and survey of Sanskrit MSS. in large as well as small public and private collections in India and other countries, and their cataloguing; it is also pleased to know that Dr. Raghavan had already done a good deal of work on this line and has prepared on his own hand lists of numerous collections in India and other countries and recommends that financial assistance be given to him to publish the Catalogues and handlists in the form of a Further Catalogus Catalogorum and also to carry out further searches and surveys of Sanskrit MSS. collections.

III

The IASS met at the Second World Sanskrit Conference in Torino, endorses the second proposal made by Dr. Raghavan that to further the work on Sanskrit MSS. a Journal devoted to Sanskrit Manuscriptology in which news about new MSS., lists of small collections, notes on new MSS. and exchange of information on MSS. may be published; it recommends this proposal to the Central Sanskrit Board (Rashtriya Samskrit Samsthan) of the Education Ministry of the Government of India.

IV

The IASS met at the Second World Sanskrit Conference in Torino, notes with satisfaction the publication of a further volume of the *Mahābhāṣya* with commentaries by the French Institute of Indology, Pondichéry and recommends that the financial assistance being given to this project be continued.

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V

The IASS met at the Second World Sanskrit Conference in Torino, appreciates the importance of the project for the critical edition of the *Purāṇas* — a neglected branch of Sanskrit Literature — undertaken by the All India Kashiraj Trust, Benares, and the work they have already done in bringing out three *Purāṇas* and several *purāṇic* studies; it recommends that this *purāṇa*-project, at Benares, be given financial assistance for the editions of the remaining *Purāṇas.*

VI

The IASS met at the Second World Sanskrit Conference in Torino, endorses the appeal made by Prof. J. Brough (Cambridge) about the need for a Buddhist-Chinese-Sanskrit Dictionary, which may be prepared in Japan by a team of international scholars and recommends that support be given to this project.

VII

The IASS met at the Second World Sanskrit Conference in Torino, notes with satisfaction the publication of the first volume of the *Mahā-subhāṣita-saṃgraha,* the large project of Dr. L. Sternbach, Paris, on *subhāṣita-s* in several volumes and recommends that financial assistance be given for the publication of the remaining volumes.

VIII

The IASS met at the Second World Sanskrit Conference in Torino, is glad to know the progress of the work on the *Critical Pāli Dictionary* and the *Sanskrit Dictonary*, Poona and recommends that financial assistance being given to the two projects be continued.

IX

The IASS met at the Second World Sanskrit Conference in Torino, recommends for financial assistance the project of Dr. L. Sternbach to bring out in three volumes an Index and account of the poets and other authors known and unknown who are cited in the Anthologies and Inscriptions.

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X

The IASS met at the Second World Sanskrit Conference in Torino, endorses the proposal of Mme C. Caillat (Paris) that an up to date Jain Bibliography be compiled; it was resolved to recommend to forward this proposal to the All-India Committee which recently organized the Mahāvīra Jayantī.

XI

The IASS met at the Second World Sanskrit Conference in Torino, welcomes the proposal of Dr. Bongard-Levin (Moscow), that IASS may issue a Bulletin which may provide reports of Sanskrit activities and work in the field going on in the different parts of the world. It was resolved that such a Bulletin might be started as and when the IASS was in a position to undertake the issue of such a Bulletin.

XII

The IASS met at the Second World Sanskrit Conference in Torino, endorses the proposal made by Dr. Emmerick in his paper that a line-index of Sanskrit medical texts be prepared and resolves to recommend and forward this project to the unit of research in indigenous medicine in the Ministry of Health, Governement of India, that this might be taken up under the various literary projects that they are assisting.

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V

CONCLUDING SESSION

Saturday, June 14th 11-30 a.m.

Dr. V. Raghavan, President, IASS, brought the proceedings of the Second International Sanskrit Conference to a close. He expressed once again the gratitude of the IASS and the scholars assembled there at the Conference to the G. Agnelli Foundation for their invitation and generous hospitality and to Prof. Oscar Botto, for his initiative and energy in organising the Conference. He also mentioned that but for the attention which Count Giordano and Dr. Piano devoted to all the details the machinery of the Conference could not have run so smoothly as it did. To them also their special thanks were due.

Dr. Raghavan also thanked the national Governments and institutions which had helped scholars from about 20 countries to attend the Conference. For example, the Government of India had sent two delegates and the UNESCO had sponsored the participation of two others. He thanked also the various scholars who presided at each of the meetings in the mornings and the afternoons on each day of the Conference.

Dr. Raghavan then called upon Dr. Lienhard (Stockholm) to speak of behalf of the participants.

Vote of thanks offered by Prof. S. LIENHARD (STOCKHOLM).

« Mr. President, Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen!

Let me before the closing of the Conference say a few words about this Congress of Sanskritists and what it has meant to us. I think I speak on behalf of all of us when I state that this Second World Sanskrit Conference has proved to be a success. One of its greatest advantages

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was certainly that the number of participants was restricted, though, of course, many more scholars could have joined this Congress. It has been extremely easy for each of us to come into contact with one another and to discuss problems of common interest in that vast field of studies called Indology or Sanskrit and Sanskrit-based Studies. Another great plus in my opinion was that Turin was chosen as the meeting-place. Turin, a most beautiful town, is easily reached, at least by Europeans, and constitutes, as we all know, an important center of Sanskrit learning.

The papers and open lectures we have listened to, covered an extraordinarily wide range of topics and one of the very last papers, that on Computer techniques applied to Sanskrit texts, and the discussions that followed it, have clearly shown that we Sanskritists are not, as is often believed, voluntary prisoners of our studies, but that we, on the contrary, are open-minded and willing to experiment with new methods.

I should now like to express the sincerest thanks of all of us who have participated in this Conference firstly to the organisers of the Congress, the Working Committee and the Board of the IASS, especially to Dr. Raghavan and Prof. Gonda, who have been sitting here at this table so patiently during an entire week. Secondly and above all our thanks are due to Prof. Oscar Botto, *il grande maestro della scuola indologica di Torino*, his staff and, last but not least, *i signori* Dr. Ducrey Giordano and Dr. Piano who have done so much for this Congress and for each and everyone of us. Many thanks to all of you. Let me express our hopes for future co-operation on the same or similar line in only one Sanskrit word: *a c i r a p u n a r d a r ś a n ā y a !* ».

Then Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, the senior-most among the participants, said that Sanskrit had become established, so to say, by the setting up of the IASS and the convening of the Second International Conference, which he said had been a distinct success *.

Dr. Raghavan then called upon the Secretary-General Dr. Sternbach and Prof. Oscar Botto to speak.

Prof. L. Sternbach announced that steps have been taken by the Board of the Association to arrange the Third International Sanskrit Conference in France in 1977, but that the success of this endeavor depended on the financial help of UNESCO. He expressed thanks to the President and Vice-Presidents of the Association for conducting the meetings of the Conference. He further thanked UNESCO for making it possible for some outstanding Sanskrit scholars to attend the Confe-

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rence. He also expressed the gratitude of the IASS to the Giovanni Agnelli Foundation for the financial help and the cooperation with the IASS, to Prof. O. Botto for organising the Conference, to Dr. F. Ducrey Giordano and Dr. S. Piano for arrangements made before and during the Conference, as well as to all their collaborators seen and not seen, who made the Conference so successful.

Prof. O. BOTTO.

« With to-day's proceedings we now come to the close of the Second World Sanskrit Conference. I am convinced that the considerable number of the participants and the doubtless high level of the papers discussed here offer an eloquent testimony of the success of this international meeting. The I.A.S.S. has had the privilege of having here in this hall some of the most distinguished and well-known scholars coming from all parts of the world, and with these who had come to offer us their valuable contribution, also a number of young emerging scholars. The meeting in our City of these Sanskrit Scholars will be surely hailed in the annals of indological studies of the second half of the twentieth Century.

Finally, may I have your permission, ladies and gentlemen, to express our sincere gratitude for the brilliant success of this convention, made possible no doubt thanks to the enviable cooperation of the Agnelli Foundation and all the distinguished participants of this Congress ».

Dr. Raghavan then made an appeal to all the participants to build up their new organisation, the IASS, by organising national units and exploring the possibilities of holding further Conferences of the IASS in their respective countries. He then recited a verse which he just then composed on the character and ideals for which the IASS stood. He said that a Vedic passage which Tagore had used for the Viśvabharati also figured in this verse.

yatra viśvaṃ bhavaty ekanīḍaṃ sodaratātarau /
viśvavidvatsahodyogaiḥ saṃskṛtaṃ tatpravardhatām //

« That in which, the whole Universe came together, as if within a nest, on the tree of fraternal kinship, may that Sanskrit flourish through the joint efforts of the scholars of the world ».

He then recited a verse on *Vāk* (language, speech) from the *Ṛg Veda* which contained a prayer to *Vāk* to bless them all.

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devīṃ vācam ajanayanta devāḥ
tāṃ viśvarūpāḥ paśavo vadanti /
sā no mandreṣam ūrjaṃ duhānā
dhenur vāg asmān upasuṣṭutaitu //

Ṛgveda, VIII,10,11.

« The divine speech, the gods have created; and beings of manifold forms speak Her: praised well (by us), may she, the gladdening Cow of Speech, come to us yielding nourishment and strength ».

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PART TWO

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ALBERTO CESARE AMBESI

TEORIE REINCARNAZIONISTE E FONTI SANSCRITE

Il dibattito intorno alla reincarnazione si è oggi riacceso e fautori e avversari di tale ipotesi hanno puntualmente ripreso la vecchia controversia sulla verosimiglianza o meno di un periodico ritorno di singole individualità, nella sfera umana, all'apparente fine di purificarsi da colpe passate e conquistare nuovi meriti spirituali. Intanto, unica novità del giorno, non mancano le ricerche d'impronta parapsicologica, più o meno rigorose, tendenti a investigare certi casi, cosidetti « accertati », i quali comporterebbero il ricordo di una o più esistenze anteriori, da parte soprattutto di bambini o adolescenti. La discussione è però equivoca, perché volutamente non tocca i presupposti del concetto di reincarnazione, quali si trovano esposti nei sacri testi dell'Oriente e ne travisa inevitabilmente l'accezione originaria. Si è infatti abbarbicati al principio dell'*unitaria realtà* della psiche, intorno al quale concordano e i reincarnazionisti e gli antireincarnazionisti, sia pure con sfumature diverse.

Di contro, ci proponiamo di delineare quanto segue: *a*) che a livello esoterico, la teoria della trasmigrazione di un *quid* spirituale dell'Uomo, si accompagna sempre e comunque al riconoscimento della pluralità e transitorietà di ciò che chiamiamo il nostro *Io*; *b*) che non può esservi reingresso su questo piano fisico di alcun principio cosciente di natura umana, se non in taluni casi, tanto eccezionali quanto poco dimostrabili. Scendiamo ora in qualche dettaglio, sulla composizione o struttura della psiche. Innanzi tutto, occorrerà riconoscere che il cosiddetto *Io* non è che una successione di emozioni e pensieri, anzi come ben dice il Buddha « Non vi è parte corporea, alcuna sensazione, alcuna percezione, alcuna formazione mentale, alcuna coscienza che sia permanente, continua e durevole e che, non essendo soggetta a cambiamenti, rimanga eternamente la stessa (*Saṃyutta Nikāya* III, 143) ».

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In altre parole: come il mio corpo si rinnova ad ogni momento con la morte e la nascita delle cellule, così la mente che guida ora questa riflessione non è più identica a quella che m'indusse a iniziare questo intervento con uno spunto di attualità. Non a caso, l'originario termine filosofico buddhista per designare un individuo è *santati*; vocabolo che significa « flusso » o « continuità ». E tuttavia tale forma non è priva di un suo centro l'*Anima vivente*, destinata a raggiungere stati dell'Essere ben diversificati, sulla base dei gradi della conoscenza spirituale acquisita, ma sempre e comunque *trans* o *sub* umani, come ha bene illustrato R. Guénon ne l'*Uomo e il suo divenire secondo il Vedanta* (traduzione italiana nelle Edizioni Studi Tradizionali, Torino, 1965). Il destino *post-mortem* del centro della psiche dell'Uomo può infatti così riassumersi, secondo la tradizionale saggezza indiana: 1° caso) si ha un subitaneo riconoscimento di quella « Luce Essenziale », di cui parla il cosiddetto *Libro Tibetano dei Morti*, grazie all'Illuminazione ottenuta in vita o nel momento del trapasso; 2° caso) si produce un passaggio, una trasmutazione a un superiore stato sovrafformale (identificazione con gli Dei, ingresso in uno dei paradisi celestiali e così via); 3° caso) oppure un passaggio ad altre condizioni individuali, più o meno sottili, rispetto appunto a quella umana.

Ciò è asserito anche dalle dottrine manichee, laddove si dice che all'Uomo mortale, figlio della materia e della luce, è dato d'incontrare dopo la morte il proprio « Salvatore » o « Gemello Celeste » e tre angeli che gli recano — rispettivamente — in premio della vittoria (sulla materia), una veste di luce, un serto, un diadema e una corona, egualmente risplendenti. Figure e segni che ci parlano in modo inequivocabile di un passaggio senza ritorno di là dalla forma umana.

Ma v'è di più. Nel *Visuddhimagga* (XVII, 161) si legge infatti: « Quanto sorge nelle esistenze che seguono è un mero fenomeno, una cosa condizionata, ma ciò non è trapassato dalla vita precedente, pur non potendo essere senza una causa » e nell'altra opera fondamentale della dottrina buddhista *Milinda Pañha* (« Dialoghi » o « Interrogazioni di Milinda ») si trovano i seguenti passi di un dialogo molto significativo: « Che cosa è, o Venerabile, quello che rinascerà? » è la domanda posta dal Sovrano Milinda. « Una combinazione psico-fisica », la risposta del monaco Nāgasena. « Ma questa combinazione sarà la stessa di quello attuale ». « No, o Re. La combinazione attuale produce atti di volontà che sono karmikamente benefici o nocivi ed è per mezzo di essi che rinsacerà il nuovo aggregato psico-fisico ». « Ma, Venerabile, come può avvenire la rinascita senza il passaggio di qualcosa da una vita all'altra? Spiegamelo, per favore ». « Se o Re, un uomo accendesse una lampada per mezzo di un'altra lampada, pensate che in questo caso la luce dalla

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prima lampada passerebbe alla seconda? ». « No, o Venerabile ». « Proprio così o Re, la rinascita avviene senza trasmigrazione ».

Asserzioni che concordano pienamente con le coeve prospezioni induiste, quale, per esempio, la seguente similitudine che trovasi nella *Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* (IV *Brāhmaṇa* della quarta lettura, capo 4°): « Allo stesso modo che un orefice, riprendendo la materia di un preesistente oggetto con quella plasma una forma più bella e più nuova, così questo *ātman* (cioè il *Sé* superiore) una volta che si sia liberato dell'esperienza fenomenica, abbandona il corpo e a sé stesso conferisce una forma più bella, o di *pitṛ* (Mane, spirito degli Antenati) o di *Gandharva* (Entità semidivina, la cui essenza è di musicalità celeste), di un Dio, o di *Prajāpati* (Demiurgo), del *Brahman* (l'Assoluto) o di altri esseri ».

Ci si intenda: premesso che « Il Signore è il solo che trasmigra » (*Brahmasūtra*, I, 1-5) e che quindi i passaggi suaccennati rappresentano una scalarità di graduale avvicinamento alla meta finale, ci pare evidente che la prima di tali condizioni (cioè quella di *pitṛ*, ossia di Mane) rappresenti il traguardo che attende coloro che sono vissuti a livello mondano, profano. Ed è da essi che si trasmette il fuoco che passa di generazione in generazione, all'interno di una stirpe o di una schiatta, condizionando, ma non incatenando i discendenti, per cui la via della *Salvazione* e della *Liberazione* sono pur sempre aperte. Si ereditano perciò dai nostri avi determinate *funzioni* che potremo fare regredire o sviluppare, ma dalle quali non si può prescindere, se non alla condizione di nascere una *seconda volta*, secondo l'insegnamento di tutte le grandi religioni.

Questa nuova nascita potrà avvenire o grazie all'impegno mistico o a quello iniziatico, ma comunque condurrà il neofita a avere un nuovo « padre » e una nuova « madre »; figure che nasceranno in lui sul piano dei nuovi compiti così assunti. Padre e madre che sono due distinte espressioni dell'unitaria Fonte Divina e che, a seconda dell'equazione simbolica, assumeranno le figure del Sole e della Luna, di Cristo (o Buddha) o della Vergine di Luce gnostico-manichea, di Virgilio e Beatrice. È dunque evidente che l'espressione « nato due volte », ricorrente nell'Induismo e nel Buddhismo ha tutt'altra pregnanza di quella voluta dai reincarnazionisti. Idem dicasi, anzi a maggiore ragione, per la famosa asserzione di Buddha d'essere già stato maestro ad anteriori Bodhisattva, nonché per i fraintesi criteri di successione del Panchem Lama e del Dalai Lama, nell'alveo del Buddhismo tibetano.

Nella prospettiva testé disegnata, l'apparizione sulla scena del mondo di figure quali Buddha, Cristo e Mani non potrà perciò ricondursi a un'incarnazione di qualsivoglia *Io* entro il vortice *samsarico*. Caso mai,

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adoprando il metro offerto dalla teoria delle grandi ere (*Yuga*) indiane, dovrà scorgersi in ciascuno di essi la condensazione manifesta della doppia spirale — evolutiva-involutiva — che sostanzia il respiro del Cosmo. Quel respiro che vanifica la realtà del nostro *Io* personale, terreno, non appena si sorpassi la soglia dell'empirismo fenomenico e che ne lacera la struttura, ma al solo fine che divenga finalmente *mahāpuruṣa*, la « Grande Persona » che anche la tradizione ebraico-qabbalista ben conosce, quando parla dell'*Adamo Celeste*, radice delle *sephirot*, cioè dell'universalità degli archetipi. Non può esservi dunque dubbio di sorta: l'onda di vita umana avanza o rifluisce — trasmigra — su piani diversi dell'Essere, solo rinasce, quando giunga l'Illuminazione, la scintilla « anima mundi », l'*ātman* che torna al cielo da cui era disceso.

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GIULIANO BONFANTE

IRÀNICO E INDO-ARIO

Quando si suddivídono le lingue indo-europee si usa generalmente unire in un gruppo único l'iràn ico e l'indo-ario (cfr. p. es. Porzig, Die gliederung, pp. 48 ss. e *passim*). Gli schleicheriani di oggi anzi fanno un gruppo solo dell'iràn ico e dell'indo-ario e dícono che è piú compatto di quello italo-cèltico e di quello balto-slavo. Ma di loro non ci occuperemo. Coloro che séguono lo Schmidt concepíscono [1] le lingue indo-europee come una immensa ellissi, che va dall'Irlanda all'India; concetto che io, da neolinguista, sostanzialmente accetto, con alcune varianti; cosí, piú o meno:

bàltico

germànico slavo tocario

cèltico albanese ittita (ecc.)

latino

itàlico greco armeno licio iràn ico indo-ario

Come si vede, le varianti (di cui tratterò in altri miei lavori) concèrnono la posizione dell'albanese, dell'ittita e del bàltico; rispetto all'ellissi poi, il bàltico, il tocario, l'indo-ario e il latino si compòrtano secondo me come appendici od escrescenze, che ànno rapporti non con due (o tre o quattro) lingue finítime (come p. es. il greco con l'itàlico, l'albanese e l'armeno), ma con una sola (o due al màssimo); il tocario solo con lo slavo (cfr. p. es. toc. A *rake*, B *reki* « parola », paleoslavo *rěčí*, russo *reč'* « rede », « wort », ignoto agli altri gruppi i.e.) [2], il bàltico con lo slavo ed il germànico, l'indo-ario solo con l'iràn ico. E di questo ora trattiamo [3].

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1. Cfr. p. es. lo schema di De Michelis, *L'origine degli Indo-Europei*, pp. 204, 208.
2. Sui rapporti del tocario con lo slavo v. i miei *Dialetti indoeuropei*, Nàpoli, *AION.*, 4 (1931), p. 135, n. 1.
3. Alcuni rapporti fra l'iràn ico e lo slavo erano già stati osservati prima di me da altri studiosi; li troverai citati nei miei *Dialetti*, p. 85 con la nota 1. V. anche Pisani, *Ric. slavistiche*, 15 (1967), pp. 4 ss.

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§ 1. L'irànico à in comune con lo slavo il trapasso delle velari *k, *g (e *g') a sémplici sibilanti: avèstico *dasa* paleoslavo *desēti* (e lèttone *desmits*, pruss. *dessimpts*), ma lit. *dešimtìs*, vèd. *dáśa*: dove si deve che il lituano da una parte, l'indo-ario dall'altra ànno *š*(*ś*), che deve èssere piú antico di *s*, per la norma delle « aree laterali »[4]. E lo stesso dícasi per *g: p. es. avèstico *paiti-zānənti*, paleoslavo *znati* (e lèttone *zinât*, pruss. *pos-sinnats*, *po-sinnimai*), ma lit. *žinóti*, indo-ario *ǰānā́ti*, dove troviamo in indo-ario addirittura l'affricata *ǰ* (=*dž*), di *gelo*, *giorno*; segno chiaro che l'indo-ario conserva un elemento occlusivo e non è dunque interamente *satəm*[5]. Ancor piú evidente è il caso di *ks i.e. (lit. *ašìs*, paleosl. *osĭ*, lètt. *ass*, indo-ario *ákṣa-ḥ*) dove troviamo in indo-ario addirittura la velare intatta, come nelle lingue *centum* (lat. *axis* gr. ἄξων ted. *achse* ecc. ecc.). Simile è il caso di *sk- i.e., lit. *skiedrà*, lèttone *skaîda*, avèstico *hi-siδyāṯ*, indo-ario *čhinátti*, o di lit. *klausyti*, pruss. *klausīton*, paleosl. *slušati*, *sluxŭ*, avèst. *sraoša-*, indo-ario *śṛnóti śrutá-ḥ*, dove vediamo il lituano, anzi il bàltico conservare intatta la velare come le lingue *centum* (gr. κλέος ecc.).

Naturalmente (v. sotto) le occlusive sonore aspirate móstrano esattamente lo stesso trattamento delle occlusive sonore in irànico, slavo e bàltico: quindi lit. *žẽmė*, lètt. *zeme*, pruss. *semmē*, paleoslavo *zemlja*, avèst. *zå*, accus. *ząm*, avv. *zamarə*, indo-ario strum. *ǰmā́*, loc. *ǰmán*, gen. *ǰmáḥ*, ma anche nom. *kṣā́ḥ*, loc. *kṣámi*, strum. *kṣmā́*, gen. *gmáḥ* ecc. con la velare *centum* conservata intatta.

L'epicentro della palatalizzazione (e posteriore assibilazione: si ricordi il lat. *centum* [pron. *kentum*] it. *cento* [pron. *čento*] fr. *cent* [pron. *sã*])

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4. Osserva giustamente l'Arntz (*Sprachl. bez.*, p. 11) che lo slavo « neutralizza » l'opposizione di *š*, *ž* e *s*, *z*, che si conserva invece in bàltico (la parola « neutralizza » non è naturalmente usata dall'Arntz); lo slavo è dunque innovante rispetto al bàltico. E cosí pensa il Pisani. Egli non nota però che lo stesso avviene in irànico (si potrebbe però pensare che il trapasso *k* > *š* > *s* abbia causato il trapasso, frequente in irànico, di *s* > *h*). Il resto di quel che dice l'Arntz non è accettàbile.

5. Cfr. Kati (dialetto Kafiri) *duč* da **dékm̥*, *ǰå* ' ginocchio ' (lat. *genū* ecc.); Kati *jīm* ' neve ' (lat. *hiems*, gr. χιών ecc.); Kati *ǰī*, Waigali *ǰī* ' bowstring ' (gr. βιός); Kati *ǰā́r'*, Waigali *ǰā́* ' uccídere ' (gr. θείνω, ἔπεφνον ecc.) ecc.; cfr. M. B. Emeneau in *Ancient Indo-European dialects*, edited by H. Birnbaum and J. Puhvel, Berkeley e Los Angeles, 1966, pp. 137 sgg. (con bibl. a p. 137). Emeneau conclude quindi a p. 138: « Kafiri is in the main Indo-Aryan in vocabulary and phonology, but it retains the pre-Indo-Aryan treatment of the two palatal [?!!! G. B.] series, and, if Morgenstierne is correct in his view of the relationship of the Kafiri dental affricates to the Indo-European palatal [?] series, it represents a very archaic stage of things in this matter, perhaps a stage of development that may be called Proto-Indo-Iranian ». Invece il Morgenstierne pensa che il Kafiri « split off from the main body of Aryan and penetrated into Indian borderland before the invasion of the Indo-Aryans » (Cfr. Emeneau, *ibidem*; le due opinioni non sono poi molto distanti).

Sul Kafiri v. anche l'eccellente lavoro del Morgenstierne, « *Indo-European k'* [sic!] *in Kafiri* », *NTS.*, 13 (1945), pp. 225 sgg. Credo che però il Morgenstierne abbia torto nel supporre (p. 231) una « common Aryan form [...] *t'*, *d'* ». La « common Aryan form » era *k'*, *g'*, da cui, meglio che da *t'*, *d'*, derivano le palatali *č*, *ǰ* del Kafiri: cfr. per. es. lat. *cēna* > ital. *cena* (*čena*), lat. *gelū*, it. *gelo* (*ǰelo*).

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delle velari è proprio nell'area slavo-iràmica, mentre l'indo-ario da una parte, il bàltico dall'altra móstrano forme piú arcaiche. Símile a quella del bàltico e dell'indo-ario è la posizione dell'armeno, anch'esso ai límiti dell'area centrale del *satəm*. Per l'avèst. *dasa* «dieci» (v. sopra) l'armeno à *tasn*; ma per **sk* l'armeno ha *ç* (=*tsh*), cioè un'affricata aspirata, come l'indo-ario: lat. *poscit*, ted. *forscht*, paleosl. *prositi*, avèst. *frašī*, *pərəsaiti*, indo-ario *prčchắti*, arm. *harçanem*. E anche **ks* i.e. diventa *ç* in armeno: lat. *sex* indo-ario *ṣaṭ* (con *ṭ* occlusiva!) arm. *veç* (il *v-* viene da un'antica iniziale **sw-*, cfr. avèst. *xšvaš*, gr. ἕξ e Fέξ, da *σFέξ). Cosí pure abbiamo *j* (cioè *dz*) in *jiun*, gr. χιών, lat. *hiems*. E cosí *cer*, *aic* (*c*=*ts*), gr. γέρων, αἶγα. Invece abbiamo *z* (come in islavo ed in iràmico) dopo vocale: gr. τεῖχος, avèst. *daēza-* (donde *pairi-daēza-* m. > παράδεισος, *paradiso*), indo-ario *dehī*, arm. *dēz*.

Si pone ora il problema se l'innovazione *satəm* sia piú antica in islavo od in iràmico : e direi che scenda da settentrione (invadendo anche largamente l'indo-ario) giacché un dialetto iràmico meridionale, il persiano, non ha propriamente sibilanti (*s*, *š*) ma per la sorda **k* la fricativa θ (interdentale, ingl. *th* di *thin*) piú imbrogliata di *s* e di *š*, e nel caso dello sonora **g* (e di **g'*) i.e. addirittura spesso l'occlusiva *d*: lat. *uīcus*, avest. *visəm* (accus.), pers. ant. *viθam*; gr. ἅγιος, avèst. *yazaite*, pers. ant. *ā-yadana-* n. «tempio». È una posizione molto símile, anzi quasi idèntica, a quella dell'albanese, pure àrea estrema delle lingue *satəm*, vicina alle lingue *centum*: lat. *cēnset*, paleosl. *sētŭ*, vèd. *śáṃsati*, alb. θom « dico »; lat. *dexter*, avèst. *dašina-*, vèd. *dákṣina-ḥ*, alb. *djaθtë*; lat. *gustus*, gr. γεύεται, avèst. *zaoša-*, pers. ant. *dauštar-* « amico », vèd. *jóṣa-ḥ*, alb. *deša* « amai ». Anche alcuni dialetti kafiri conservano le affricate per **k* e **g* (v. sopra la n. 5).

§ 2. L'iràmico à poi in comune con lo slavo, il bàltico, l'albanese e l'ittita (Sturtevant, *Gr.*, p. 74) la riduzione delle tre serie di occlusive (*t*, *d*, *d'*; *p*, *b*, *b'*, ecc.) a due; cfr. p. es. gr. ἔτι, avèst. *aiti*, pers. ant. *atiy*, indo-ario *áti*; lat. *sedet*, gr. ἕδος, avèst. *hadiš-*, pers. ant. *hadiš-*; gr. ἴθι « va! », avèst. *idi*, pers. ant. *idiy*, indo-ario *ihi* (l'*h* è forse dialettale), *śrudhí* ecc. ecc. Invece in indo-ario, come si vede, le occlusive sonore aspirate si consèrvano. L'iràmico dunque in questi casi si avvicina piú allo slavo che all'indo-ario, e precisamente nell'innovare (v. anche il § precedente).

§ 3. C'è poi una serie di parole, di cui alcune molto importanti, che traggo in parte dal Meillet, *Les dialectes indo-européens*, ristampa, Parigi, 1922, p. 127 (cfr. anche il mio lavoro in *RIL*, 63 [1930], p. 868) [6],

6. Scrive il MEILLET, *Dialectes*, p. 128: « D'autres details confirment ces rapprochements qui sont d'autant plus probants que beaucoup unissent specialement le slave à l'iranien, c'est à dire à la langue la plus voisine ». E accenna poi a νέφο (v. il testo e la nota 10). Alcune di queste parole (dio, capello, celo, santo, lo stesso, scrívere) sono importantíssime. Sui rapporti fra slavo e iràmico v. anche V. PISANI, *Baltico, slavo, iranico*, in *Ricerche slavistiche*, 15 (1967), pp. 4 sgg., e soprattutto le pp. 19 sg.

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alcune delle quali si tròvano solo in iranico ed in islavo [7] ma non in indo-ario: citerò qui in gènere solo le forme iràniche e non le slave corrispondenti: avèst. *baγa-*, pers. ant. *baga-* nel senso di « dio » [8]; pers. ant. *radiy* (prep. posposta) « a causa di »; avèst. *bā* particella (anche greco e armeno); avèst. *spənta-* (anche bàltico); avèst. *kaufa-* (*f* < **ph*); avèst. *hāma-* « lo stesso »; avèst. *naē-čiṯ*; avèst. *drva-*, pers. ant. *duruva-* « sano », paleosl. (*sŭ*)*dravŭ* (cfr. vèd. *dhruvá-ḥ* « sòlido », « fisso », « costante » ecc.): « la communauté du sens de 'bien portant' en slave et en iranien est le fait charactéristique »; avèst. *sravah-*, paleosl. *slovo* « parola » (il vèdico *śrávaḥ*, il paleosl. *slava*, il lit. *šlovẽ* e il gr. κλέος significano « gloria »; il senso di « parola » è dunque, per la norma delle « àree laterali », un'innovazione slavo-iràníca); persiano antico *niyapišam* « ò scritto » ecc. (manca nell'Avesta, ma riappare nell'ossetico *finsun* « scrívere » e forse in sogdiano): corrisponde esattamente al paleosl. *pisati* e al prussiano *peisāton* « scritto », inoltre al tocario A *pek-*, *pik-*, B *paik-*, *piṇk-* « scrívere », paleosl. *pisati* (cfr. Meillet, *Avant-propos* dei *Dialectes*, 1922, p. 15, dove naturalmente màncano le forme tocarie [9]); avèst. *fšarma* « vergogna », pers. *sarm*, paleosl. *sramŭ* (su cui v. E. Benveniste, « Une correspondance irano-slave », in *MSL.*, 23 [1935], pp. 403 sgg.); avèst. *dā-* « schaffen », paleoslavo *dělo*; av. *barəziš*, paleosl. *blazina* nel senso di « cuscino » (Arntz, p. 59); avèst. *nabah-*, paleosl. *nebo*, ittita cuneif. *nepis* (=*nebes*, gen. *nepis-as*=*nebesas*) significano « celo », mentre il vèdico *nábhaḥ* e il lèttone *debess* (*d-*), sempre più vicino allo slavo, ànno il dúplice senso di « núvola » e di « celo » (lituano *debesìs*, piú arcaico, è solo « núvola », come il gr. νέφος). Il senso di « núvola » è piú antico, cfr. il lat. *nebula* e il ted. *nebel*; dunque « àrea isolata » (il latino e anche il germànico) ed « àree laterali » [10] [11]:

greco	*iránico*	*indo*-ario
núvola	*celo*	*celo*, núvola

7. Cfr. anche quanto dico piú sotto del paleosl. *nebo* ' celo ', nella nota 10.

8. Il senso antico dell'iránico *baga-* era senza dubbio quello di ' distributore ', che si conserva ancora nei nomi proprii come **piθva-baga-* (cfr. Mayrhofer, *Wb.*, II, pp. 457 sg.) e nel paleosl. *bogatŭ* ' ricco ', *ne-bogŭ* ' povero '. Dunque *baga-* nel senso di « dio » è innovazione, la parola antica è **deiwo-s*, come è provato e dalla norma dell'« àrea isolata » (lat., cèlt., bàlt., indo-ario) e da quella delle « àree laterali » (indo-ario + latino e cèltico). Dell'iránico antico non abbiamo documenti anteriori a Zaratustra; e fu la sua predicazione a convertire in demonii (*daēva-*) gli antici dèi i. e. (**deiwo-*, indo-ario *devá-ḥ*). L'antico senso di **deiwo-s* sussiste in alcuni dialetti iránici (Mayrhofer, voce *devá-ḥ*, p. 64). Cfr. anche Meillet, *Dial.*, *Avant-propos*, p. 15 (su cui ò riserve).

9. Osserva giustamente il Meillet, *Avatn-propos*, p. 15 (corsivo); « Le cas [de *niyapišam* ecc.] est tout comparable à celui de sl. *slovo*, qui répond pour la forme à skr. *śrávaḥ*, gr. κλέ(F)ος, mais dont le sens se retrouve seulement dans zd. [= avèstico] *sravō* ' parole ' ». E in alto della pàgina scrive: « Aux termes que le slave et l'indo-iranien, mais surtout l'iranien, ont en commun, il faut ajouter » ecc.

10. Dunque, la parola ' núvola ' ha sostituito la parola ' celo ': questo sembra indicare un paese in cui il celo è molto frequentemente nuvoloso, e direi che si adatti piú all'àrea slava che non all'àrea iránica.

11. Seguendo il mètodo del Bàrtoli noto con il carattere corsivo le innovazioni.

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L'ittita gerogl. *tapas* (o *dabas* o *debas*?) è pure «celo» [12] come l'ittita cuneif. *nepes* (o *nebes*), ed à stranamente la stessa iniziale del lit. *debesìs*, lèttone *debess*; avèst. *varəsa-* « capello » (importantíssima isoglossa, perché la parola « capello » muta da un gruppo i.e. all'altro: ted. *haar*, lat. *capillus* ecc. ecc., v. G. Bonfante, *Mél. Bally*, p. 200; tabu: si pensi a Sansone!); avèst. pers. ant. *ava-* « quello ». Troverai altri esempii (alcuni forse recenti) nei miei *Dialetti*, pp. 85 sgg. [13] [14].

§ 4. Un altro punto molto importante in cui l'iranico si separa dall'indo-ario e si avvicina strettissamente allo slavo è il gen. del pronome « io », avèst. *mana*, pers. ant. *manā* (cfr. i miei *Dialetti indoeuropei*, Nàpoli, 1931, p. 83). Gli altri gruppi ànno tutti forme piú o meno divergenti, e forse neppure imparentate: indo-ario *máma* (forse forma raddoppiata, cfr. p. es. lat. *sēsē*, *tūte*), lit. *manęs*, ted. *meiner* ecc.

§ 5. « La particule dépreciative du serbe *kà-vran* n'a de correspondant qu'en iranien » (Meillet, *Dialectes*, p. 16 dell'avant-propos). Cfr. avèst. *ka-mərəδa-* « testa di èsseri daèvici », Walde-Pokorny, II, p. 295; Bartholomae, *Wb.s.u.*

§ 7. La formazione dell'aggettivo definito balto-slavo lit. *geràsis*, paleosl. *dobrŭ-jĭ* si trova anche in iranico: avèstico *Miθrō yō vouru.gaoyaoitiš* (« Mitra, quello che è dai larghi pàscoli »). Si suffigge dunque il pronome relativo *yáḥ* come enclítica; invece in indo-ario è quasi sempre fortemente tònico. V. Meillet, *Dial.*, pp. 43 sg. e i miei *Dialetti*, p. 87; Arntz, *Sprachliche Beziehungen*, pp. 16 sg. Pare che ce ne sia traccia in pāli.

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12. Sull'ittita geroglífico *tapas* (*dabas*, *debes?*) v. il Pisani, *Paideia*, 11 (1956), p. 409 a e il Kronasser, *Vergl. laut- und formenl. des Heth.*, Aidelberga, 1956, p. 228, § 208. Naturalmente il *t* dell'ittita geroglífico può rappresentare anche un **d* indo-europeo, e il *p* un **b* (lit. *debesìs*!).

13. Altri esempii meno sicuri (a mio parere) troverai in Meillet, *Revue des ét. sl.*, 6, pp. 167 sgg.; 172 sgg. Cfr. anche H. Willman-Grabowska, *Symb. gramm. in hon. J. Rozwadowski*, II, 1928, pp. 267 sgg.; H. Arntz, *Sprachliche beziehungen zwischen Arisch und Baltoslawisch*, Aidelb., 193, pp. 60 sgg. (tratta anche della cultura e dell'arte); J. Rozwadowski, *Rocznik orientalistyczny* (1914-1915), pp. 95 sgg.; 111, recensito da O. Hujer in *IJ.*, 4 (1916), p. 220 (« in ganzen 26 entsprechungen »); M. Vasmer, *Rocznik slawist*, 6, p. 173; S. Mladenov, *Revue des ét. sl.*, 4 (1924), pp. 190 sgg. In ogni modo mi pare difficile negare — come fanno varii studiosi — che *sŭto* e *sobaka* siano parole entrate in islavo dall'iranico (si pensi all'albanese *qind* che viene dal latino e al romeno *suta* che viene dallo slavo); non tutti i pòpoli usano con frequenza la parola 100, che pènetra soprattutto attraverso il commercio: cfr. p. es. il russo *sórok* '40' che viene dallo scandinavo, cfr. M. Vasmer, *Russ. et. wb.*, *s.u.u.*

14. Benchè sia un *argumentum ex silentio*, devo ricordare (con l'Arntz, p. 58) che in bàltico, slavo ed iranico si è perduto il nome di Ζεύς, che si conserva invece in indo-ario, in greco, in itàlico, in latino e in certo modo in germànico (ingl. *tuesday* ecc.); il nome del fuoco (lat. *ignis*, paleosl. *ognĭ*, indo-ario *agní-ḥ* ecc.) manca poi all'iranico, che à in sua vece l'av. *ātarš*. Ambedúe pèrdite gravíssime.

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§ 8. I genitivi dei temi in *-i-* ed *-u-* (*-eis*, *-ois*) ànno tre more in baltico (*-iẽs*, *-aũs*), in islavo e in gāθico (*-ōiš*, *-āuš* sono metricamente bisíllabi). Invece in indo-ario abbiamo il dittongo breve *-eṣ*, *-oṣ* (cfr. il mio lavoro in *Dell'intonaz.* ecc., *Mem. Acc. Lincei*, 1930, 3, pp. 209 sgg. e *I nomi greci* in -εύς, in *Studii italiani di filol. classica*, 7 (1929), pp. 205 sgg.

Ometto le isoglosse che congiúngono l'indo-ario, l'iràmico e lo slavo (*isa* > *iša* ecc.) perché naturalmente non riguàrdano il nostro problema.

§ 9. Il trattamento del gruppo *-wy-* tra vocali (diciamo *-owyo-*) divide pure i gruppi di lingue indoeuropee: abbiamo il trattamento *-owyo-* in indo-ario, latino, cèltico, germànico, armeno, greco (è dunque presumibilmente il tipo piú antico); abbiamo *-ouyo-* (con *u* vocàlico) in iràmico, slavo, bàltico; dunque iràmico e indo-ario si tròvano sui due lati opposti, e l'indo-ario presenta il trattamento piú antico (*-wy-*); cfr. Meillet, *Dialectes*, pp. 71 sgg. Es. indo-ario *gávya-ḥ*, arm. *kogi*, gr. (ἐννεά)βοιος, ma avèst. *gaoyąm*; indo-ario *savyá-ḥ*, ma avèst. *haoya-* (**havya-*), pehlevi *hay*, *hayak* (che conferma la grafía avèstica **havya-*), paleosl. *šujĭ* (da **seuyos* > **sieuyos*); indo-ario *návya-ḥ*, iòn. νεῖος, lat. *Nouios*, gàllico *Nouio-*(*dūnum*), gallese *newydd*, irl. ant. *nūe* (da **nowyo-s*), ma lit. *naũjas*, gòt. *niujis*.

Il germànico occidentale, il bàltico e il greco (Meillet, *Dial.*, pp. 73 sg.) consèrvano traccia di una pronuncia intermedia *-ouwyo-*; il che fa risaltare ancor piú la netta concordanza fra lo slavo e l'iràmico nell'innovare.

§ 10. È noto che lo **ə* i.e. à dato *i* in iràmico e in indo-ario (è anzi questa una delle isoglosse piú típiche che uníscono questi due gruppi): lat. *pater*, gr. πατήρ, avèst. *pita*, indo-ario *pitā́*. Ma il Meillet, *Dial.*, p. 63 osserva giustamente che lo **ə* i.e., débole per sua natura (è il grado ridotto di **ā*, **ē*, **ō*), cade in alcuni gruppi linguístici [15] in condizioni speciali: « A l'interieur du mot (c'est à dire dans une syllabe qui ne soit ni initiale ni finale) **ə* se maintient généralement [!] en sanskrit d'une

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15. Non c'è qui, come in nessun caso, regolarità assoluta: in avèstico abbiamo anche gāθ. *ptā*, *tā* (Walde-Pokorny, I, p. 4), *ptarəm* (Mayrhofer, *Wb.*, p. 278), *f(ə)δrōi*, accanto all'avèst. *pita*, pehlevi *pit* ecc. (troverai una spiegazione a mio parere un po' débole in Meillet, *Dial.*, p. 66). Sulle forme dell'iràmico medio (*pit*, *pid*, *pitar*, *pidar*) v. Meillet, *MSL.*, 22 (1922), p. 224. L'opposizione fra iràmico ed indo-ario nel trattamento di **ə* è nettíssima (cfr. Meillet, *MSL.*, 20 [1918], pp. 291 sgg.); le forme avèstiche del tipo *ptā*, *tā* (e cosí pure *hufədrīš*, dove lo *ə* è puramente gràfico, come in *fəδrōi*) sono spiegate molto bene dal Meillet, *MSL*, 20 (1918), pp. 286 sgg.

Per 'padre' cfr. p. es. ted. *vater*, ingl. *father*, lat. *pater*, gr. πατήρ, arm. *hair*, toc. A *pācar*, B *pačer*, il cui **a* è in realtà uno **ə*, cfr. il vèdico *pitā́*. In islavo ed in bàltico la parola è scomparsa ma il paleosl. *stryji* 'zio' da **ptr-* = vèd. *pitṛvíya-ḥ* potrebbe serbar traccia di una forma senza **ə*, cfr. Mayrhofer, *Wb.*, II, pp. 277, 279; e forse anche il búlgaro *pá-strok* 'suòcero' e il dio russo ant. *Stribogŭ*, *ibid.* (cfr. Ζεύς πατήρ, che è anche latino, umbro e vèdico).

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part, en grec, italique [compreso il latino G.B.] et celtique de l'autre, mais tombe toujours en iranien, slave, baltique, arménien et germanique. Le maintien de **ə* en sanskrit n'atteste evidemment aucune parenté spéciale du sanskrit avec le grec, l'italique [sic!] et le celtique [àree laterali! G.B.], car il ne s'agit que de la conservation de l'état ancien; mais la chute commune de **ə* dans les langues géographiquement groupées: iranien, slave, baltique, arménien et germanique, est à noter, comme un fait dialectal important. L'exemple charactéristique est: sanskrit *duhitā́*, gr. θυγάτηρ, mais gāθique *dugədā* (dissyllabique), zd. [=avèstico] *duγda*, arm. *dustr*, sl. *dušti*, lit. *duktẽ*, got. *dauhtar* [tedesco *tochter*, ingl. *daughter* ecc.; invece il tocario conserva **ə*, cfr. A *pāčar*, B *pāčer*; A *čkāčar*, B *tkāčer*]. La chute de **ə* a été assez ancienne pour que la loi de M. Bartholomae se soit appliquée en indo-iranien. » (cosí si spiega il secondo *d* di gāθico *dugəda* di fronte al *t* di vèd. *duhitā́*, gr. θυγάτηρ ecc. ecc.). Altri esempii chiaríssimi per l'iràmico fornisce poi il Meillet alla p. 65; in indo-ario pure **ə* cade talvolta, ma assai piú raramente e in condizioni speciali (ivi pp. 66 sgg: soprattutto dopo *y* preceduto da vocale). Il Meillet osserva poi che **ə* si conserva talvolta in qualche modo in gèrmanico (ted. ant. *birihha*, *halam*, forse *miluh*) e forse in armeno (Meillet, ivi, pp. 64 sg.); sicché risalta ancor piú netta la connessione tra slavo ed iràmico. Conclude il Meillet a p. 70: « Il demeure donc que **ə* intérieur tendait à s'amuir dans tout l'ensemble des dialectes indo-européens; la chute s'est réalisée dans des conditions identiques, d'une part en iranien, slave, baltique, arménien et germanique, de l'autre en grec [ma θυγάτηρ!!] et en latin (et peut être ailleurs: les exemples manquent. Le sanskrit presente un type de chute après *y* qui lui est propre, de même que l'indo-iranien a un traitement *i* de i.e. **ə* qui ne se trouve nulle part ailleurs » [16] [17].

V. anche il Porzig, *Gliederung*, pp. 164 sgg., che però al sòlito non separa l'indo-ario dall'iràmico. Lo stesso dícasi per H. Arntz, *Sprachliche beziehungen zwischen Arisch und Balto-Slawisch*, Aidelberga, 1933, al quale devo osservare che nel 1933 ignora completamente i miei *Dialetti*, che sono del 1931 (e spaccia quindi per sue varie cose già osservate

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16. L'osco *Genetaí* (dativo, Von Planta n. 200 due volte) ha un *e* al posto di **ə*, fatto assai caratterístico e che accosta l'osco strettamente al greco γενέτωρ, γενέτειρα (come in varii casi); cfr. vèd. *jánitrī*. A torto il Buck, *Elementarbuch*, p. 25, § 30 vede nel secondo *e* di *Genetaí* un *e* i. e., cosa assolutamente impossibile. Il lat. *genetrix* si spiega con il Sommer, *Hb.*[2-3], pp. 97 sgg., Leumann, *Gr.*, p. 82 (cfr. *penetrat*, *cerebrum*, *celebrem*, *terebrō*, *uretra*, *perpetro*, *tenebrae*, ecc.) a causa del gruppo consonantico *-tr-* che segue e che chiude la síllaba (cfr. *talentum*, *Tarentum*, *confectus*, *scelestus* ecc. ecc.): e l'*e* di *genetiuos* forse con Leumann, p. 82 (cfr. *sepelit dēfetīgat*) o per analoggía di *generāre*.

17. Non direi, con il Meillet (p. 65), che nel got. *fulls* da **fulnaz* c'è stata « chute de **ə* »; lo **ə* si è fuso con l'**l̥* precedente e à dato **l̥*, che in germànico dà *ul* esattamente come **l̥*.

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da me). A p. 6 cita però alcune affermazioni del Meillet che nota affinità speciali fra l'iranico e lo slavo (e che non tóccano l'indo-ario) [18] [19].

Nelle pp. 35-37 dà poi una lunga serie di parole che appàiono soltanto in indo-iranico e in bàltico; ma non bisogna lasciarsi intimidire dalle cifre date nello specchietto di p. 57, perché l'indo-ario e lo slavo ci sono noti molto meglio dell'iranico antico.

§ 10. Nei miei *Dialetti i.e.*, pp. 87 sg. noto due isoglosse [20] che congiúngono l'iranico con il bàltico; è presumíbile («àree laterali») che un tempo anche lo slavo vi prendesse parte, e le abbia poi perdute, cosí come à perduto tanti elementi i.e. antichi. V. anche il Porzig, *Gliederung*, pp. 168 sg. (a p. 165 nota però un interessante uso del pronome **yós* che separa l'iranico dall'indo-ario). L'Arntz poi (*Sprachl. bez.* cit., p. 20) nota che il lituano *pàts* « (egli) » [21], che non è altro che il gr. πόσις, vèd. *pátiḥ* ecc., riappare in avèstico *xᵛaē-paiθya-* « il (mio, tuo, suo) proprio »; cfr. anche Havers, *Tabu*, pp. 138 ss. La scomparsa (sicura) del futuro in **-syo-* in islavo (Arntz, pp. 22 sg. 25; Meillet, *Slave commun*, pp. 200 sg.) è un bell'esempio di questo tipo di isoglosse. Ricorderò ancora il suffisso di avèst. *zaranaēna-* ecc. che corrisponde al lit. *kvietaĩnis*; v. Arntz, p. 29. Altri esempii in Arntz, p. 31.

Vi sono poi varie isoglosse, alcune importantíssime, che congiúngono l'iranico con il greco (e talvolta con l'armeno) [21 bis], ed a cui l'indo-ario non prende parte (v. i miei *Dialetti*, p. 131 con la n. 1 e le pp. segg.).

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18. L'única forma gāθica in *-tā* per la III pers. del duale mi pare un débole appoggio per avvicinare lo slavo *-ta* (MEILLET, *Sl. commun*, p. 278; ARNTZ, p. 27); ma la cosa non va trascurata!

19. Solo in islavo ed in indo-iranico troviamo la costruzione dell'infinito con il dativo; scrive l'ARNTZ, p. 32: « Ludwig, *Inf.*, 22 ff. bringt reichhaltiges material fur eine ar.-bsl. wichtige übereinstimmung: Die konstruktion des inf. mit dem dat. (bzw. lok.). Fur die beispiele verweise ich auf Ludwig. Im Abg. stehen subjekt und prädikat häufig im dat., wenn das verbum infinitiv ist; in genauer analogie zum ved. und av. gebrauch ». Ivi alle pp. 32 sg. troverai una concordanza tra indo-ario e slavo, che certo includeva un tempo l'iranico (paleosl. *bratusestroma* dat. duale).

E non diméntico il tipo *mātă* per *māter* (con scomparsa di *-r*), né la « preposizione » posposta *kám*, che si trova anche in av. (*kąm*) e in islavo (*kŭ-n*); ma nel R.V. *kám* appare solo dopo *nú*, *sú*, *hí*, cfr. gr. νύ κεν, itt. *nu kan*.

20. Mi resta invece qualche dubbio sull'isoglossa « baltico-aria » del vocativo citata dall'ARNTZ a p. 12; ma siccome si tratterebbe qui dell'indo-ario e non dell'iranico, non ò da trattarne in questo luogo.

21. Che un nome sia usato come pronome è cosa che non deve stupire: cfr. p. es. il vèdico *ātmă* ' (lui) stesso ', con lo stesso senso del lit. *pàts*. Inoltre *Sua Maestà*, *Sua Eccellenza*, sic. *vossía*, lígure *ša*, sp. *Vd.* (= *Vuestra Merced*), ecc.

21 bis. Non stupisce che talvolta l'iranico si congiunga (in apparenza) direttamente al greco, perché in armeno l'elemento indoeuropeo per noti motivi è rimasto assai scarso e débole, soprattutto nel lèssico; anche a prescíndere dal fatto che i nostri testi armeni sono circa 2000 anni posteriori ai piú antichi testi greci, e di circa mille anni ai testi iranici.

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§ 1. Abbiamo la II pers. sing. dell'imperfetto medio in **-so*, avèst. *-zayanha* = gr. ἐφέρεο (*Dialetti*, p. 138).

§ 2. L'avèstico *aēva-*, pers. ant. *aiva-* non trova corrispondenza che nel greco omèrico οἷος (leggi οἰFος) e nel cipriota οἰFος: le altre lingue (lat. *oinos*, ted. *eins*, indo-ario *éka-ḥ* ecc.) ànno la stessa radice **oi-* ma con altri suffissi. Si noti che i dialetti greci divèrgono fra loro (gli altri dialetti ànno altre forme; p. es. àttico οἰνός od οἶνος, femm. οἰνή, come in latino). I dialetti orientali (!!) avévano forse οἰFος, gli occidentali gr. οἶνος lat. *oinos*, ted. *eins*, gòt. *ains*.

§ 3. La preposizione avèst. *paiti*, pers. ant. *patiy* riappare solo nell'omèrico lacònico dèlfico eracleota eleo tessàlico beòtico ποτι (l'arcado-ciprio πος è discutíbile). Anche qui, come nel caso precedente, l'iràmico concorda con i dialetti « achei », e con l'omèrico, che ebbe certo una forte componente « achea » (cioè orientale). Nei dialetti dòrici e in eleo si tratta naturalmente di sostrato « acheo ».

§ 4. L'avèstico *yasča* corrisponde al greco ὅστε (non indefinito).

§ 5. L'avèstico *ma-* « mio » corrisponde al greco ἐμός (ἐ- è dovuto a pròstesi, che in greco è frequente davanti a nasale: ὀμιχέω, ἀνεψιός ecc.).

§ 6. Solo in iràmico e in greco troviamo l'enclítica **-de* proposta per indicare moto a luogo: avèst. *vaēsmən-da*, gr. οἴκαδε, οἰκόνδε, Ἀθήναζε (da *-zde*).

§ 7. Sembra che in greco in alcuni casi **-t* (o **d*?) finale dia *-s* (πολλάκις, τετράκις, πεντάκις [=avèst. *-čiṯ*], καλῶς (abl. *-ōd*), εἰδός = vèdico *vidvát*, τῆος = vèd. *tắvat*, ἦος = vèd. *yắvat*, il quale corrisponde al *-ṯ* finale avestico (da **-t* o **-d*), per il quale una pronuncia fricativa pare certa (v. i miei *Dialetti*, p. 137). E anche qui troviamo l'iràmico in accordo in particolare con il cipriota, per cui Esichio ci dà ἐλθετῶς e φατῶς, II imper. sing., vèd. *vittắt*, *bhavatāt* II pers. sing. ecc. (questo imperat. manca in iràmico). Cfr. Thumb-Scherer, II², p. 168; Schwyzer, *Gramm.*, I, p. 803.

§ 8. Un'importante isoglossa unisce invece l'iràmico all'armeno, al licio (ma non al milio!) e al greco; ed è l'aspirazione di **s* intervocàlico ed iniziale, seguita in greco e in armeno da caduta tra vocali (di cui la seconda può èssere anche semivocale) e in posizione iniziale (invece in iràmico [22] *s* aspira anche davanti a *m*, che è una sonora: **esmi* > avèst.

22. Il MEILLET, *Dialectes*, p. 87, scrive una pagina che è una bella difesa dell'isoglossa i.e. **s* > *h*; alla fine della pagina è preso da scrúpoli, e scrive che « c'est un fait indo-européen relativement récent ». Non lo contesto: ma resta un fatto i.e. Osserva poi che il trapasso *s* > *h* è piú recente del trapasso *isa* > *iša* che è iràmico, indo-ario slavo e forse in parte bàltico, armeno, greco e cèltico (ἄρκτος, cfr. MEILLET, *ibid.*, pp. 84 sgg.); dunque molto antico. L'indoeuropeo à la sua storia, durata

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ahmi; per altri fatti iranici rimando a Brugmann, *Grundr.*[2], I, 1897, pp. 737 sgg.). Data la (relativa) contiguità geografica di queste lingue e la concordanza con altre innovazioni (aumento, **-dhi* loc. e imper., gen. in **-osyo*, oltre a quelle elencate di sopra, pure estranee all'ittita) io non ò dubbii che si tratti di un'isoglossa indo-europea (per i testi di Mitanni v. sotto, in fine). Con ragione dice il Pisani che pretendere di separare lo stesso fenomeno **s* > h in quattro lingue contigue « esige la fede nei miracoli ». Cfr. invece Meillet, *Dial.*, pp. 86 sgg.

Ecco qualche esempio:

avest. loc. *vačahi*, gr. omer. ἔπεϊ dat. di ἔπος: ved. *váčasi*;
avest., pers. ant. *hama-*, gr. ὁμός: ved. *samá-ḥ*;
avest. *hapta*, arm. *ewtᶜn*, gr. ἑπτά: ved. *saptá*.

Invece davanti a occlusiva sorda *s* si conserva in tutte queste lingue: gr. ἐστί, avest. *asti*, pers. ant. *astiy*, ved. *ásti*.

Per il licio citerò *cbihu*: milio *tbisu*, *ehetehi*: milio *esetesi*, dove troviamo anche il gen. sing. *-ehi*, milio *-esi* (Meriggi, *Festschrift Hirt*, II, Aidelb. 1936, pp. 260 sgg.), che è probabilmente l'**-osyo* (falisco, gr., arm., iran., indo-ario: la semivocale *y* è considerata come una vocale, cfr. il lat. *iugum*, *uiuos* e l'it. *ieri*, *vivo* dove si usa lo stesso segno per la vocale e la semivocale) [22].

Il fatto che il trattamento di **s-* iniziale in queste lingue sia identico a quello interno intervocalico mi fa sospettare naturalmente che la finale di parola fosse spesso vocalica, il che è vero per l'armeno preistorico e in gran parte vero per il greco, dove cadono tutte le occlusive finali (*-t*, *-d*, *-k*, *-dh*, *-gh* ecc.), e restano solo *-r*, *-n*, *-s*.

Anche in persiano antico e forse in avestico le occlusive finali erano assai deboli (avest. *-ṯ*, pers. ant. *-h*); anche *-s* finale scompare spesso sia in avestico sia in pers. ant.: avest. nom. acc. *vačō*, gr. ἔπος, ved. *váčaḥ*

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millennii, e non si può pretendere che tutti i trapassi siano stati contemporanei. Da quel che dice il Meillet deduciamo che *isa* > *iša* è molto antico; e lo stesso dicasi per l'armeno *skesur* (ivi p. 88).

Sull'*s* dei testi di Mitanni v. lo stesso Meillet, *Dial.*, p. 137, « additions » alle p. 86 e sg. e quel che segue in fine a questo lavoro.

Non posso invece approvare in nessun modo quanto scrive il Meillet, *Avant-propos de la réimpression*, p. 14: « Le passage de *s* à *h* à l'initiale des mots et en position intervocalique, tel qu'on l'observe en iranien, en arménien et en grec, ne prouve sans doute guère pour un rapprochement des originaux indo-européens de ces trois langues. Ce n'est en effet que l'une des marques de la faiblesse d'articulation des consonnes qui les caractérise toutes les trois (v. *MSL.*, 14 [1906-8], p. 163 et suiv.) ». A prescindere dal fatto che abbiamo ora scoperto una quarta lingua che presenta il trapasso *s* > *h*, e che è intermedia fra l'armeno e il greco: e cioè il licio.

In altre parole il Meillet è regredito dall'opinione giusta a quella errata.

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(ma *vačō* in certe posizioni!); avèst. *haēnayå*, pers. ant. *haināyā*, vèd. *sénāyāḥ*. L'*h* (o *ḥ*) è in ogni modo un indebolimento netto di *-s*, e notoriamente scompare piú facilmente di *-s*.

Anche qui possiamo applicare la norma delle aree laterali:

latino	*greco*	*licio*	*armeno*	*avèstico*	vèdico
septem	ἑπτά	*-ehi*	*ewtᵉn*	*hapta*	saptá

Alcuni dialetti iranici orientali, montani, ànno conservato *s* (come ànno conservato *rēx*, cfr. Mayrhofer, *s.u. rājā*; ma questo è naturale; v. anche la n. 5 sul Kafiri).

§ 9. Le sorde aspirate (*k'*, *p'*, *t'*), assai rare del resto, sono in complesso piuttosto ben conservate solo in indo-ario; ve ne sono tracce indirette in greco, in armeno, in iranico ed in islavo; nelle altre lingue non esístono (al loro posto ci sono le sémplici sorde *k*, *t*, *p* o i loro usuali sostituti) [23]: vèd. *pṛthú-ḥ*, gr. πλατύς e πλάθανον, avèst. *pərəθu-š*; vèd. *phénaḥ*, lat. *spūma*, ingl. *foam*, ted. *feim*, paleosl. *pěna*, pruss. *spoayno*, lit. *spáinė*; vèd. *rátha-ḥ*, lat. *rota*, ted. *rad*; ma anche vèdico *nakhá-ḥ*, pers. mod. *nāxun*, gr. ὄνυξ, ὄνυχος, e anche (nota il greco!) vèd. *svādiṣṭha-ḥ*, gr. ἥδιστος, ted. *süszeste*, ingl. *sweetest* ecc. (Molti altri esempii in Brugmann, *Grundr.*, II², 1, pp. 391 sgg.). Altre tesi (Pisani) sono da respíngere. Di quest'argomento ò trattato in varii luoghi dei miei *Dialetti*, e non ò oggi mutato opinione (v. p. es. pp. 80 sgg., 93 sg., 140 sg.) [23].

E tuttavía anche qui possiamo scoprire una significativa isoglossa che unisce l'iranico al greco ed allo slavo: dopo *s* ed *n* l'aspirazione (o meglio il suo sostituto) si perde di règola in iranico ed in greco: oltre al tipo ἥδιστος, assai frequente, che ò citato di sopra, menzionerò (Brugmann, I²,2, p. 646) l'indo-ario *véttha*, avèstico *vōistā* (ma gr. οἶσθα: cfr. invece indo-ario *dadátha*, gaθico dadáθā, lat. *dedistī*); indo-ario *sphuráti*, avest. *sparaṭ*, lat. *spernit*, ted. *sporn*; indo-ario *sthá* « siete », gāθico *stā* (ma gāθico *xšayaθā* « voi dominate »), gr. ἐστέ, lat. *estis*; indo-ario *pánthā-ḥ* « via », avèst. *pantå*, gr. πόντος, paleosl. *pōtĭ*, lat. *pōns pontis* (il ted. *pfad* ing. *path* sembra di origine iranica); indo-ario *skhálati*, avèst. *skārayant-*; sànscrito *skhadate* (*Dhātup.*), avèst. *skəndа- sčandayeiti*; indo-ario *tísthati ásthāt*, avèst. *stā-*, (*aspō-*)*stāna-*, pers. ant. *niyaštāyam*, gr. ἵστησι ἔστη, lat. *sistit status* ecc. ecc. (del resto pare che anche in indo-

23. Anche il BRUGMANN (*Grundr.*, II², 3, p. 625 e altrove) ammette sorde aspirate in Occidente (lat. itàl. cèlt. germ.); idea che secondo me è da respíngere. Prescindo naturalmente dalle laringali, che per me sono pura mitología, e che sono state invocate anche per questo problema (ma per quale problema *non* sono state invocate?).

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ario ci sia *st*, forse per influsso dialettale, cfr. *upa-sti-ḥ*, Mayrhofer, III, pp. 515,527); sànscrito *sthagati*, gr. στέγος e τέγος, lat. *tegit*, ted. *deckt* [24].

In ogni modo, l'iràmico mostra (quando le mostra) fricative sorde al posto delle sorde aspirate dell'indo-ario: le sorde aspirate non costituíscono quindi una categoría autònoma, come in indo-ario, ma sono rappresentate da suoni di altra natura (fricative e non occlusive) che si tròvano anche in altre posizioni ed ànno spesso altra orígine (v. Brugmann, loc. cit.). Cfr. anche Meillet, *Dialectes*, pp. 78 sgg.

§ 10. Tra le isoglosse greco-iràniche dovremmo anche annoverare la desinenza della prima persona dei verbi tematici lat. *-ō*, gr. -ω, gāθ. *-ā*: nelle gāθā si trova regolarmente *-ā*, p. es. *spasyā*, mentre nell'Avesta seriore abbiamo *-ā-mi* (per « ipercaratterizzazione », come dice il Tovar): *barāmi* [25], e cosí nel persiano ant.: *dārayāmiy*, come nel vèdico e sànscrito clàssico *dharáyāmi* (nel vèdico si trova *-ā* solo una volta nel congiuntivo, cfr. Meillet, *MSL*,22 [1922] pp. 220 s.). Qui l'innovazione è però dalla parte dell'indo-ario, ed è penetrata in Iran da Oriente (símile fenomeno si riscontra anche in serbo e in sloveno, indipendentemente dall'indo-ario). L'armeno à pure un'innovazione, *-m*, che deriva da *-mi* (le vocali finali càdono in armeno): *berem*, *lk'anem* ecc.; forse tutti formati però sul verbo « èssere », *em* (*es*, *ē*); cfr. Brugmann, *Grundr.* [2], II,3, pp. 515 sgg.; Meillet, *avant-propos*, p. 7 corsivo. Lo slavo à *-ā*, che è forse **-ām*(?) [25].

Tralascio le varie, importantíssime isoglosse greco-armeno-iràmico-indo-arie (aumento, medio in *-[m]ai -sai- -tai* ecc., la distinzione di perfetto e aoristo, il gen. in **-osyo* [26], il locativo in *-dhi*, l'imperativo in *-dhi*, il raddoppiamento obbligatorio con *-e-* del tipo λέλοιπα, πέποιθα, il pro-

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24. Dal punto di vista strutturale, la scomparsa delle sorde aspirate **k' *t' *p'* lasciò libero il passo in greco (e forse in armeno, in latino ed in itàlico) al trapasso delle aspirate sonore **g' *d' *b'* in **k' *t' *p'* (greco φέρει = vèd. *bhárati*).

25. Che l'avèst. *barāmi* abbia a che fare con lo slavo *-ā* (ARNITZ, *Bez.*, pp. 26 sg.) mi pare alquanto dubbio; ma non è da esclúdere una desinenza « secondaria » **-m* (è noto che in i.e. la differenza tra desinenze primarie e secondarie è tenue e spesso inesistente).

26. **-osyo* arriva certo anche al falisco, e quindi apparteneva un tempo senza dubbio all'itàlico (che lo sostituí con l'innovazione *-eis*, come bene osserva il Devoto). Quanto a **-bhis *-bhos* (per **-mis *-mos* del settentrione), l'isoglossa arriva anche all'itàlico, al latino ed al cèltico.

Anche **ṇ* > *a* (*an-* davanti a vocale, prefisso negativo, gr. ἀν-αγής, vèd. *án-āgāḥ* 'innocente') è indo-ario e greco: l'armeno, l'itàlico (in parte, umbro ANFEHTAF = lat. *infectās*, ANTAKRES = lat. *integrīs*) ed il britànnico ànno *an-*, ma certo la forma più antica di *a-* fu *an-*, che si conserva in ἀν-αγής ecc.

Ma anche il tocario ha *-a* (e *an-* davanti a vocale) o *en-* come il latino, cfr. B *an-ayätte* 'non dato', ma A *ā-knast*, B *a-kātsa* « ignorante », B *em-palkaitte* 'negligente' ecc., cfr. VAN WINDEKENS, *Lex.*, pp. XLI, 3, 17 sg. La lunga di *ā-knats* indica l'accento tocario, che allunga la vocale.

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nome relativo **yó-s* [27], i pronomi personali **ṇsme*, **yusme* [28]), perché naturalmente non ànno diretta relazione con il nostro argomento, che concerne i rapporti fra l'iràmico e l'indo-ario [29] [30].

§ 1. Un caso particolare, e molto importante, ci è fornito dal trattamento dell'**l* i.e. (cfr. Meillet, *Dial., Avant propos de la réimpression*, pp. 8 sg.). Questo suono diventa regolarmente *r* in tutti i dialetti iràmici: in indo-ario invece solo in alcune parole, mentre in altre si conserva, senza che se ne possa trovare alcuna *ratio*. Ecco qualche esempio (J. Wackernagel, *Altind. gr.*, I, Gottinga, 1896, pp. 214 sgg.; L. Renou, *Gramm. de la langue védique*, Parigi, 1962, pp. 59 sgg., piú succinto):

lat. *lūcus*, vèd. *(u)loká-ḥ* « posto líbero »;
lat. *cluit*, vèd. *ślóka-ḥ*;
lat. *leuis*, saṃh. *laghú-ḥ*;
lat. *lubet*, ved. *lúbhyati*;
lat. *lūcet*, vèd. *lókate, lokáyati* ecc. ecc.

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27. Il pronome relativo **yó-s* con piena forza si trova anche in paleoslavo, rinforzato con *-že* (cfr. il gr. ὅσγε); cfr. Meillet, *Ling. hist. et ling. gén.*, I², p. 168; Brugmann, *Grundr.*, II², 2, 1, p. 347. Anche nel frigio (antenato dell'armeno) si trova ιοςνι, e forse anche in armeno. Altra cosa è il lit. *geràs-is*, paleosl. *dobrŭ-jĭ* ecc., di cui parlo nel testo, dove **yo-s* ha funzione di sémplice artícolo (come in iràmico).

In paleoslavo si trova anche (raramente) la forma **yo-* senza la particella *-že*: v. Diels, *Altkirchensl. gr.*, I, Aid., 1963, p. 205, § 88, n. 4.

28. Gr. lèsb. ἄμμε (àtt. ἡμεῖς), avèst. *ahma*, pers. ant. *amāxam*, vèdico accus. *asmán*; gr. lèsb. ὔμμε (àtt. ὑμεῖς), avèst. *yūšma-*, vèdico accus. *yuṣmán* gen. *yuṣmákam*. L'armeno ha varie innovazioni, non tutte chiare, p. es. *duk'* ' voi ' dal sing. **tū*, *mek'* ' noi ' nom., *mez* ' a noi ' dat. dal sing. **me*, *jez* ' a voi ' con *j-* dal *y-* di **yūs* ' voi ', *mez* ' a noi ' dal sing. *k'ez* ' a te ' (cfr. Pisani, *Lezioni di armeno*, Milano, 1945-6, pp. 110 sg., non molto perspicuo né esauriente). L'influsso del sing. **me* sul plurale si nota anche in altre lingue (pali slavo lituano prussiano norvegese bavarese).

Il gāθico *yūš* nom. (e *yūžəm* avèst. seriore *yūžəm* con *-əm* da *-am* aggiunto) ' voi ' corrisponde esattamente al gòt. *jus* (che si può lèggere *jūs*); non so dire se sia forma antica, in ogni modo diverge dal vèdico *yūyám*.

29. Anche fra il greco, l'indo-iràmico (e anche l'ittita) e l'indo-ario esiste tutta una serie di concordanze lessicali, che non istò ad elencare: citerò a caso gr. πέλεκυς ecc. (v. Mayrhofer, *Wb.*, II, p. 213), θείνει nel senso di « uccide » (anche itt. *kuenzi*); κεῖται ecc. (è anche ittita: *kittari*, cioè *ketari*, Sturtevant, *Gr.*¹, p. 100); gr. ἑκών, itt. *uekzi* ' desídera ', av. *vasmi*, vèd. *vášṭi*; χίλια (v. i miei *Dialetti*, p. 136); ἧσται (anche ittita); altri numerosi esempii troverai alle pp. 146 sg. dei miei *Dialetti*.

Anche il Porzig, *Die gliederung des indogermanischen sprachgebietes*, Aidelberga, 1954, pp. 162 enúmera alcune concordanze lessicali fra greco, armeno e ario. Ma, a prescíndere dal fatto che non parla mai di concordanze morfològiche (pure importantíssime), egli non separa mai l'iràmico dall'indo-ario, il che rende il suo libro inútile per i miei scopi.

Di isoglosse lessicali esclusivamente greco-iràniche citerò avèst. *gav-* (gr. ἐγγύς) e *nasu-* (gr. νέκυς).

30. Probàbile è anche la connessione fra greco e indo-iràmico per quanto riguarda la mètrica e il ritmo: v. Meillet, *MSL*, 22 (1922), pp. 193 sgg. Certi versi di Saffo (ποικιλόθρον' ἀθάνατ' Ἀφροδίτα) si ritròvano tali e quali nel Rigveda (dove soltanto la mètrica è alquanto piú libera).

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Si osserva che *l* cresce progressivamente nei testi piú tardi, mentre nel R.V. è raro, all'infuori del X Maṇḍala, notoriamente recente. Qualcuno à pensato perciò che l'indo-ario trasformasse originariamente tutti gli *l* in *r*, e poi per qualche motivo non chiaro tornasse ad *l*. Tale opinione (Wackernagel, *Gr.*, I, pp. 214 sg.) non è sostenibile, non fosse che per il semplice fatto che nei testi piú antichi *l* appare (accanto ad *r*) nelle parole che avévano *l* in i.e. (védine alcune citate di sopra). È evidente che esistévano in indo-ario alcuni dialetti rotacizzanti ed altri che invece conservàvano l'*l*: ai primi apparteneva in prevalenza la lingua del R.V. (tolto il X Maṇḍala), agli altri i dialetti dei testi piú recenti. Si tratta dunque di una típica fusione dialettale, che ebbe come risultato che spesso si usò *l* anche al posto di un antico *r* i.e.; p. es. (già nel R.V.): *lohitá-ḥ* « rosso » accanto a *rohitá-ḥ*: lat. *rōbīgō* (l'*h* indo-ario è anch'esso dialettale); *úpala-ḥ* « la parte superiore della mola »: *upári*, gr. ὑπέρ; *pálāyate* « scappa » da *párā*+*éti*: av. pers. ant. *parǎ*, gr. πέρι, πέρα, πέραν, itt. cun. *para*, lat. *per*; saṃh. *lup-* « strappare »: lat. *rumpit*, *rūpit*; saṁh. *babhluśá-ḥ* « brunastro » accanto a *babhruka-ḥ*, *babhrú-ḥ*: lat. *fiber*, ted. *biber*.

Insomma, il risultato fu una grande confusione, che però mostra chiaramente che alcuni dialetti indo-arii, estrànei al R.V., avévano conservato l'*l* i.e. Certo è piuttosto raro in indo-ario: si càlcola che in indo-ario la proposizione di *l* e di *r* sia di 1 a 7, in greco invece di 6 a 7 (Wackernagel, *Gramm.*, I, pp. 214 sg.). È chiaro che l'innovazione iràn ica *l* > *r* non invase tutta la regione di lingua indo-aria, e che persistèttero larghe zone di questa dove *l* si conservò, e poi crebbe progressivamente, per motivi che non conosciamo bene (espansione dei dialetti con *l*).

§ 2. Un'isoglossa che separa nettamente l'indo-ario da tutte le altre lingue i.e. è il trattamento dei gruppi dentale+*t*, che dànno in Occidente *-ss-* (lat. *missus iussus russus*, ted. *gewiss*, irl. ant. *fess* ecc.), in Oriente *st-* (lat. *uīsus*, ted. *gewiss*, ma gr. ἄ-ιστος, avèst. *vista-*, lit. *veizdėti*; lat. *russus*: lit. *rūstas*, gr. ὠμηστής da ἔδομαι; in indo-ario abbiamo *-tt-*: vèd. *páttum* = lat. *pessum*; vèd. *sattá-ḥ* = lat. *-sessus*; vèdico *vittá-ḥ* = lat. *uīsus* (da **uīssos*); *vṛttá-ḥ* = lat. *uorsus*, *uersus*; *dattá-ḥ* da **da-d-tá-ḥ*; *véttha* da **ved*+*tha*, lit. ant. *veizdi*. Ora in iràn ico abbiamo il trattamento orientale, avest. *hasta-*: lat. *sessus*; avest. *ustəma-*: gr. ὕστερον, (vèd. *úttara-ḥ*); gāθico *vōistā*, gr. οἶσθα (= indo-ario *véttha*), ma non quello dell'indo-ario (quale poi sia piú antico è oggetto di discussione) [31] [32].

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31. A p. 60 sg. il MEILLET si oppone con ragione all'idea che il trattamento indo-ario *-tt-* (e gli altri trattamenti consímili) non sia antico, ma sia dovuto ad analogía: « La conclusion de M. JOHANSSON ne s'impose donc pas *a priori*. Et en fait elle doit être repoussée, car si l'on admet que l'ancien **tst* donne phonetiquement skr. *st*, on ne conçoit pas pourquoi ce traitement aurait été eliminé par l'analogie; toutes les autres langues ont conservé le traitement phonétique *-st-* ou même le traitement plus singulier et obscur *-ss-*; le sanskrit seul aurait entièrement aboli le type phonétique dans tous les cas où il est si bien conservé par ailleurs. Une fois donnée la

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Parallelamente, i gruppi *d*+*d* o *d*+*d'* dànno *zd* in tutte le lingue in cui abbiamo *s*+*t* da *t*+*t* o *dt*; lit. ant. *veizdi*, gr. ἴσθι (θ = **d'*), ma vèdico *viddhí*; gr. πύστις: vèd. *buddhí-ḥ*; aveva *zrazdā*: vèd. *sraddhắ*; gāθ. e pers. ant. *azdā*: vèd. *addhắ*. Il trattamento occidentale di questi gruppi è molto incerto, il lat. *crēdit* e l'irl. ant. *cretim* ànno fonología oscura. V. Meillet, *Dial.*, pp. 57 sgg. [32].

Quanto agl'imperativi indo-arii *dhehí*, *dehí*, *bodhí*, *yódhi*, citati dal Meillet, *Dial.*, p. 60, a cui aggiungerei *edhi* da *as-* « èssere », essi risàlgono naturalmente a **dhazdhi* **dazdhi* (avèst. *dazdi*) ecc. come ammette lo stesso Meillet; ma si tratta certo di mescolanze dialettali, di fronte ad *addhí*, *viddhí*, *čikiddhi*, *mamaddhi*: queste mescolanze dialettali sono ben note in indo-ario, per cui abbiamo *hitá-ḥ* dalla radice *dhā-* e *dhehí* e *dehí* « dà » (10 volte nel R.V.) di fronte a *daddhí* (8 volte); cfr. Meillet, *Dial.*, pp. 58 sg.; e inoltre *r* per *l* e *l* per *r*, v. sopra.

Ometto naturalmente le molte caratterístiche che uníscono iràmico ed indo-ario [33] (**ə* > *i*, *a e o* > *a*, *ā ē ō* > *ā* ecc. ecc.) perché sono notíssime e ànno dato a molti studiosi l'impressione che iràmico ed indo-ario fóssero praticamente una sola lingua. Il che, come abbiamo visto, non è.

2ᵉ personne plur. *attá* ' mangez ', on conçoit que la forme *addhí* mange soit créée par analogie; mais aucune analogie n'imposait de substituer *attá* à un ancien **astá*. Là même où le système des formes a amené quelques innovations comme en latin, la forme *-tt-* n'a pas été restituée, bien que la langue eût *tt* dans certains cas: *atta*, *attingo*, et l'on a *ēst*, *ēstis* ».

32. Gl'Italiani hanno ripetutamente sostenuto (p. es. il Pieri) che il trattamento indo-ario *-tt-* è il piú antico (cfr. Leumann, *Lat. gr.*, p. 152) e che non è analògico (la cosa è discussa); che non sia analògico sostiene anche il Meillet, *Dial.*, p. 61, citato *in extenso* di sopra, nota 31.

33. Le coincidenze, certo numerose ed importanti, fra indo-ario e iràmico (a cominciare dal nome *ārya-*) sono enumerate dal Meillet, *Dialectes*, pp. 24 sgg., che conclude (p. 27): « Aucune langue indoeuropéénne ne presente, à beaucoup près, l'equivalent de coïcidences aussi complètes, et poursuivies dans un si menu detail, avec l'une des langues du groupe indo-iranien ». E tuttavía piú in basso, nella stessa pàgina, lo stesso autore scrive: « Ceci n'empêche pas que l'indien et l'iranien proviennent sans doute de parlers indo-européens différents, et dont la période de développement commun n'a pas suffi à determiner la fusion totale. Les isoglosses de la chute de **ə* intérieur (v. chap. VIII) et du traitement de **wy* (v. chap. IX) passent entre l'indien et l'iranien; et l'on constate certaines coïncidences de vocabulaire entre l'iranien et le slave, qui ne s'étendent pas au sanskrit. Les deux groupes, tout en se développant parallèlement [? G. B.], sont donc demeurés légèrement distincts ».

Non posso approvare l'allusione « en se développant parallèlement »; i rapporti fra l'iràmico, lo slavo e l'armeno non si sono mai interrotti, a mio parere.

A p. 26, osserverò che il tipo vèd. *bháratu* è riapparso ora in ittita (*estu*, da *es-*); e il tipo gen. abl. indo-ario *-āyāḥ*, av. *daēnayð* ecc. (p. 26) ricorda molto lo strumentale paleoslavo *rākojā*. Né credo si possa separare il sànscrito *-ō* (da *-as* davanti a sonora) e il prācrito occidentale *-ō* dal trattamento avèstico: *vačō*, sànscrito *vačo*, pāli *-ō* (pp. 28 sgg.). Nei dialetti orientali (Māgadhī, ardhamāgadhī, ecc.) si trova invece spesso *-e*, cfr. Wackernagel, I, p. 338. Si delínea dunque chiaramente un'isoglossa avèstico-indoario occident. *-as* > *ō*.

Non posso quindi approvare quanto scrive il Meillet, *Dial.*, *Avant-propos*, p. 8, sui rapporti fra iràmico e indo-ario: « Le fait qu'on n'aperçoit guére de communautés

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L'irànico dunque — come credo di aver dimostrato — presenta tutta una serie di isoglosse importantíssime che lo collègano da una parte allo slavo (e al bàltico), dall'altra all'armeno, al licio (all'ittita), e al greco, e che lo sepàrano nettamente dall'indo-ario.

In conclusione, l'indo-ario presenta quasi sempre una fase piú antica di quella dell'irànico, essendo rispetto a questo [34] (e rispetto a tutte le lingue i.e. orientali) « àrea isolata », come risulta chiaramente anche dalla sua posizione geogràfica (di « escrescenza » o « appendice », v. l'inizio del mio lavoro). Il latino, e le lingue dell'Occidente in gènere (cèltico, germànico) sono certo (linguísticamente) ancor piú isolate dell'indo-ario [35] [36].

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partielles entre certains parlers iraniens et que, par suite, toute continuité manque entre les deux domaines n'a guère de valeur probante. Car, sur chacun des deux on ne connaît, à date ancienne, que peu de parlers ». Ò serii dubbi su questa affermazione: egli stesso cita nella stessa pàgina il trapasso *l* > *r*, che è di origine irànica, e che contraddice nettamente a ciò che afferma; invece il *-mi* dell'Avesta recente (*barāmi*) rispetto al Gāθico *spasyā* mi sembra di origine indo-aria. V. anche qui la nota 34.

34. Complesso è il problemo dei possíbili recíproci influssi dialettali indo-irànici e della suddivisione dell'indo-irànico, di cui tratta molto bene l'EMENEAU, pp. 124 sgg. Devo però osservare (pp. 126 s.) che è diffícile amméttere che il Rigvèdico *-āsas* (spesso sostituito con *-ās* dagli scribi) sia un'innovazione perché appare nell'Avesta arcaico (*-ånhō*) e nel persiano antico (*-āhaʰ*), e anche nel germànico (STREITBERG, *Urg. gr.*, p. 230). Certo il sànscrito di Pāṇini (V sec. a.C.) e il sànscrito clàssico non derívano dal dialetto del Rigveda; ma il Rigveda stesso non è unitario, e mostra tracce chiare (oltre a qualche forma indiana media: EMENEAU, p. 129) di due dialetti differenti, uno dei quali è l'antenato del sànscrito clàssico.

Il Rigveda à p. es. *l*, là dove il sànscrito clàssico à *ḍ*. Di *-āsaḥ*: *-āḥ* ò parlato già. Il sànscrito clàssico à lo strum. plur. in *-aiḥ* (piú antico) e il R.V. la forma piú recente *-ebhiḥ* accanto ad *-aiḥ*: troviamo la stessa suddivisione in irànico, dove l'Avesta à solo *-aiš* (gr. -οῖς, lat. *-ois*) e il persiano antico soltanto *-aibiš*; lo strum. sing. nel Rigveda à *-ā* e *-ena*, l'irànico à solo *-ā* (piú antico: avèst. *vəhrkā*, pers. ant. *kārā* ma sànscrito clàssico sempre *vṛkena*). Il nom. plur. neutro è nel R.V. *-ā* (*yugā́*), avèst. *xšaθra*, pers. ant. *hamaranā* (da *hamarana-*): nel sànscrito clàssico sempre *-āni* (*yugāni*), nell'Avesta anche *-å -ąn* (*-ąm -ą*) *amašyąn* ecc., gāθico *vīspəng*; *ihá* 'qui' è sia rigvèdico sia clàssico, ma il Pāli, il Māgadhī ed altri dialetti ànno *idha*, che è la forma piú antica (lat. *ibī* ecc.) e che si ritrova in irànico: avèst. *iδa*, pers. ant. *idā*. Nei lèssici indo-arii si trova *pardate* = gr. πέρδεται, ma non siamo ben certi a che època attribuire le parole dei lèssici. Lo stesso vale per *gūtha-ḥ*. Del trapasso *l* > *r* ò già parlato: i dialetti indo-arii orientali, da cui derívano il X Màṇḍala del R.V., l'Atharvaveda e il sànscrito clàssico, consèrvano spesso *l*; i dialetti occidentali, a cui appartiene il grosso del R.V., scritto quasi tutto nella valle dell'Indo, cioè ad Occidente, ànno quasi sempre *r*.

35. Stupisce veramente di leggere ciò che il MEILLET, *Dial.*, scrive a p. 131 (« Conclusion »): « Ceci ne vent pas dire que ce groupe dialectal oriental était un, ni que ces phénomènes se sont propagés par imitation; il s'agit d'innovations realisées d'une manière indépendante, comme l'indique le détail des faits ». Queste parole, che descrívono una situazione del resto impensàbile, se prese alla lettera distruggerèbbero tutto il valore dell'òttimo libretto.

36. Benché si riferisca ad un período posteriore all'unità i.e. ed anche (in línea di màssima) all'unità indo-irànica, mèritano attenzione le parole del MEILLET, *Dial.*, *Avant-propos*, p. 9: « A partir du moment où ils ont été matériellement séparés [!], les uns se développant en Iran, les autres dans l'Inde, le parlers indiens

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E passo ora ad un altro problema molto importante, ed affine a questo: a quale gruppo dobbiamo attribuire le parole « arie » dei testi di Kikkuli e di Mitanni del XIV sècolo?

Si tratta di indo-ario o di indo-iràmico?

Sono stato lungamente esitante su questo punto, ma esaminando accuratamente i fatti sono giunto alla ferma conclusione che le parole arie dei testi di Mitanni e di Kikkuli non sono né iràniche né proto-iràniche né proto-arie, ma semplicemente indo-arie (da último à trattato il problema il Thieme in *JAOS.*, 80 [1960], pp. 302 sgg.).

A ciò mi spíngono varie considerazioni.

§ 1. I testi arii di Mitanni móstrano *s* iniziale ed intervocàlico conservato [37]: *Našaattiya-* (*š=s*): vèdico *Nåsatyā* (duale), avèstico *Nåŋhaiθya-* (da **Nāhatya-*); Kikkuli *satta* = « 7 »: vèdico *saptá*, avèstico *hapta*. È ben vero che un tempo l'iràmico dovette anch'esso avere *s* in queste posizioni, e che *h* è l'innovazione: ma si osservi che l'armeno, il licio e il greco ànno pure *s* > *h*, e che i testi di Mitanni e di Kikkuli verrèbbero a rómpere questa catena, e ci obbligherèbbero a staccare il trapasso armeno-licio-greco dal trapasso iràmico; cosa che a me ripugna profondamente.

§ 2. Nei testi di Kikkuli « cavallo » è *ašwa* (Thieme, p. 301), che corrisponde perfettamente all'indo-ario *ásva-ḥ*; la forma avèstica è *aspa-*, il persiano antico à *asa-*; nessuna delle due forme iràniche corrisponde a quella di Kikkuli.

§ 3. Indra [38] nei testi di Mitanni è una delle 5 divinità garanti dei trattati (Thieme, p. 303), dunque è dio di primaria importanza, come lo è infatti nel Rigveda; nell'Avesta è un dèmone, e piuttosto raro. Un dèmone difficilmente può garantire un trattato.

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et iraniens ont évolué en des sens différents. L'indien a conservé les sonores aspirées: l'iranien les a perdues. L'indien a conservé une articulation ferme des consonnes, surtout à l'initiale; l'iranien a affaibli l'articulation, créant de nombreuses spirantes sourdes et sonores faisant passer *s* initial et intervocalique à *h*. Les mots de la phrase indienne étaient liés les uns aux autres dans la prononciation; les mots de la phrase iranienne étaient nettement isolés. Aussi les deux groupes, très semblables d'abord, ont-ils divergé de bonne heure et ont pris des aspects tout differents dès avant le début de l'ère chrétienne ».

Su alcuni punti non concordo con il Meillet, come si vede dal mio testo; ma ò voluto citarlo qui per intero. Cfr. anche lo stesso MEILLET, *MSL*, 20 (1918), p. 210. Sui dialetti iràmici (pers. avèstico ecc.) v. MEILLET, *MSL.*, 22 (1922), pp. 220 sgg.

37. Nei testi kassiti abbiamo anche *Šuriyaš* = vèd. *sūriya-ḥ*; l'avèstico ha *hvarə*, gen. *hūrō*, che è imparentato, ma à altra forma; v. THIEME, p. 301; MAYRHOFER, *Wb.*, *s.u.*; WALDE-HOFMANN, *Wb.*, *s.u. sōl*. La Kammenhuber perciò à torto.

38. Indra appare anche nel R.V. (ma non nell'Avesta!) come garante dei trattati (THIEME, pp. 309 ss.), proprio come Zeus e *Iuppiter*. Ciò non contraddice punto la teoría del Dumézil delle « tre funzioni » (benché il Dumézil non si esprima sempre

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§ 4. Fra questi dei garanti appare Varuṇa[39] (Thieme, p. 303), che anche nel Veda garantisce i trattati (Thieme, p. 307); tale divinità non appare mai nei testi iranici (Thieme, p. 308; Mayrhofer, III, p. 152). « If indeed, any god of the Vedic pantheon is a lord of the oath, it is Varuṇa » (Thieme, p. 307; e v. anche Thieme, p. 309)[40].

§ 5. Nei testi di Kikkuli appare la parola (*panza-*)*warttana-*, che è il sànscrito *vartanam*; la parola è ignota all'iranico (v. Kent, Bartholomae, *Wb.*, Mayrhofer, *Wb.*, III, *s.u.*, p. 154).

§ 6. « Uno » è *aika-* nei testi di Kikkuli (Bogazköy), che è esattamente il vedico *éka-ḥ* (*e* viene da *ai*, e certo era cosí pronunciato al tempo del R.V.). È questo a mio parere il punto piú importante di tutti: giacché non solo l'avèstico à *aēva-* e il persiano antico *aiva-*, ma il greco omèrico (come abbiam visto) à οἶος (da οἰϝος) ed il cipriota οἰϜος; abbiamo quindi una precisa isoglossa greco-iranica che sarebbe stranamente spezzata da un *aika-* intermedio (il Frisk scrive infatti *s.u.* οἶος: « Für sich steht aind. *eka-* ein, urind. [!!] (Mitanni) *aika-* », alludendo evidentemente con il « für sich » al suffisso *-ka*. È lo stesso caso di *-s-* iniziale e intervocàlico (v. sopra), ma forse ancor piú grave[41].

Per me dunque non c'è dubbio: i testi « arii » di Kikkuli e di Mitanni (e dei Kassiti) sono indo-arii, non « iranici » o « proto-iranici » o « proto-

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con assoluta chiarezza): le funzioni sono coordinate, si complètano e si sostèngono a vicenda; mentre Mitra (dio giurista, prima funzione) decide se un trattato è violato o no, Indra (dio guerriero, seconda funzione) punisce con la forza il violatore.

Indra appare soltanto due volte nell'Avesta (*Vd.* 10,9; 19,43) come un dèmone malèfico, un *daēva-* (Thieme, p. 311). Né si può dire che tutti gli dèi indo-iranici síano diventati automaticamente *daēva-* a causa della predicazione di Zaratustra; p. es. *Mitra, Soma, Aryaman, Vāta* rèstano dèi nell'Avesta seriore, e non sono mai chiamati *daēva-*.

Lungi dal protèggere i trattati, il dèmone Indra nel Bundehišn « is the special enemy of Aša Vahišta ' the best Truth ' » (Thieme, p. 311, con la nota 23 e rinvíi).

39. Anche il compianto Henning in una léttera privata al Thieme (pubblicata da questi a p. 307, n. 18) scriveva: « Irgend einen beweis für die existenz eines iranischen gottes **Varuna* hat noch niemand zu erbringen vermocht; es gibt keinen ».

40. Nota anche il dio kassita *Maruttaš*, che sembra proprio il vèdico *Marút*, cfr. Mayrhofer, *Wb.*, II, pp. 590 sg.

41. Non è possibile quindi accettare l'opinione (sia pure espressa in modo esitante) del Thieme (p. 301), che « the possibility must [??] be admitted that both **aika* and **aiva* were Proto-Aryan and that the exclusive adoption of *aika* in Indo-Aryan and of *aiva* in Iranian is the result of a later development ». E neppure posso accettare che *e* ed *o* fossero veramente cosí pronunciate ai tempi del R.V. (pp. 301 sg.).

In ogni modo il Thieme stesso ammette (p. 302) che « in no case do we get a decisive argument against their [dei testi di Mitanni] Indo-Aryan or Old-Indic character ». E nella nota 7 ivi: « Widengren [...] and Mayrhofer [...] fail to offer any valid instance of an Iranian name, which would have to be a name for which an explanation in terms of Indo-Aryan (Old Indic) can be excluded ». Espressione di cui posso criticare solo l'eccessiva prudenza. V. anche l'òttimo lavoro del Marstrander in *NTS.*, 13 (1945), p. 235, che però resta un po' incerto (benché noti *aika-* per *aiwa-*).

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arii »[42]. Con questo lavoretto ò voluto soltanto confermare, con nuovi argomenti di natura linguística, l'òttimo lavoro del Thieme in *JAOS.*, 80 (1960), pp. 301 sgg.[43][44].

Se ricordiamo che i Vàndali, altri Indo-Europei, migràrono dalla Scandinavia all'Africa, senza perciò turbare la posizione recíproca delle lingue romanze, possiamo facilmente comprèndere come una schiera di Indo-Arii si sia spinta in Anatolia per sparire rapidamente in prosieguo di tempo, senza turbare i rapporti fra greco e iràmico[45].

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42. Due altri argomenti possono essere portati in favore dell'interpretazione indo-aria (e non iràmica o « proto-aria ») degli dèi di Mitanni:

a) Nell'Avesta, *Nāsatya-* (*Nå̊ŋhaiθya-*) è un *daēva*, compagno di Indra e di Saurva (Vd. 10,9; 19,43), cfr. THIEME, p. 315; un *daēva* difficilmente può essere chiamato a garantire un trattato.

b) Nell'Avesta esiste un solo *Nāsatya-* (THIEME, p. 315), mentre sia nel Rigveda sia nei testi di Mitanni il nome è duale (THIEME, pp. 304, 315). Nel testo hurrita di Mitanni si usa il plurale come faremmo noi in italiano (i Nāsatya, i Diòscuri ecc.).

43. Sui nomi indo-arii nei testi Nuzi v. I. GELB, P. M. PURVES, A. A. MACRAE, *Nuzi personal names*, Chicago, Ill., 1943, pp. 194 f. (dove il mio nome, malgrado il mio strenuo lavoro, è quasi del tutto assente).

44. Anche il MEILLET, *Dialectes*, p. 137 (*Additions et corrections* alle pp. 86 e sg.) esprime qualche dubbio sul carattere iràmico dei testi « arii » di Mitanni, sostenuto da altri studiosi. E il DUMÉZIL, *Les dieux des Indo-Européens*, Paris, 1952 (ristampato in ispagnolo a Barcellona), p. 14 si pronuncia nettamente in favore dell'interpretazione indo-aria. Cfr. anche il GUSMANI, in *Studii in onore di Pisani*, Pagliaro, II, 1969, pp. 128 sgg., e il SZEMERÉNYI in *Scritti in onore di G. Bonfante*, Brescia, II, 1976, pp. 1063 sgg

Di questo e di altri argomenti connessi con il presente artícolo tratto piú ampiamente nel mio lavoro *The name of Mithra*, che sarà pubblicato fra poco negli *Atti del congresso mitriaco di Teheran*, settembre 1975.

45. Alcune delle isoglosse studiate in questo lavoro si tròvano già nello splèndido libro di M. BÀRTOLI, *Saggi di linguistica spaziale*, Torino, 1945, di cui seguo in linea di màssima il mètodo. Non istò a citarlo ogni volta, ché ciò appesantirebbe in fondo inutilmente il mio lavoro. Certo si tenga conto che dal 1945 son passati trent'anni: ed è ovvio inoltre che su varii punti dissento da lui (che pur séguito a considerare mio venerato Maestro).

Noterò poi che il Bàrtoli, a differenza di altri, separa l'iràmico dall'indiano, com'egli chiama l'indo-ario; cfr. p. es. *Saggi*, pp. 4 sgg.

Naturalmente molte delle isoglosse che presento non si tròvano nel Bàrtoli, altre intèrpreto diversamente.

[Non ò potuto ancora vedere il lavoro del BURROWS, *The Proto-Indo-Aryans of Mitanni*, 1976].

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G. M. BONGARD-LEVIN

NEW SANSKRIT AND PRAKRIT TEXTS FROM CENTRAL ASIA

The sensational finds of ancient Buddhist manuscripts in Central Asia at the turn of the 19th century marked a new stage in the study of Indian culture and considerably expanded the period's traditional views of the history and evolution of Buddhism and its schools.

The manuscripts confronted specialists in Buddhism with many new problems, such as the interrelation between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, the authenticity of the Pāli canon, the reconstruction of Buddha's pre-canonical doctrine, the rise and historical destiny of various schools of northern Buddhism. Simultaneously, a new branch of Oriental studies — Central Asian philology — came into being, with the discovery of two proviously unknown languages (Khotanese-Saka) and Tokharian, and of new types of ancient Indian writing (the upright and slanting Central Asian *Brāhmī* alphabets).

The expeditions of P. Pelliot, A. Stein, A. Grünwedel, K. Otani, and other scholars yielded rich collections of Sanskrit and Khotanese Buddhist texts. By now a large part of these manuscripts has been published and studied.

Russian Orientalists, too, made a fundamental contribution to the study of the history of Central Asian culture. Suffice it to mention the expeditions of S. Oldenburg, B. Klements and M. Berezovsky, and the work of N. Petrovsky and N. Krotkov. As a result of their efforts, the Russian Academy of Sciences came to possess a superior collection of Buddhist texts in Sanskrit and Khotanese, mostly from Kashgar and Khotan. Cretid for compiling this manuscript collection goes largely to N. Petrovsky.

Today these manuscripts are deposited at the Leningrad Department of the Institute of the Oriental StudiesUSSR Academy of Sciences. Both in scope and value, this fund is probably on a par with the London, Paris, Berlin and Tokyo collections. Unfortunately, specialists in the field still know too little about it, with the exception of certain

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manuscritps and fragments which were published way back, at the end of the 19th and the beginnig of the 20th century; these include some famous texts, e.g. fragments from the Prakrit *Dhammapada* in *Kharoṣṭhī* writing, the *Kāśyapaparivarta*, the Khotanese Manuscript « E ».

Academician S. Oldenburg, an enthusiastic pioneer in the field of studying Buddhist manuscripts and Central Asian variants of Indian writing, succeeded in identifying a number of Sanskrit Buddhist texts, which he published in the « Bulletin of the Oriental Department of the Russian Archaelogical Society ». Altogether, he published more than 30 fragments from Petrovsky's collection. The publications of Oldenburg and his colleagues, N. Mironov and A. Stäel-Holstein, introduced new important data, which was highly appraised by scholars, and drew the attention of specialists in this field (E. Leumann, L. Finot, S. Levi, H. Kern, B. Nanjio and others) to Petrovsky's collection.

The publications of S. Oldenburg, N. Mirnov, A. Stäel-Holstein, V. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky present more than 50 Buddhist texts (mostly fragments) in Sanskrit and Khotanese. This, however, is but a small part of the Leningrad collection: it can be safely asserted today that it contains a large number of new, original Buddhist texts (in Sanskrit), previously known only in Chinese and Tibetan translations. It is clear already at this stage that among the Khotanese fragments there are several texts previously unknown in any form.

At the same time, the Leningrad collection comprises important texts whose existence has long been known but which have remained unpublished. This refers above all to the oldest extant copy of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (the socalled McCartney manuscript) — a *poṭhi*-type manuscript of 280 folios, in ornamental upright Central Asian *Brāhmī*. H. Kern drew on parts of this copy when he published the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. The McCartney manuscript, however, is far from the only version of this *sūtra* in the Leningrad collection, which contains approximately 100 other fragments of different *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* copies, unknown to the scholars who published this *sūtra*. Work to prepare for publication the McCartney manuscript and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* fragments is already under way. They will presumably be of great help to students of Buddhism and Indian Culture.

Another unique specimen is the *Kāśyapaparivarta* manuscript in Sanskrit, so far known only from Stäel-Holstein's transliteration. A facsimile edition of this important Buddhist work will undoubtedly stimulate fresh interest in it.

Of great value are the unpublished fragments of the *Śārdulakarṇāvadāna*, their texts differing markedly from the Nepalese version published by E. Cowell and R. Neil.

And yet the greater part of Central Asian documents from the Leningrad collection have not been identified and studied so far, although the fund obviously contains many new texts of the *dhāraṇī* type; frag-

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ments of the Sanskrit *Vinaya*; Prajñāpāramitā and Avadāna texts; fragments of the major Mahāyāna *sūtras*, as well as fragments of *sūtras* and business documents in Khotanese.

The first steps taken to resume the study of the Leningrad collection have already produced tangible results. We would like to mention some of them in this paper.

Until recently scholars were familiar with only one version of the Sanskrit text of the *Dharmaśarīra*, from Indikutśahri (one folio, 32 by 7 cm., bearing 32 lines) it was published by H. Stönner. Now we know that the Leningrad collection includes the full text of another *Dharmaśarīra* version, differing from the published one both it its content and size, moreover, the colophon is preserved. The text is inscribed in black Indian ink on five folios of yellowish paper, 36.5 b 8.3 cm., in upright Central Asian *Brāhmī*, with four lines on each side of every folio. The *Dharmaśarīra* from the Leningrad collection contains a short list of the basic Buddhist categories and reveals direct analogies with works of the *Dharmasaṅgraha* and *Mahāvyutpatti* type.

The specific importance of this document is still further enhanced by the recent find of a fragment of the Khotanese version of the *Dharmaśarīra* (three folios, recto and verso). Paleographic analysis suggests that it dates from the 7th or 8th century A.D. This text, although it shows traces of affinity with H. Stönner's Sanskrit text, on the whole cannot be regarded as the latter's Khotanese version. The Khotanese text is much closer to te abovementioned manuscript of the Sanskrit *Dharmaśarīra* deposited at the Leningrad Department of the Institute of the Oriental Studies — but it does not tally completely with that version either. It can be assumed that this is a fragment of the Khotanese text of the *Dharmaśarīra* — a translation of another, as yet unknon, version of the Sanskrit original which nevertheless is rather close to the Leningrad manuscript.

Among the Buddhist Sanskrit fragments there is one folio (recto and verso) retining the colophon of the Sanskrit original of the *Nagaropamasūtra*, a work previously known only in a Chinese translation, and a small fragment (one folio, recto and verso) of the *Pratimokṣasūtra*, which makes it possible to fill in some of the gaps in the text published by L. Finot. Mention should also be made of the fragment from the *Samādhirājasūtra*, as important *Mahāyāna sūtra*. In several instances the fragment gives an alternative reading compared with the text published by N. Dutt.

In the imposing catalogue of texts of the *dhāraṇī* type, there stands out a section of the Sanskrit *Vajrapāṇisumukhanāmadhāraṇī*; previously it was only known from Chinese, Tibetan and Khotanese translations and the Sanskrit original was believed to be lost. The Sanskrit text is all the more valuable since it material helps to understand the Khotanese version. Collation of the Sanskrit original with translations makes

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it possible to tackle the reconstruction of the original text and to elucidate the evolution of its various versions.

Of exceptional importance are six Sanskrit fragments of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, a prominent work of the Buddhist canon.

Before that, scholars knew a Sanskrit fragment of this sūtra, published by R. Höernle in 1916. Other Sanskrit fragments of the *sūtra*, discovered by the third and fourth German expeditions in Turfan and published by E. Waldschmidt, on the whole correspond to the Pali Hīnayāna version and form part of the Sanskrit canon of the Sarvastivadinas. The six fragments from Leningrad are of unique value, especially in the context of the problem of the relationship between the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna canons.

The Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* was widely popular, as attested by its Tibetan and numerous Chinese translations, and also by the evidence of the Chinese sources that the Indian scholar Dharmakṣema made a special journey to Khotan to look for the full text of this *sūtra*.

The attempts to collate the new fragments with their Tibetan and Chinese translations have been crowned with success and it is now possible to undertake the reconstruction of the full Sanskrit text of these fragments. The fragments are inscribed on grey paper in black Indian ink, in slanting *Brāhmī* of the transitional type (from the Indian to the Central Asian). One of the fragments repeatedly mentions the name of the *sūtra*, and, moreover, bears the colophon of a section entitled « End of second section entitled " Unperishable Body of Vajra " ». The text offers the Mahāyāna interpretation of several episodes from Buddha's life (e.g., his meeting with Cunda) and of certain concepts of the Buddhist doctrine. The fragments from Leningrad radically differ from the well-known Pāli version and contain new material, indispensable for studying the Mahāyāna doctrine.

The six fragments of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* are currently prepared for the press. They are likely to command considerable attention among students of Buddhism.

In recent years, intensive work of Soviet archaelogists in the Soviet Central Asian republics yieded interesting material enriching our knowledge not only of the history, but also of the culture of that important region of the ancient civilization of the East. Much has become clearer in respect of the history of Buddhism in Central Asia and the links of the region with India. The new discoveries have made it possible to regard in a new light such a complex problem as the Kushan art.

As the results of archaeological investigations, whole Buddhist centres, including wonderful monuments of art, were discovered. Excavations yielded also numerous written evidence, from votive inscriptions on the pottery of the Kushan period to bulk manuscripts of the 6-8th centuries A.D. Quite a number of Prakrit and Sanskrit writings in Indian scripts (*Brāhmī* and *Kharoṣṭhī*) were found in different areas of Soviet

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Central Asia, and an analysis of these texts provides scholars with new great possibilities of studying a whole set of problems of history and culture of Central Asia and India.

These writing may be classified in the following way: pottery inscriptions, inscritpions on gold bars, and birch bark manuscripts.

The first group comprises inscriptions from Kara-tepa and Fayaz-tepa (near Termez) where Buddhist centres of the Kushan period were discovered. Unfortunately, the finds are only fragments of inscriptions in *Kharoṣṭhī* and *Brāhmī*. Up to now 55 inscriptions on pottery have been found, 36 of them in *Kharoṣṭhī*. They bear the names of the Buddhist donors and parts of votive Buddhist formulas. Especially interesting is the mention of the Mahāsaṅghika sect in a Fayaz-tepa inscription of the Kushan period. (Some of the inscriptions were published in the « Kara-Tepa » volume). After the publication of this book many other inscriptions were found at Fayaz-tepa during the excavations conducted by Professor L. Albaum. Almost all of them are in *Kharoṣṭhī*.

The following is the text for example of a inscription on pottery found there:

ayaṃ suyi kuḍa... ñati-salohidaṇa puyae
sarvasatvana hidaye suhaya saṃpurvati

(« This sacred vessel for water... to glorify one's kinsmen and blood relatives. May it be filled for the good and happiness of all living beings »).

In 1974 a few other fragments of *Kharoṣṭhī* inscriptions were found, also mentioning the Mahāsaṅghika community. All this justifies as assumption that during the Kushan period this school was quite influential in the Buddhist centures of the Termez region. Of great interest was the discovery at Kara-tepa of a bilingual inscription in Sanskrit (*Brāhmī* script) and Bactrian (Bactrian script): *Buddhaśira ddharmakathikasya* (« a gift of Buddhaśira, preacher of *Dharma* »).

Mention should be made also of a clay tablet with a *Brāhmī* inscription found in 1973 during the excavations of the Ajina-tepa Buddhist monastery in South Tajikistan and dated in the 7-8th centuries A.D. It contains the text of a Buddhist prayer formula. Paleographically the text resembles the tablets fom the Gazni region published by M. Taddey. Unfortunately it was poorly preserved.

The second group of the Kushan inscription is made up of *Kharoṣṭhī* inscriptions on gold articles found a few years ago in Uzbekistan, at Dalverzin-tepa. Excavations there were supervised by Prof. G. A. Pugachenkova. In all, 11 inscriptions were discovered of which ten were dotted on gold bars and one on a gold plate. Their language is north-western Prakrit. The inscritpions are of a very great interest as they indicate the weight of the bars in staters, drahmas and dhane, and tell the names of their owners.

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According to the Dalverzin-tepa inscriptions, one stater contained 17.53 g of gold (according to Sogdian inscriptions it is 17.4 g), one drahma- 4.4 g (in Sogdian inscriptions - 4.7 g). While staters and drahmas had been registered in Central Asian texts earlier, dhane became known only from the Niya and Khorayana documents. The Dalzervin-tepa inscriptions provide us with the earliest mention of dhane in written evidence in the region. Below are given some examples of such inscriptions:

1) Sa XX dra I dha IIII

2) mitreṇa dita

(« 20 staters, 1 drahma, 4 dhane given by Mitra »). The weight of the bar is 358.1 g.

1) Sa XX IIII I aḍha dha naiasa

2) mitreṇa dite

(« 25 staters and half dhane belonging to Naia given by Mitra »). The weight of the gold bar is 449 g.

aḍha (Skr. ardha), naia (Skr. nāya).

On the basis of paleography M. I. Vorobyeva-Desyatovskaya dates the inscription in the 1st century A.D. The hoard of gold articles with inscriptions found at Dalverzin-tepa has yielded a lot of new information about the Kushans, the economy and culture of their period.

Of an exceptional interest are the birch bark manuscripts (*bhūrja-patra*) found at Zang-tepa (30 km to the north of Termez in Uzbekistan), in Merv and Bairam-ali (Turkmenia) and at Kafyr-kala (South Tajikistan).

Fragments of 12 manuscripts in the *Brāhmī* script were found at Zang-tepa during the excavations of a castle. Their approximate dating is the 6-8th centuries A.D. A Buddhist manuscript was discovered during the excavations at Merv in the *stūpa* of an ancient Buddhist temple. The manuscript is dated approximately in the 5th century A.D. because, judging by archaeological data, the vase in which the manuscript was, had been put in during the construction of the stūpa, sometime between the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. The Bairam-ali manuscript was discovered in an clay vessel bricked up in the Buddhist *stūpa*. Archaeologists found in the vessel also Sassanian coins of the Khosrov I period (the 18th year of his reign i.e. 549 A.D.). Scorched remnants of birch bark manuscripts were found at Kafyr-kala. They also are in the *Brāhmī* script. Archaeologically they are dated in the 7-8th centuries A.D.

The Bairam-ali manuscript is, no doubt, the most interesting one. After reconstruction it contains 150 folios in two types of handwriting. Many of the sheets retined pagination. The work is a kind of a synopsis of several Buddhist texts the titles of which unfortunately are not mentioned. The manuscript contains a brief exposition of buddhist legends and tales and also some abstracts from Buddhist *sūtras* and *Vinaya*

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texts. At times the summary is so short that only names and a bare outline of the story are given. At present, Dr. Vorobyeva-Desyatovskaya is working on the manuscript preparing the text for publication.

The analysis of the contents of the manuscript reveals it to be a kind of a manual for monks to be read to lay Buddhists. Secular stories alternate with Buddha's dialogues taken from the canonical *sūtras*. As well-known stories were cited, a parable sometimes contained only several sentences to revive in the minds of the listeners a familiar episode of the life of Buddha and his disciples.

Here is, for instance, a story connected with Buddha's second Benares sermon: « How three noble men, Ajñyatakenditya, Bimbisāra and Śakra, received exhortations from the Bhagavat, one after another, together with eighty thousand strong retinue (it is about this that the more detailed *avadāna* tells) ». The content of some short tales has a strong resemblance to *Jātakas*. Thus, the tale about a turtle (*kacchapa iti*) resembles *Jātaka* N 283 (*kacchapa-jātaka*), the tale of the drum (*praṇādo iti*) has a similarity with *Jātaka* No 59 (*bherivada-jātaka*). Some tales have not yet been identified.

Especially remarkable is a text which looks quite complete. It begins with traditional *siddhaṃ* and ends with a colophon. This text is a kind of a compilation of texts of the Sarvastivadina's *Vinaya* — the *Pratimokṣa-sūtra*, *Vinaya-vibhaṅga*, and *Vinaya-vastu*. The main Vinaya rules are stated there — the rules of debating, of *kleśas*, monks' living in the community, the ways of using *pātra*, of *cīvara*, etc.

The colophon is very important as it shows that the text and its copyist belonged to the Sarvastivada school and gives for the first time the composition of the Sanskrit *Vinaya* of that school.

« Who should have mercy? The old, the sick, those who suffer from misfortune and enmity, who live in fear or among evil monks. Who should not have mercy? Those who are not old, who are not sick, who do not suffer from misfortune and enmity, who do not live in fear or among evil monks. To decide these questions meetings must be called. Neither the *Pratimokṣasūtra* with the *Vibhaṅga* nor the *Vinaya-vastu* consisting of eighteen sections contain this enumeration. It is also absent in the separate *nidāna* (apparently the *Vinayanidāna*) and in the *Vinaya-matrika*, *Vinaya-pañchika*, *Vinaya-śodaṣika*, and *Vinaya-uttarika*.

That is the end of the chapter on the collection of rules entitled « The meeting of 500 bhikṣus, not more and not less than five hundred ». To the person who ordered it to be written with the help of his best friend, expert in Vinaya, representative of the Sarvastivada school, for the benefit of himself and others. Glory to all Buddhas, May he who copied this *śāstra* get rid through it of ignorance! ».

This manuscript expands our knowledge of the Sanskrit literature of the Sarvastivadinas who, as the above text shown, had their followers

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at the ancient Buddhist centers of Central Asia. Some of the texts enumerated in the colophon have been mentioned there for the first time, and we do not know them in Chinese translations.

There is no doubt that the publication of the Bairam-ali manuscript will be a valuable contribution to the study of the Buddhist Sanskrit literature and of the history of Buddhism in general.

The fragments of the Zang-tepa manuscripts represent works of the Vinaya type, too. M. I. Vorobyeva-Desyatovskaya identified one of the text as a passage from the *Vinaya-vibhaṅga*. The text deals with the rules of punishing those who repudiated the principles of the teaching — *śiksāṃ-prayākhyāta*.

The text, despite its fragmentary nature, contains an enumeration of the categories of those who « repudiate the principles of the teaching », Buddha's *dharma*, *saṅgha*, and Vinaya rules. Paleographically, the manuscript resembles most the Gilgit manuscripts of the « Prajñyāpāramitā » and is approximately dated in the 7-8th centuries A.D.

Such are the major written sources in *Brāhmī* and *Kharoṣṭhī* discovered by Soviet scholars in Central Asia in recent years.

Soviet Indology has solid and glorious traditions of studying the history and civilization of India, traditions associated with the names of scholars of world renown — I. P. Minayev, V. K. Vasilyev, F. I. Shcherbatskoy, S. F. Oldenburg .

We strive to preserve and further develop these traditions and to promote our Sanskrit studies. Every year translations of Sanskrit literary sources and texts of the most important writings are published in the USSR. Many unique Indian texts from the USSR manuscript collections as well as those found by archaelogists excavating in Central Asia become objects of scholars' study. We hope that the results of this study and the newly discovered texts will help to solve many problems of the historical and cultural development of India and her neighbours.

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OSCAR BOTTO

L'INTERVENTO DELLO STATO NELL'ECONOMIA PUBBLICA E PRIVATA DELL'INDIA ANTICA

Un'esigenza obiettiva, dovuta in parte alla limitatezza del tempo a nostra disposizione, in parte all'opportunità di restare in un terreno dottrinale unitario, ci ha imposto una scelta precisa. Una scelta che comporta la rinuncia a tutta l'area di informazioni offerte dalle testimonianze epigrafiche, dai testi giuridici, dalle fonti storiche e letterarie, per limitarci all'ambito dell'*Arthaśāstra* di Kauṭilya che in sé riassume il quadro più preciso, più dettagliato, più tecnico di un discorso nel quale politica ed economia, come d'abitudine, si intrecciano e si condizionano a vicenda. È forse superfluo aggiungere che, per le medesime ragioni di opportunità che abbiamo invocate poc'anzi, non ci sarà possibile, in questa sede, toccare i tanto dibattuti problemi della paternità di questa opera, della sua datazione, della sua natura intrinseca e del suo rapporto con una precisa e individuabile realtà storica.

L'intervento politico, che si concreta attraverso le disposizioni dell'organo centrale di governo, ci apparirà massiccio, totale, determinante, ma sempre ben consapevole del valore essenziale degli elementi costitutivi e basilari dello Stato. Nulla di peregrino o di isolato, in ultima analisi. Proiettato in area storica più prossima a noi o ripreso da altra fonte indiana, il discorso conserva infatti intatta la sua logica e fondata validità. La coincidenza, ad esempio, tra il suggerimento dato dal Machiavelli al Principe affinché curi attentamente l'agricoltura, il commercio e le industrie, e l'analogo concetto formulato da Hobbes nel Leviathan e da Kāmandaki nel *Nītisāra* — anche se il rispettivo rapporto di questi tre autori con realtà storiche dissimili rende assai discutibile una loro comparazione in termini assoluti — non può apparire come un fatto isolato e sorprendente: nessun dubbio, infatti, che l'esistenza stessa di uno Stato è condizionata dalla solidità delle proprie forze produttive.

Nella fattispecie del mondo kautiliano l'impostazione dirigista della struttura statale si esprime apertamente attraverso l'istituto degli *adhyakṣa*, cioè degli « ispettori » delle imprese pubbliche, classe di buro-

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crati e di funzionari esecutivi dell'amministrazione i quali traducono in atto, nelle rispettive sfere di competenza, l'ingerenza dello Stato nell'economia, rispondendo dei propri atti unicamente a due superburocrati centrali, il funzionario preposto alla Ricevitoria Generale (*samāhartṛ*) e quello che sovrintende alle riserve (*saṃnidhātṛ*). In uno Stato in cui nulla di ciò che interessa la vita pubblica è affidato al caso o all'improvvisazione ma rientra totalmente in un quadro organizzativo coordinato e razionale e regolamentato da minuziose e precise disposizioni, non fa meraviglia che l'esercizio del potere centrale si realizzi attraverso una complessa rete di « ispettorati » che abbraccia ventotto distinte aree di competenza. È il regolare funzionamento di questo severo meccanismo di controllo sullo stesso apparato burocratico, sui beni introitati in natura o a mezzo imposte, sul mantenimento dei depositi statali di materie prime e di derrate, sui pesi e sulle misure, sulle dogane, sui filati, sull'agricoltura, sui macelli, sui traffici marittimi, rivieraschi e fluviali, sui pedaggi relativi a imbarco e trasporto di passeggeri e di merci che fa convergere e mantiene tutta quanta l'economia nelle mani del re.

Questa concezione economica centralistica non lascia troppo spazio alle « corporazioni » (*śreṇi*) il cui eccessivo rafforzamento, consolidando altrettante individualità economiche diversificate potrebbe rendere più ardua e rischiosa, in caso di contrasto con il potere centrale, proprio la conduzione centralizzata dell'economia mettendo in crisi le stesse strutture portanti dello Stato. Lo sfruttamento completo di tutte le risorse economiche è reso possibile grazie all'istituzione del catasto, che consente insieme con la puntuale registrazione di tutte le materie prime esistenti nel paese e con la segnalazione delle derrate e dei manufatti disponibili sul mercato, il controllo sistematico delle varie entità patrimoniali.

Ma quali sono, nella realtà, le forme prescelte e le linee seguite per razionalizzare e rendere efficace al massimo questa centralizzazione dell'economia pubblica e privata in un sistema amministrativo nel quale è difficile demarcare i limiti stessi delle proprietà regie e di quelle « statali », in un sistema in cui Stato ed Economia si confondono? Che la funzione basilare dello Stato kautiliano sia rappresentata dalle sue funzioni economiche è eloquentemente testimoniato dal fatto stesso che tutto il secondo libro dell'*Arthaśāstra*, il più attuale, il più sistematico e il più esteso (tanto da configurarsi come un trattato a se stante), è dedicato a una esauriente disquisizione di materia economica. Caratteristica, questa, che troviamo d'altra parte rilevata dalla *Jayamaṅgalā Vyākhyā* (ed. G. Harihara Sastri, p. 4), che individua nei problemi economici e nel mantenimento della ricchezza — unica fonte di sostentamento per gli esseri — la preoccupazione dominante dell'*Arthaśāstra* come disciplina. Per questa ragione l'amministrazione pubblica appare impegnata soprattutto nella ricerca, nell'accentramento e nella tesaurizzazione delle risorse economiche destinate a incrementare quotidiana-

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mente quel « tesoro » dello Stato la cui consistenza « più che non lo spirito vitale, rappresenta per il re la vita » (*Nītivākyāmṛta*, XXI, 5). Compete dunque allo Stato il compito di organizzare sistematicamente il reperimento di introiti, sia assumendo direttamente l'iniziativa, sia esercitando un costante controllo su ogni forma di attività economica.

L'agricoltura è considerata elemento fondamentale e primario nella formazione del patrimonio dello Stato. Accanto a un'agricoltura di Stato cui sovrintende il *sītādhyakṣa* (sovrintendente all'agricoltura) esiste una agricoltura a conduzione privata, regolata da una specifica legislazione fondiaria: è facile tuttavia arguire, da quanto afferma il testo, che il controllo sull'attività dei coltivatori diretti è esercitato in questo caso non dal Sovrintendente all'agricoltura ma dal Ricevitore generale e dai suoi collaboratori i quali hanno nelle loro mani gli elementi informativi per rediggere una mappa dettagliata dei terreni coltivati e delle coltivazioni praticate. L'agricoltura privata è inquadrata secondo un rapporto economico di « partizione proporzionale » (*bhāga*) che comporta il versamento allo Stato di una parte dei raccolti calcolata di norma nella misura di un sesto del prodotto; a questa quota fissa si devono poi aggiungere altre forme di tributi, che vengono prelevati dallo Stato a titolo di tassa sull'acqua usata per irrigare, o in cambio di concessioni varie, o quali recupero di diritti saltuari o permanenti e che portano la quota di prelievo a valori di maggiore incidenza, fino a raggiungere un quarto o un terzo dell'intero prodotto.

La scelta, piuttosto varia, dei diversi tipi di colture (dai cereali ai legumi, dalla frutta alle piante medicinali, alle piante a fibra tessile) è fatta dal coltivatore stesso, ma in casi di emergenza lo Stato può avocare a sé tale facoltà per condizionare ogni decisione alle effettive necessità del momento. I pascoli appartengono allo Stato che esercita il proprio controllo sulla loro conservazione valendosi di un funzionario (il *vivītādhyakṣa*) il quale ha mansioni specifiche ed è responsabile della divisione dei terreni, della destinazione di questa o quella zona a coltivazioni foraggère, dell'eventuale impianto di orti e di frutteti, dello scavo di pozzi e della creazione di cisterne. Per molte ragioni è evidente che l'attività del « sovrintendente ai pascoli » doveva svolgersi in stretto contatto con quella del « sovrintendente agli armenti », al quale spettava, tra gli altri compiti, quello di assicurare la scrupolosa registrazione di ogni capo di bestiame facente parte degli allevamenti statali.

Una fonte rilevante di entrate è costituita dalle attività « industriali », a cominciare da quelle estrattive, la cui conduzione è affidata al controllo di un « ispettore delle miniere », funzionario tecnico che possiede la più completa esperienza in scienze dei metalli. Le miniere sono monopolio dello Stato, in quanto proprietario unico del sottosuolo, ma non tutte vengono sfruttate direttamente da esso, che lascia quelle di gestione più onerosa a conduttori privati in cambio di un canone fisso — indipendente dalla effettiva produzione — o di una per-

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centuale sugli utili. Oltre a queste imprese primarie, numerose altre ne fioriscono, dalle manifatture che svolgono attività collaterali o complementari delle industrie estrattive (lavorazione dei metalli in genere, oreficeria) a quelle per la lavorazione dei tessuti e per l'esercizio dell'arte tintòria, a quelle per la preparazione dei profumi e degli unguenti.

L'industria privata è rappresentata soprattutto dall'artigianato il quale ha negli *svavittakāru* una categoria di artigiani che operano in piena autonomia, con impiego di propri capitali, sostenuti dalle garanzie che a nome loro le singole gilde assicurano ai committenti.

Frequente è il richiamo all'opera di imprenditori pubblici i quali assegnano una parte del lavoro a imprese private o a singoli lavoratori a domicilio, con un procedimento di distribuzione del lavoro che ancora oggi, segnatamente nell'industria tessile o in quella che gravita intorno all'industria automobilistica, è di estrema attualità. Anche in questi casi lo Stato opera una stretta e vincolante sorveglianza al punto da apparire più un imprenditore diretto dell'attività produttiva che non un semplice controllore *ab externo*.

Quanto al commercio, lo Stato lo esercita in proprio e tiene sotto il proprio controllo quello esercitato da privati. Esso impone la vendita di merci indigene di proprietà statale in una sola e unica sede (la capitale?) al fine di evitare una situazione concorrenziale che potrebbe essere alimentata dalla produzione privata. Lo smercio dei prodotti esitati dallo Stato viene effettuato da dipendenti statali: lo Stato può tuttavia fare ricorso all'aiuto di commercianti privati, ma esige da questi un versamento compensativo dei minori utili derivati dalla vendita indiretta dei prodotti.

I rapporti commerciali e gli scambi con i paesi stranieri sono guardati con particolare attenzione e le norme ad essi afferenti rivelano il quadro di un'economia mercantile notevolmente sviluppata e, almeno in parte, di tipo monetario. L'importazione di beni di consumo è incoraggiata da particolari previdenze e agevolazioni e le carovane impiegate per il trasporto delle merci ricevono protezione contro gli assalti portati da tribù delle foreste e da briganti. Singolare, a tal proposito, la norma secondo cui nessuna causa può essere intentata, in tema di pagamenti, contro operatori di commercio stranieri, a meno che essi siano associati a imprese commerciali del paese. Da tutto l'arco dell'operazione commerciale derivano allo Stato notevoli vantaggi economici, risultanti dal pagamento dei dazi doganali, delle quote di pedaggio, dei diritti fissi per l'uso di pesi e misure ufficialmente riconosciuti e sottoposti a periodici controlli, delle imposte relative agli atti di acquisto e vendita. Per questo lo Stato vuol rendersi garante del legale svolgimento di ogni atto commerciale: terreno che doveva essere aperto a frequenti infrazioni, a giudicare dalla meticolosità della normativa afferente e dalla pesante incidenza delle ammende comminate per questa o quella trasgressione.

Lo Stato esercita un oculato controllo per prevenire e fronteggiare eventuali variazioni di natura economica, assicurando una costante rego-

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larità nell'approvvigionamento delle merci e nel movimento dei prezzi. Risponde a tale preoccupazione la creazione di grandi depositi nei quali vengono immagazzinati tanto i generi alimentari (cereali, grassi, zucchero, sale, spezie, vegetali, frutta) quanto i manufatti. La larga disponibilità di dette merci consente di far fronte materialmente a particolari situazioni di emergenza, e la possibilità di attingere a queste riserve in misura proporzionale alle esigenze di mercato, mantenendo costante un ragionevole rapporto di equilibrio fra domanda e offerta, impedisce una incontrollata fluttuazione dei prezzi.

Un capitolo a parte, nel quadro economico della società kautiliana, è quello relativo alla proprietà fondiaria. Tutti i territori di nuova acquisizione (siano essi ottenuti a seguito di conquiste militari, oppure a titolo di dote matrimoniale, ovvero siano frutto di recente dissodamento di terre incolte) appartengono nella loro integrità allo Stato, il quale tuttavia può fare donazione di terreni a sacerdoti officianti, a precettori, a cappellani, a brammani esperti di Veda. In questi casi tali terreni sono esenti da tasse e sono trasmissibili in eredità, mentre la cessione di terre a funzionari dello Stato, a medici, ambasciatori, governatori di città è accompagnata dal preciso divieto di farle oggetto di alienazione o di ipoteca. Le terre rese coltivabili possono essere assegnate a privati contro versamento di un canone, ma con una duplice condizione di precarietà: la validità dell'assegnazione si estingue infatti con la morte dell'assegnatario e la terra può essere confiscata se l'assegnatario non si cura di coltivarla in modo adeguato. Per quanto riguarda il resto del territorio, il regime di proprietà è misto. I terreni non coltivati e quelli a pascolo, così come le foreste e tutto il sottosuolo, appartengono *de jure* allo Stato, ed è quindi lo Stato, e per esso il sovrintendente all'agricoltura, a scegliere i territori ancora improduttivi da assegnare al pascolo e a decidere sui particolari tecnici inerenti la distribuzione del bestiame, il suo allevamento, ecc... L'esistenza di una proprietà rurale privata è comprovata, come abbiamo già detto, dalla legislazione afferente, la quale contempla diversi casi di illeciti e commina sanzioni penali a seguito di violazioni dei diritti di proprietà, quali l'arbitrario spostamento dei termini che delimitano la proprietà stessa. Nel caso di vendita di abitazioni o di terreni coltivabili lo Stato interviene fissando norme precise che regolamentano il diritto di alienazione.

La centralizzazione del potere economico innalza, come abbiamo detto, a una posizione di primaria e determinante importanza il Tesoro dello Stato: ne consegue che uno dei doveri basilari della politica economica è quello di mantenere a un pieno e costante livello ottimale il patrimonio che lo costituisce e di ristabilirlo con estrema decisione nella sua integrità nel caso in cui situazioni avverse, accidentali e imprevedibili ne abbiano determinato il parziale o totale esaurimento. In questo caso lo Stato esige — al di là del consueto prelievo del sesto di cui già abbiamo detto — il terzo o il quarto del raccolto dei territori coltivati irrigui e particolarmente fertili. Minore tributo o comunque tributo

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variabile nelle percentuali, viene prelevato dalle regioni meno produttive. Vengono invece del tutto escluse quelle regioni che collaborano alla costruzione di fortificazioni, di dighe, di vie per i commerci, che partecipano alla colonizzazione di terre incolte, alla lavorazione delle miniere, al rimboschimento con piante da lavoro o per gli elefanti. Del pari ne risultano escluse le piccole regioni di frontiera. Lo Stato acquista e paga il quarto del raccolto, detratta la parte necessaria per la seminagione e per i mezzi di sostentamento. I dipendenti del Ricevitore generale devono prendersi cura che i contadini preparino i campi per le semine estive. Al tempo delle messi i contadini non possono tuttavia raccogliere il prodotto per disporne a titolo di proprietà privata, e i trasgressori di questa legge devono versare allo Stato la quarta parte del grano raccolto, la sesta parte del cotone, della lana, della seta e di altri prodotti consimili; a coloro che vendono tali merci senza autorizzazione viene inflitta la massima pena pecuniaria.

Ai negozianti in oggetti preziosi, oro, argento, diamanti, così come ai commercianti di cavalli e di elefanti si fa obbligo del pagamento di una tassa di cinquanta *paṇa*; altri prelievi lo Stato effettua, per incrementare l'erario pubblico, da quanti praticano attività commerciali o artigianali di diverso tipo. Non sfuggono a questa legge, e il dato di fatto dovrebbe insegnare qualcosa anche a noi, gli attori e le prostitute, i quali sono tenuti al versamento di quote pari alla metà dei loro introiti effettivi.

La concreta e positiva attuazione di questa politica economica che evidenzia nello stato kautiliano le caratteristiche di una società tributaria, viene perseguita mediante una razionale impostazione dell'economia stessa, che eviti interventi arbitrari ed eccessivi (« la troppa avidità del re ridurrebbe a mal partito tanto il sovrano quanto i sudditi » si dice in *Manu*, VII, 139) ed assicuri allo Stato, nello stesso tempo, il massimo possibile degli introiti. Va da sé che sul piano pratico deve essere effettuato, anche in questo caso, un controllo rigoroso seguendo vie normali o facendo ricorso ad accorgimenti vari, quali l'impiego di una rete di informatori segreti che spiano e verificano l'operato di quanti, a vario titolo, devono versare tasse e imposte allo Stato. Compiti amministrativi di particolare importanza li svolge il Ricevitore generale (*samāhartṛ*), al quale competono, tra gli altri incarichi, la fissazione dei diversi tipi di tributi dovuti allo Stato e l'esazione delle tasse. Egli deve dividere il paese in quattro partizioni territoriali sulle quali viene effettuato un censimento che enumera i villaggi, li classifica per ordine di importanza, ne consente l'assegnazione (per gruppi) ai vari funzionari doganali. Il Ricevitore generale dello Stato ha il compito di esigere le tasse imposte sui terreni coltivabili ed irrigui, sulle miniere, sulle foreste, sulle mandrie. Le principali « vie » attraverso le quali i proventi confluiscono al tesoro dello Stato sono i dazi doganali, le ammende, il controllo dell'uniformità di pesi e misure, i diritti percepiti

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dai governatori delle città e dall'ispettore della zecca, quelli che provengono dalle tasse sulla lavorazione dei tessuti e delle pietre preziose, sulla prostituzione, i tributi e le imposte agrarie, le tasse sull'uso di aree portuali, le tasse sui pascoli, i proventi ricavati in natura dallo sfruttamento del sottosuolo, dalle coltivazioni agrarie estensive, dall'allevamento del bestiame, dalla regolamentazione fiscale delle vie di comunicazione usate per i commerci. I principali capitoli delle entrate pubbliche si configurano, come già abbiamo detto, sotto le voci dei prelievi diretti, delle imposte normali, delle imposte aggiuntive; a quelli si contrappongono, quali voci di spese pubbliche, i costi di manutenzione delle proprietà regie, i compensi ai funzionari della burocrazia statale, le spese di mantenimento delle manifatture dello Stato, i compensi ai dipendenti e ai militari: i dati di questa globale partita doppia devono figurare, nel bilancio in questione, in appositi registri suddivisi per tutte le branche dei dipartimenti economici statali. Tali registri enumerano e precisano le caratteristiche di tutte le componenti economiche e delle forze produttive: dalle variazioni relative ai materali approvvigionati, alle spese generiche, alle paghe, al numero dei dipendenti delle imprese pubbliche; dai prezzi e dalla qualità delle merci alle caratteristiche dei diversi manufatti; dagli interventi finanziari, operati dal re e dai suoi congiunti a titolo straordinario, per casi di calamità, ai movimenti di bilancio in periodi di pace o di guerra.

Nella sua veste imprenditoriale lo Stato opera anche nel campo della lavorazione dei materiali forniti dall'industria estrattiva e inquadra questa attività con una serie di norme intese a rendere più efficace l'utilizzazione delle risorse minerarie e più redditizia la lavorazione del materiale estratto, con conseguente diminuzione degli sprechi e migliore distribuzione dei prodotti derivati. Il funzionario preposto alla lavorazione delle pietre preziose — anche questa monopolizzata dallo Stato — deve provvedere alla installazione delle manifatture nella sede giudicata più opportuna in base a precise esigenze operative, in modo da poter ottenere un maggior sfruttamento della potenzialità e della capacità produttiva delle manifatture stesse. L'accesso ai locali è tassativamente vietato agli estranei: l'oculato controllo del prezioso materiale depositato in essi o in corso di lavorazione evita i rischi di perdite e di produzione non redditizia. Precise norme impongono il rispetto dei tempi di lavoro, fattore essenziale per la redditività del lavoro stesso, come lo è del resto l'esatta rispondenza tra il peso del materiale grezzo messo in lavorazione e quello del manufatto ultimato. Lo Stato fissa le misure del risarcimento che gli dovrà essere versato dagli orafi nel caso in cui tale rispondenza non appaia rispettata, e prevede tutta una serie di compensi che in parte vanno prelevati direttamente dai salari dei singoli orafi. Severe pene pecuniarie sono comminate nei confronti di chi fabbrichi in proprio un oggetto all'insaputa dell'orafo-di-Stato: se il trasgressore è un artigiano tali pene vengono raddoppiate, sempre che vi siano delle valide attenuanti, ma se queste non ci sono egli

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dovrà versare duecento *paṇa* di ammenda o accettare l'amputazione delle dita della mano.

Non meno rilevante è la presenza dello Stato nella legislazione relativa all'industria tessile. Alcune manifatture di questo genere sono infatti condotte direttamente dallo Stato, che si serve d'una manodopera piuttosto eclettica che comprende vedove, donne inferme, ragazze, donne che hanno abbandonato la loro casa e altre che lavorano per estinguere un debito, anziane schiave del re, dipendenti del tempio che abbiano ormai lasciato il loro servizio attivo. Lo Stato fissa gli stipendi dei dipendenti da queste industrie pubbliche sulla base della natura del materiale posto in lavorazione, e della sua maggiore o minore disponibilità; e provvede in proprio a fornire gli operai di olio, mirobalano e unguenti vari. In alcuni casi lo Stato contempla la possibilità di ricorrere all'opera artigianale privata. Quanto alle punizioni previste per casi di infrazioni nei rapporti di lavoro, può essere interessante ricordare, come sintomatico fatto di costume, che l'ispettore ai lavori tessili è passibile di ammende sia nel caso in cui « guardi in volto » una dipendente o si trattenga con lei a parlare di argomenti non inerenti il lavoro, sia che non paghi i salari a tempo debito, sia che consegni una retribuzione per un lavoro che non sia stato fatto. In quest'ultimo caso, al dipendente fraudolento che accetti il compenso non dovuto verranno amputati il pollice e il medio (della mano destra). In altri casi di infrazioni compiute da dipendenti, si operano proporzionali detrazioni di stipendio a titolo di risarcimento.

Lo Stato interviene, sempre in tema di esazione di tributi, anche in ciò che concerne la navigazione, sia fluviale sia marittima, bene inteso che, in quest'ultimo caso, si tratta di navigazione costiera e di piccolo cabotaggio. La sua presenza si attua attraverso l'istituto del sovrintendente alla marina, il quale opera mediante la sistematica e regolamentata organizzazione — per scopi commerciali — delle grandi vie di navigazione fluviale, il controllo dei porti interni, l'incoraggiamento all'accesso e all'attracco ai porti da parte di naviglio straniero. La legislazione di Stato formula in una precisa e minuziosa sequenza di commi il suo diretto intervento in tale ambito dell'economia pubblica, volta a controllare queste particolari fonti di introito. Secondo tale normativa lo Stato esige, in cambio di una protezione e di una cura delle vie di comunicazione, il versamento di tasse di imbarco e di trasporto, di cui conosciamo, nella loro precisazione testuale, la natura e gli estremi: « I villaggi sulle rive del mare e sulle sponde dei fiumi devono pagare una tassa fissa. I pescatori devono versare un sesto della loro pesca come tassa sul naviglio. I mercanti devono pagare una tassa proporzionale al porto... »; e il sovrintendente deve garantire il rispetto dei diritti regi controllando il regolare pagamento delle tasse doganali o di concessione da parte dello Stato, sia a naviglio proprio sia a naviglio di provenienza straniera.

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L'intervento dello Stato in operazioni che comportino variazioni di proprietà immobiliare o in attività che siano svolte da privati si attua attraverso la fissazione di un ordine di precedenza tra gli aventi diritto all'acquisto, il successivo controllo degli atti di vendita delle proprietà e la regolamentazione delle modalità e dei termini contrattuali. Qualsiasi aumento illecito sul prezzo base convenuto per la vendita di un campo, di un bosco, di una diga, di una cisterna, viene incamerato direttamente dallo Stato, il quale per di più fissa una serie di ammende commisurate alla gravità dei singoli casi di illeciti che possono anche invalidare del tutto lo stesso rapporto contrattuale. Quel che appare evidente è che una complicata serie di prescrizioni in materia di alienazione fondiaria finisce con il limitare in misura considerevole la libertà d'iniziativa del privato più per le zone rurali, forse, che per le aree cittadine (Kosambi). Lo Stato incoraggia con speciali esenzioni fiscali la costruzione di opere di interesse pubblico da parte di privati: tale esenzione è di cinque anni per chi costruisce *ex novo* riserve d'acqua o dighe, di quattro per chi provvede alla manutenzione o al restauro di opere già in atto, di tre per chi ne cura direttamente il buon funzionamento, di due per chi rende coltivabile una terra arida.

Lo Stato prescrive che gli imprenditori che impiegano artigiani in grado di fabbricare convenientemente articoli pregiati e gli artigiani che lavorano con capitali propri devono ricevere il materiale dietro garanzia della gilda, la quale risponde, in caso di premorienza dell'artigiano, del materiale affidato per la lavorazione. Lo Stato esige il rispetto puntuale dei termini contrattuali: nel caso in cui il lavoro non venga compiuto entro le scadenze prefissate, i compensi vengono ridotti di un quarto, in più si dovrà pagare un'ammenda pari a questo quarto detratto dai compensi pattuiti. La legge prescrive inoltre che l'artigiano ha il dovere di mantenere in perfette condizioni il materiale a lui affidato dallo Stato e deve risponderne di persona e provvedere al corrispettivo rimborso dei danni eventualmente arrecati. Particolare peso si dà al comportamento fraudolento: la non-rispondenza del manufatto alle caratteristiche richieste contrattualmente, così come le sofisticazioni in genere sono severamente punite secondo una scala di ammende che si adegua alla gravità del reato.

Quanto ai rapporti creditizi, il tasso legale di interesse stabilito dallo Stato è di un *paṇa* e 1/4 per cento al mese, di cinque *paṇa* per chi esercita attività commerciali, e così di seguito: chi concede prestiti a tassi più elevati di quanto sia consentito dalla legge, viene condannato a un'ammenda proporzionale all'ammontare del prestito stesso.

Nei confronti dei lavoratori l'intervento dello Stato si esercita attraverso una regolamentazione dei rapporti di lavoro — sia individuali sia collettivi — che ha interessanti riverberi di attualità e che si configura come uno schema tradizionalizzato nel quale concezione teorica e consuetudine sembrano aver trovato la loro coerente e pratica convergenza. Anche quando si trova in condizioni di mercato privilegiate dalla dispo-

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nibiiltà di una propria produzione monopolistica, lo Stato sollecita la collaborazione dell'iniziativa privata. Le regole seguite nella fissazione dei salari per dipendenti da filature e tessiture di Stato sembrano delineare un modello estensibile a quelle imprese nelle quali la remunerazione (che può essere corrisposta anche in natura) è fissata in base al valore di mercato del manufatto e quindi tenendo conto dei costi di produzione, della qualità e della disponibilità della materia prima e dei tempi di produzione. Per le altre imprese lo Stato garantisce il rispetto delle condizioni pattuite nelle trattative, le quali devono essere condotte in piena libertà di discussione e tenendo conto, per una certa uniformità di massima, dei livelli salariali correnti. Esecuzione e consegna di un manufatto devono tassativamente rispettare, come abbiamo già detto, i criteri di lavorazione convenuti e le scadenze fissate con la stipulazione del contratto: è questo un principio che si trova ribadito a più riprese e a diverso titolo e che rappresenta una premessa essenziale la cui elusione ingiustificata può inficiare qualsiasi tipo di rapporto di lavoro. La salvaguardia dei diritti di entrambe le parti, imprenditori (privati) e lavoratori — contraenti a titolo personale o quali rappresentanti di un'associazione — è affidata a un insieme di norme che regolamentano tecnicamente i rapporti di lavoro. Tra i princìpi generali di questa normativa figurano, tra l'altro, la possibilità di pagamenti periodici; il diritto a percepire — in circostanze eccezionali — l'intero salario pattuito, anche a lavoro non ultimato; la facoltà di rescindere *in toto* il contratto o di apportarvi deroghe parziali in casi di comportamento scorretto di una delle parti, di imperfetta esecuzione del lavoro affidato, di inadempienza degli impegni assunti, di sopravvenute difficoltà economiche. Alcune norme di carattere previdenziale tutelano gl'interessi dei lavoratori in caso di malattia, riaffermano il principio secondo cui nessun dipendente è tenuto a eseguire lavori spregevoli, sanciscono il diritto di astensione dal lavoro nei giorni festivi e legittimano il ricorso a compensi straordinari (e a regalie) per chi accetta di prestare la propria opera anche in detti giorni.

Quello che emerge dagli esempi che abbiamo qui presentato è il quadro di una politica economica a carattere decisamente dirigista, ed è pertanto comprensibile che questa dinamica dell'intervento statale abbia potuto suggerire ad alcuni studiosi (Breloer, *in primis*) l'ipotesi che si tratti di una vera e propria « economia pianificata ». L'ipotesi è suggestiva ma non può essere accettata nella sua interezza, e non solo perché teorie tanto lontane nel tempo e leggi economiche maturate soltanto nel nostro secolo vengono poste su uno stesso piano (B. K. Sarkar), ma soprattutto per il fatto che nelle dottrine kautiliane mancano proprio quelle fasi progressive e coordinate (scelte prioritarie nel piano di sviluppo, ripartizioni proporzionali dei capitali nel bilancio preventivo, scadenze negli interventi statali, bilancio consuntivo) che contraddistinguono invece il metodo finanziario e creditizio dell'economia pianificata. Nel nostro caso non è pertanto possibile parlare di « pianificazione eco-

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nomica », di politica programmata di investimenti e di sviluppo, ma piuttosto di razionalizzazione del processo economico, i cui molteplici modi operativi, solidamente imbrigliati da una normativa univoca che ha forza di legge e dal rigido controllo esercitato dal potere centrale, tendono chiaramente come ultimo (o unico) obiettivo al bene supremo dello Stato.

Nella concezione globale di questo processo economico che conferisce una ben precisa connotazione agli interventi dello Stato in tema di economia pubblica e privata, nella individuazione delle categorie tecniche essenziali che ne caratterizzano la struttura, nella ricchezza e nella varietà della casistica contemplata, stanno la sua indiscutibile validità di fondo e la sua sorprendente modernità.

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JOHN BROUGH

POETRY IN CLASSICAL SANSKRIT[1]

It is probably true to say that Sanskrit is thought of by most people in the West chiefly as a language of Indian religious and philosophical texts. The importance of these subjects is perhaps indicated by the fact that rather more than half of the papers at this International Conference deal with them, directly or indirectly. Except among specialists, it is less well known that Sanskrit also possesses a rich and extensive poetical literature, secular as well as religious. I am sure my colleagues will agree that we who teach Sanskrit should do our best to train our students in the understanding and appreciation of the best of this poetry, which is an extremely important aspect of the artistic legacy of ancient Indian culture. Naturally, I do not mean to suggest that all Sanskrit poetry (*kāvya*) is of the highest literary quality; but the best can be ranked among the great poetry of the world.

From the earliest Indian poetry in the *Rigveda*, we can trace in the later Vedic period a gradual development of the language and of metrical forms to the time of the older *Upaniṣads*. Unfortunately, it is not possible thereafter to see in detail the growth of the fully formed classical *kāvya*-style; but this is due merely to the accidental loss of earlier works. There can be no doubt that the tradition was an unbroken one. Thus, as A. B. Keith and others have shown, Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* — usually dated on inconclusive grounds c. 150 B.C., though possibly a century or more later — quotes fragments which must be from dramas and other secular poetry, already showing distinctively classical metres. It is probable also that the great epics, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, were taking shape during the last few centuries B.C. The

1. This is an edited verson of a public lecture delivered at the Conference, and most of the examples quoted were then given only in English translation. The Sanskrit originals are added here for convenience of reference, and also a few additional verses which were included in my original notes, but which had to be omitted in order to keep the lecture within a reasonable time-limit.

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Rāmāyaṇa particularly shows many poetical qualities, and was later considered traditionally as the « first poem », *ādi-kāvya*. But these matters are too large to be dealt with in the scope of a single lecture; and I propose to discuss and illustrate with translations [2] some characteristic features of the later consciously artistic works.

First, it should be emphasised that the Sanskrit critics were largely exempt from the temptation to confuse verse-form and poetry. The distinction was doubtless quite obvious to them, since they were familiar with a vast quantity of purely didactic works composed in metre only for ease of memorisation: texts on medicine, law, lexicography, and so forth. In Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost* (iv. 2) the pedantic schoolmaster Holofernes criticises (and with some justice) a rather uninspired sonnet: « Here are only numbers ratified; but, for the elegancy, facility, and golden cadence of poesy, *caret* ». The qualities which Holofernes found lacking here are indeed characteristic marks of the best Sanskrit poetry.

Essentially, *kāvya* is deliberately artistic literary composition, whether in verse (*padya-kāvya*) or in prose (*gadya-kāvya*). From another point of view, the distinction is made between *śravya-kāvya* « poetry to be heard » (note the implication: poetry is not something to be read silently to oneself), and *dṛśya-kāvya* « poetry to be seen », drama, where the dialogue in prose is normally interspersed with verses, either to describe a scene or situation, or to highlight moments of dramatic or emotional significance. But this is mentioned only in passing, since a discussion of drama as such is outside the intention of the present lecture.

The units of Sanskrit « verse-poetry » are single stanzas, each normally of four lines in the same metre; and longer poems are constructed from these building-bricks. The isolated stanza (*muktaka*) can form a poem in itself, and the collections of these attributed to Bhartṛhari and Amaru respectively have been especially prized. In these, each verse is a complete and independent miniature pen-picture, so to speak, and many can reasonably be described as epigrams. For example Amaru (Kāvyamālā edition, 64):

na jāne saṃmukhāyāte priyāṇi vadati priye
sarvāṇy angāni kiṃ yānti netratāṃ kim u karṇatām.

When my dear love to me appears
And speaks dear things to me,

I know not what becomes of me —
Am I all eyes? or ears?

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2. Where English verse-forms are used, a certain liberty of paraphrase is inevitable; but I have endeavoured to convey the spirit of the originals to the best of my ability. The reader is asked in all cases to make allowances for the inadequacies inherent in the nature of the process of translation into an alien language.

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Other single stanzas in some of the longer metres may be considered as the nearest Sanskrit counterpart to the western lyric. But lyric as such is virtually absent from Sanskrit literature, although the term has sometimes been applied to some devotional hymns composed in elaborate *kāvya*-diction. Of these *stotras* it may fairly be said that they mostly lack the internal cohesion which may be expected in a lyric poem, and, with rare exceptions, they show only technical competence in elaborate composition, but seldom real poetic inspiration.

The « shorter poem » (if we may so interpret the term *khaṇḍa-kāvya*) can be seen at its best in a work such as Kālidāsa's famous « Cloud Messenger ». Here we have a poem of sustained lyric beauty, from which I select one stanza to illustrate how a great poet can make excellent use of comparisons frequently employed by other poets, and can still move us by the touch of pathos in the last quarter of the verse:

śyāmāsv angaṃ cakitahariṇīprekṣaṇe dṛṣṭipātaṃ
vaktracchāyāṃ śaśini śikhināṃ barhabhāreṣu keśān
utpaśyāmi pratanuṣu nadīvīciṣu bhrūvilāsān
hantaikasmin kvacid api na te caṇḍi sādṛśyam asti.

I see your arms in tender vines' embrace.
Your gentle glance in eyes of startled deer,
In the fair moon the splendour of your face,
In peacocks' fans the lustre of your hair,
And in the gentle riplets of the brook
I seem to see your lifted eyebrow's grace:
Alas, I cannot see, where'er I look,
One complete likeness in one single place.

The designation « shorter » is of course relative (in S. K. De's edition the *Meghadūta* has 111 stanzas), in contrast to the *mahākāvya* « great poem », which has sometimes been called in English the « court epic ». Many works of this class have themes drawn from the *Mahābhārata* or the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as do many of the dramas. The structure is in cantos, each canto in principle (there are exceptions) being in a single metre, with a change of metre in the last few stanzas to mark the end of the canto. The stanzaic structure was doubtless in part responsible for the fact that in such epics the actual narrative is, typically, not dominant. Although two or more stanzas are not infrequently linked syntactically to form a single sentence, the tendency is to have a series of descriptive verses on one point of the story, then a few linking verses to carry the narration on to the next important point, where another topic is similarly elaborated.

The fact that the single stanza remained the unit throughout made easy the compilation of anthologies of single stanzas, with verses taken from dramas and epics, as well as stanzas which were from the start complete poems in themselves. These anthologies, of which the earliest extant is from the 11th century, have preserved for us many fine verses

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of poets whose works are otherwise lost. Students of Sanskrit literature must be grateful to Dr. L. Sternbach for his extensive and painstaking studies of these sources, culminating in his *Mahā-subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, the first volume of which has now been published (Hoshiarpur, 1974).

We can glance only briefly at the question of metre; but it should be observed that the rigidly controlled metrical forms of classical *kāvya* make an important contribution to its aesthetic qualities. Sanskrit metre is quantitative, and is regulated by principles virtually the same as those of Classical Greek and Latin. It has been observed that there are even a number of close similarities to Greek and Latin lyric metres: thus, the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*,

— — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — / ∪ ∪ ∪ — / — — ∪ — — ∪ —

where the opening segment agrees with the Glyconic,

donec gratus eram tibi.

In the *Indravajrā/Upendravajrā* (*Upajāti* when mixed in the same stanza),

⏑ ⏑ ∪ ⏑ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — —

we find a hendecasyllabic comparable with the Sapphic,

⏑ ∪ ⏑ — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — —

intiger uitae scelerisque purus,

where the inversion of quantity in the second and third syllables produces a different ictus-pattern in the opening; but the remainder of the line is the same. Such similarities are interesting; but they illustrate at most a parallel in development, and not an Indo-European inheritance. This is clear from the fact that both in Vedic and in early Greek lyric there is considerably more freedom in quantity in certain parts of the verse.

The better poets show remarkable technical virtuosity in constructing their verses within the fetters of these elaborate and difficult metres, while at the same time producing an effect of ease and spontaneity. Lesser craftsmen are often mastered by the metre. As an example, we can compare a verse from Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* (ed. S. K. De, 81) with an imitation in Udaya's *Mayūrasaṃdeśa* (ed. C. Kunhan Raja, ii.30):

nūnaṃ tasyāḥ prabalaruditocchūna-netraṃ priyāyā
niḥśvāsānām aśiśiratayā bhinna-varṇādharoṣṭham
hasta-nyastaṃ mukham asakala-vyakti lambālakatvād
indor dainyaṃ tvad-upasaraṇa-kliṣṭa-kānter bibharti.

tatra snigdhair nija-parijanaiḥ sapravālaiḥ prasūnaiḥ
kḷpte talpe tuhina-kaṇikā-śītale komalāngī
śete tāpa-praśama-vidhaye nūnam adyāyatākṣī
cāndrī sāndhye jalada-śakale svāṃśu-bhinne kaleva.

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In Udaya's verse, *nija-* and *sva-* are mere verse-fillers; as is also *adya*, on which the verse even so stumbles; the juxtaposition of the two senses of the instrumental is awkward: *nija-parijanaiḥ* « by her own companions », *sapravālaiḥ prasūnaiḥ* « by means of flowers together with leaves »; *-vidhaye* is weak; and the comparison in the last line, « like the moon's crescent in a twilight cloud-fragment pierced by its own rays », is marred by the fact that the « own rays » must contextually belong to the moon, but grammatically appear to belong to the cloud-fragment.

The well known remark of Keats about poetry, « loaded with gold in every rift », and the same poet's assertion, « Poetry must surprise by a fine excess », are very apt in relation to Sanskrit poetry, though we may feel that the later poets often went too far. They seek to surprise us, certainly, but not rarely by an excess which is hardly « fine ». The excess, in ornamentation, paronomasia, and general tortuousness, can sometimes be so overwhelming that the poetry itself is swamped, and we are left with little to admire except the poet's purely technical skill.

At the same time, we shall miss much if through prejudice we reject the artifice of Sanskrit poetry. The skilled use of alliterations and assonances, subtly contrived, can frequently contribute much to the music and charm of the poetry. Even a device as dangerous as the *yamaka* (the repetition of several syllables without repetition of sense) can sometimes be employed with art. In the *Raghuvaṃśa*, ix, 1-54, Kālidāsa has a *yamaka* in the fourth quarter of each stanza, and can still achieve a natural flow of the language. For example, ix, 26:

kusumajanma tato navapallavās
tad anu ṣaṭpadakokilakūjitam
iti yathākramam āvirabhūn madhur
drumavatīm avatīrya vanasthalīm.

Then there was birth of flowers and of leaf-buds new,
And in their wake came the bees to the treeful glade:
So in due order the Spring-time appeared in view,
Bringing a singing as birds their rejoicing made.

Here I have tried in the translation to give a approximation to the rhythmic effect of the *drutavilambita* metre of the original:

∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ —

We can hardly claim much poetic merit for a string of *yamakas* such as Bhaṭṭi's (*Rāvaṇavadha*, x, 9):

na gajā nagajā dayitā dayitā vigataṃ vigataṃ calitaṃ calitam
pramadāpramadā mahatā mahatām araṇaṃ maraṇaṃ samayāt samayāt.

The beloved mountain-born elephants were not tended, the flight of birds ceased, movement disappeared, women were bereft of joy, and

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by reason of the great (fire) death not in battle in due time overtook the great (heroes).

Bhaṭṭi's epic has the double intention of telling the story of the Rāmāyaṇa, and of illustrating the rules of grammar and the main figures of poetry. Taken in context, the verse quoted has a certain appropriateness. Formally, it is in place as one of the twenty varieties of *yamaka* which the author has set himself to exemplify at the beginning of this canto; and in the story it is part of the description of the burning of the city of Lankā, and the drumming of the repeated anapaests helps to convey something of the turmoil caused by the conflagration. In the same poem (ii,4):

niśātuṣārair nayanāmbukalpaiḥ
parṇānta-paryāgalad-accha-binduḥ
upārurodeva nadat-patangaḥ
kumudvatīṃ tīratarur dinādau.

At daybreak, the tree on the lakeside, with the clear drops of water dripping from the tips of its leaves, appeared to bewail the night-flowering lotus, as if the night-dew were the tears, and the screaming of the birds (in its branches) were the cries of mourning.

Here we have a verse in words elegantly composed: but the poetic conceit (*utprekṣā*) is quite tastelessly strained. Against this, we may cite, ii,11:

latānupātaṃ kusumāny agṛhṇāt
sa nadyavaskandam upāspṛśac ca
kutūhalāc cāruśilopaveśaṃ
kākutstha īṣatsmayamāna āsta.

Ever and again, Rāma bent down the branches and plucked the flowers, and would make his way down to the streams and sip the water, and, gently smiling, would sit on the charming rocks, taking pleasure in the scenery of the forest.

This illustrates the grammatical rule (Pāṇini 3.4.56) that the so-called gerund in *-am* (*ṇamul*) of the roots *viś-*, *pat-*, (*pad-*), and *skand-* may be compounded with the object when the sense is repeated action: yet, in spite of the artificiality, the verse is poetically quite effective. At the end of his poem, Bhaṭṭi states: *vyākhyāgamyam idaṃ kāvyam* « This poem can be approached only by means of a commentary », and I for one confess that I find this so. But I suspect that Bhaṭṭi may be teasing us here with a deliberate ambiguity, for he could equally have meant the opposite, « *not* approachable by means of a commentary », *vyākhyā-agamyam*: in other words, if you need a commentary, you know too little grammar for an immediate appreciation of the Pāṇinean niceties in the poem.

As we have observed earlier, consciously artistic prose is also entitled to be considered as *kāvya*. Here, free of the restrictions of metre, authors

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could indulge in even more elaborate ornamentation of style, and give free play to their inventiveness and exuberance of imagination. Alliterations and *yamakas*, double senses and extremely long compounds abound; rare words and abstruse meanings are sought out, partly in order to achieve such effects, though also to display the author's erudition. As a relatively uncomplicated sample, here is part of Bāṇa's description of autumn at the beginning of chapter 3 of the *Harṣacarita* (the passage omitted is roughly half of the whole sentence):

atha kadācid viralitavalāhake cātakātankakāriṇi
kvaṇatkādambe darduradviṣi mayūramadamuṣi haṃsapathika-
sārthasarvātithau dhautāsinibhanabhasi bhāsvarabhāsvati
śuciśaśini taruṇatārāgaṇe galatsunāsīraśarāsane
sīdatsaudāmanīdāmani dāmodaranidrādruhi drutavaidūrya-
varṇārṇasi ... ... pariṇāmāśyānaśyāmāke janitapriyangu-
mañjarīrajasi kaṭhoritatrapusatvaci kusumasmeraśare
śaratsamayārambhe rājñaḥ samīpād bāṇo
bandhūn draṣṭuṃ punar api taṃ brāhmaṇādhivāsam agāt.

(In the following translation, the phrases in brackets represent ideas only hinted at by the Sanskrit words employed, and are not fully developed double senses).

Now it came to pass that, at the time when the clouds have thinned out, the time which causes distress to the *cātaka*-birds, when the black-geese squawk, which is the enemy of the frogs, which robs the peacocks of their revelry, which presents all hospitality to the caravans of migrating geese-travellers, when the sky shines like a polished sword, the brilliant sun shows its brightness, the moon shines clear, the hosts of stars are new and fresh (as the eyes of lovers are tender), when the rainbow, the bow of the god Indra disappears, when the chain-lightning falls to rest (as a girl's girdle slips down over her hips), when the god Viṣṇu's slumber is disturbed, when the streams run the colour of melted lapis-lazuli ... ... when the wild rice dries in ripeness, the pollen is produced in the clusters of millet-plants, the skin of the cucumber is hardened, and the reeds smile in flower: at the time of the onset of the autumn season, Bāṇa left the king's side and returned again to that Brahman-dwelling in order to see his family.

It will be seen that the autumn season is named only when the very long sentence is almost completed; and in the Sanskrit all the items of description (where in translation I have been forced to use « when », « which ») appear as compound adjectives.

By way of contrast, we may feel that there is more sensitivity in Ārya Śūra's skilful handling of the Sanskrit language in the prose of the *Jātaka-mālā* (chapter XXV):

jighāṃsum apy āpadgatam anukampanta eva mahākāruṇikā
nopekṣante. tadyathānuśrūyate: bodhisattvaḥ kilānyatamasminn

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araṇyavanapradeśe nirmānuṣasaṃpātanīrave
vividhamṛgakulādhivāse tṛṇagahananimagnamūlavṛkṣakṣupabahule
pathikayānavāhanacaraṇair avinyastamārgasīmāntalekhe
salilamārgavalmīkaśvabhraviṣamabhūbhāge
balajavavarṇasattvasaṃpannaḥ saṃhananavatkāyopapannaḥ
śarabho mṛgo babhūva. sa kāruṇyābhyāsād anabhidrugdhacittaḥ
sattveṣu tṛṇaparṇasalilamātravṛttiḥ saṃtoṣaguṇād
araṇyavāsaniratamatiḥ pravivekakāma iva yogī tam
araṇyapradeśam abhyalaṃcakāra.

Those of great compassion do in fact feel pity for one who is in affliction, and do not neglect him, even though he be intent to slay them. As is told in tradition, the Bodhisattva was once born as a *śarabha*-deer, in a certain wild forest region free from noise — for men did not forgather there — a forest inhabited by divers herds of deer, dense with trees and undergrowth whose roots were buried deep in the tangled grass, where neither traveller's foot nor wagon-wheel had carved any line of road or boundary: a parcel of land where there were no adversities, where the only inequalities were water-courses, ant-hills and gullies; and he had strength, swiftness, beauty and courage; and his body, compacted with muscular power, might have been wrought upon the anvil. Unremitting in his practice of compassion, his heart had no malice nor hatred against any living creature; his sustenance solely grass-blades and water, in full contentment he cherished his forest home, as if an anchorite in love with solitariness: he himself the supreme ornament of that forest region.

The *Jātaka-mālā* is an early example of the genre later known as *campū*, in which passages of prose and verse alternate. Here is another passage, in a rather different style, from a description of a sea-voyage (xiv,3-8):

krameṇa cāvajagāhire vividhamīnakulavicaritam
anibhṛtajalakalakalārāvam anilabalavilāsapravicalitataraṅgaṃ
bahuvidharatnair bhūmiviśeṣair arpitaraṅgaṃ phenāvalīkusuma-
dāmavicitram asurabalabhujagabhavanaṃ durāpapātālam
aprameyatoyaṃ mahāsamudram.

athendranīlaprakarābhinīlaṃ
sūryāṃśutāpād iva khaṃ vilīnam
samantato 'ntarhitatīralekham
agādham ambhonidhimadhyam īyuḥ.

teṣāṃ tatrānuprāptānāṃ sāyāhnasamaye mṛdūbhūtakiraṇacakra-
prabhāve savitari mahad autpātikaṃ paramabhīṣaṇaṃ prādurabhūt.

vibhidyamānormivikīrṇaphenaś
caṇḍānilāsphālanabhīmanādaḥ
naibhṛtyanirmuktasamagratoyaḥ
kṣaṇena raudraḥ samabhūt samudraḥ.

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utpātavātākalitair mahadbhis
toyasthalair bhīmarayair bhramadbhiḥ
yugāntakālapracalācaleva
bhūmir babhūvogravapuḥ samudraḥ.

vidyullatodbhāsuralolajihvā
nīlā bhujangā iva naikaśīrṣāḥ
āvavrur ādityapathaṃ payodāḥ
prasaktabhīmastanitānunādāḥ.

ghanair ghanair āvṛtaraśmijālaḥ
sūryaḥ krameṇāstam upāruroha
dināntalabdhaprasaraṃ samantāt
tamo ghanībhāvam ivājagāma.

dhārāśarair ācchuritormicakre
mahodadhāv utpatatīva roṣāt
bhīteva naur abhyadhikaṃ cakampe
viṣādayantī hṛdayāni teṣām.

And gradually they plunged onward towards the great ocean, with its teeming shoals of all manner of fishes, resounding with the inarticulate noise of the unresting waters, with waves buffeted by the wanton play of the wind's force, where colours were reflected up by successive parts of the sea-bed strewn with many sorts of precious stones, and flecked with flakes of foam — strings of pearls for flower-garlands — the home of demon-armies and sea-serpents, with water immeasurable, as deep as the lowest hell.

They reached the sea's unfathomable centre
Where the horizon showed no streak of shore:
Rich sapphire-blue, as if the sun's fierce furnace
Had smelted into ocean molten sky.

When they had arrived there, and the power of the chaplet of the sun's rays became gentler towards the day's end, there came upon them a mighty and terrifying hurricane.

With spraying spume spewed by the splitting breakers,
Whipped by the murderous blast to awesome voice,
Unleashing from restraint its water-masses
The ocean on the instant wreaked its wrath.

Vast watery plains hurled by the mighty tempest,
Staggering, uncontrolled, with fearsome force,
Seemed like the Earth at the Last Day of Judgement,
Of monstrous form, when mountains cleave and crash.

The clouds, with blazing, flickering tongues of lightning,
Like many-headed serpents, fierce and black,
Covered the sky where late the sun had trodden,
Nor ceased their echoing ruthless thunder's roar.

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With failing rays by thickening clouds enclouded
Slowly the sun moved to its setting time:
Seizing too soon the spread of daylight's ending
The night like storm-clouds closed on every side.

With all its waves stung by the rain-storm arrows
The mighty ocean heaved itself in rage:
The very ship shivered as if in terror,
Draining all hope from every seaman's heart.

But perhaps we have dwelt long enough on some of the more rhetorical and formal aspects of Sanskrit poetry. Carefully wrought form is certainly important, but polished, sculptured language is not in itself enough. In the best of Sanskrit *kāvya*, there is no lack of the inherent poetic feeling, imagination and percipience which are essential to great literature. Tenderness, humour, pathos, a sense of beauty, all the emotions which are the common lot of humanity are there: Amaru's perceptive delineation of lovers' quarrels, jealousies, reconciliations and physical delights; Bhavabhūti's insight into the joys and sorrows of conjugal love and separation; Kālidāsa's deep feeling for man and nature.

In the *Meghadūta*, the mansion of the Yakṣa is indeed splendid, as befits a supernatural being; and the bird-perch in the garden is golden, fixed in a crystal slab and encrusted with jewels. But Kālidāsa adds a touch of humanity to the picture by introducing the pet peacock who is encouraged to dance by the wife clapping her hands (76):

tanmadhye ca sphaṭikaphalakā kāñcanī vāsayaṣṭir
mūle baddhā maṇibhir anatiprauḍhavaṃśaprakāśaiḥ
tālaiḥ śiñjadvalayasubhagair nartitaḥ kāntayā me
yām adhyāste divasavigame nīlakaṇṭhaḥ suhṛd vaḥ.

Familiar with royal courts, he can also bring us the fragrance of damp earth newly turned by the plough (ibid. 16). In a brilliant verse, he describes the nymph Urvaśī as she regains consciousness after fainting (*Vikramorvaśīya*, i,9):

āvirbhūte śaśini tamasā ricyamāneva rātrir
naiśasyārcir hutabhuja iva cchinnabhūyiṣṭhadhūmā
mohenāntar varatanur iyaṃ lakṣyate muktakalpā
gangā rodhaḥpatanakaluṣā gṛhṇatīva prasādam.

Like the night freed from darkness when the moon appears, like the flame of the fire at dusk burning almost free from smoke, she appears almost recovered from her swoon, as the Ganges, muddied by a fall of the river-bank, drifts back to limpid clearness.

We may have a common adage reflected in the light touch of humour in *Raghuvaṃśa*, vi,30:

athāngarājād avatārya cakṣur
yāhīti janyām avadat kumārī

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nāsau na ramyo na ca veda samyag
draṣṭuṃ na sā bhinnarucir hi lokaḥ.

But the princess turned her eyes from the king of Anga, and said to the maid, « Pass on »: it was not that he was not handsome, nor that she could not see it, but *de gustibus...*

The context here is the *svayaṃvara* of Indumatī, the ceremonial choice of a husband by the princess from among the royal suitors; and as she passes along the row of kings, just before she reaches Prince Aja (with whom she falls in love) she inspires one of Kālidāsa's most famous similes (vi,67):

saṃcāriṇī dīpaśikheva rātrau
yaṃ yaṃ vyatīyāya patiṃvarā sā
narendramārgāṭṭa iva prapede
vivarṇabhāvaṃ sa sa bhūmipālaḥ.

As if a walking lamp-flame in the night
On the king's highway, flanked with houses tall,
She moved, and lit each prince with hopeful light,
And, passing on, let each to darkness fall.

Similarly, in the *Kumārasambhava*, iii,54, in the description of Umā:

āvarjitā kiṃcid iva stanābhyāṃ
vāso vasānā taruṇārkarāgam
paryāptapuṣpastavakāvanamrā
saṃcāriṇī pallavinī lateva.

Stooped slightly forward by her breasts, and wearing
A bodice bright as brilliant daybreak red,
She seemed as if a walking vine-plant, bearing
Full blossom-clusters bending down its head.

In the converse situation, unnatural stillness is expressed by the simile of a painting in other Sanskrit poets as well; and its use by Coleridge in *The Ancient Mariner* is familiar:

As idle as a painted ship
Upon a painted ocean;

but Kālidāsa had done it much earlier, and better, when in the *Kumārasambhava* (iii,42) Nandin commands cessation of sound and movement in the forest:

niṣkampavṛkṣaṃ nibhṛtadvirephaṃ
mūkāṇḍajaṃ śāntamṛgapracāram
tacchāsanāt kānanam eva sarvaṃ
citrārpitārambham ivāvatasthe.

Throughout the forest, at his simple stricture,
Dumb were the birds, and silent were the bees:

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As in a scene fixed in a painted picture,
Stilled were the deer and motionless the trees.

This brief sketch and these few examples will, I trust, give at least some impression of Sanskrit poetry, some slight indication of the literature. *Ataḥ param api priyam asti?* In conclusion, then, two epigrams of Bhartṛhari (ed. D. D. Kosambi, 107,186):

draṣṭavyeṣu kim uttamaṃ mṛgadṛśaḥ premaprasannaṃ mukhaṃ
ghrātavyeṣv api kiṃ tadāsyapavanaḥ śrāvyeṣu kiṃ tadvacaḥ
kiṃ svādyeṣu tadoṣṭhapallavarasaḥ sparśeṣu kiṃ tattanur
dhyeyaṃ kiṃ navayauvane sahṛdayaiḥ sarvatra tadvibhramāḥ.

What most worthy of sights to see? Surely her face,
Eyes tender with limpid love.
What best perfume? The fragrant breeze which is her breath.
What sound, but her gentle voice?
What sweet savour? Her nectar lips' flower-petal dew.
What touch, but her silken skin?
What most sacred for contemplation by a man?
Young grace in her every move.

And——

prāptāḥ śriyaḥ sakalakāmadughās tataḥ kiṃ
dattaṃ padaṃ śirasi vidviṣatāṃ tataḥ kim
saṃmānitāḥ praṇayino vibhavais tataḥ kiṃ
kalpaṃ sthitaṃ tanubhṛtāṃ tanubhis tataḥ kim.

« I gained all wealth and fame Fate can bestow » - What of it, then?
« I crushed beneath my foot each single foe ». - What of it, then?
« Honour through riches to my friends I give ». - What of it, then?
« Surely mankind eternally may live? » - What of it, then?

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JOHN BROUGH

SOME ASPECTS OF CHINESE-SANSKRIT BUDDHIST LEXICOGRAPHY

In a brief paper, Prof. John Brough gave a concise assessment of some of the principal modern works relevant to this subject, starting from Stanislas Julien's *Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms sanscrits qui se rencontrent dans les livres chinois*, Paris, 1861. This brilliant work has long been superseded by later studies in the phonology of earlier Chinese; and for transliterations of Indian words, a scholar must now be able to use the more recent studies by Karlgren, Pulleyblank and others. A satisfactory handbook on this subject for the use of Indologists is certainly a desideratum.

A more immediate aim, however, is to provide a dictionary of Chinese words used in Buddhist translations. Most of the existing Chinese dictionaries are not only often unsatisfactory in dealing with Buddhist technical terms, but also frequently fail to indicate how quite common Chinese expressions are used to render non-technical Indian words, often in ways which differ from non-Buddhist Chinese usage. In this matter, Prof. G. M. Nagao's *Index to the Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṃkāra* and similar works have been of very great assistance. But since these are limited to the range of vocabulary of individual texts, something more is needed, especially for the use of Western scholars.

The great Sanskrit-Japanese Dictionary (*Bonwa daijiten*), begun by U. Wogihara, was completed under the editorship of Prof. N. Tsuji in 1974. Wherever it was possible — and this applies to a very high proportion of the entries — all the available authenticated Chinese renderings are listed under the relevant Sanskrit headwords. A simple reversal of these Buddhist translation-words, therefore, would provide the basis for a Buddhist Chinese-Sanskrit dictionary which would be immeasurably superior to such works as the *Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* by Soothill and Hodous.

Such a project should if possible be carried out in Japan. The main problems would be to recruit a team of suitably qualified gra-

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duates to do the work, and to obtain sufficient money (e.g., from various Foundations) to meet their salaries and other expenses, over a period of perhaps ten years. The support of the IASS should assist greatly in gaining the interest of such fund-granting bodies.

It is naturally impossible to do more than guess how much time would be required. It might seem desirable in the first place to form an international editorial committee to formulate general principles for for the work.

In connection with this paper, Resolution No. 6 was adopted by the board of IASS.

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HÉLÈNE BRUNNER

IMPORTANCE DE LA LITTÉRATURE ĀGAMIQUE POUR L'ÉTUDE DES RELIGIONS VIVANTES DE L'INDE

INTRODUCTION

Lorsque vous avouez à un Occidental cultivé, mais non indianiste, que vous vous intéressez aux religions de l'Inde, le mot qui neuf fois sur dix lui vient d'abord à l'esprit est « bouddhisme ». Sur votre dénégation, il avancera peut-être le mot « Veda ». Mais si vous déclarez n'être ni bouddhologue ni védisant, votre interlocuteur restera perplexe et le plus souvent vous classera silencieusement parmi ces originaux qui prennent au sérieux les étranges pratiques importées de l'Inde, dont les pays européens sont de nos jours envahis. A vous d'expliquer alors, si on vous en laisse le loisir, que le bouddhisme est sorti de l'Inde depuis nombre de siècles et que les *Veda* ont depuis bien longtemps cessé de commander directement les religions vivantes du pays. Il vous faudra encore insister sur le fait que les religions actuelles (on ne citera pour simplifier que le çivaïsme, le vichnouisme et le çâktisme) sont largement répandues, qu'elles sont en pleine santé et qu'elles possèdent leurs textes propres, qui diffèrent des *Veda* au moins autant que le Nouveau Testament diffère de l'Ancien, toute question de langue mise à part. Vous prononcerez inévitablement le mot d'*Āgama*, qui n'éveillera aucun écho, celui de *Tantra*, qui en éveillera de faux; et vous aurez fort à faire pour convaincre votre auditeur que ces textes, objets de vos études, ont un intérêt autre que de curiosité: on n'en avait jamais entendu parler, n'est-ce pas une preuve de leur peu d'importance?

Telle est l'ignorance où sont en général les Européens vis-à-vis des sources vives des grandes religions indiennes. La situation en Inde même est à peine meilleure, car les ouvrages dont nous parlons ne font pas partie de ce fonds culturel commun où voisinent les *Upaniṣad*, les textes épiques et gnomiques, la *Gītā*, les *Purāṇa* et les traités majeurs des six *darśana* finalement retenus comme orthodoxes. Les *Āgama*, les *Tantra*, les *Saṃhitā* vichnouites ne sont connus que des lettrés des religions pour lesquelles ils sont respectivement les Ecritures. Encore leur information est-elle souvent très superficielle.

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Notre propos est de montrer que la connaissance de ces textes est indispensable à l'étude des religions vivantes de l'Inde, qu'elle est maintenant possible, et qu'elle est urgente. Notre plaidoyer se développera en trois points. (I) Nous montrerons d'abord l'intérêt exceptionnel des *Āgama*. (II) Ensuite nous parlerons des ténèbres qui les ont longtemps dérobés aux regards et qui maintenant se dissipent. (III) Enfin, nous analyserons quelques-unes des nombreuses affirmations erronées qui ont été écrites ou sont couramment proférées au sujet de la religion śivaïte, et qu'une connaissance, même sommaire, des *Āgama* permet de corriger.

Cette étude se limitera aux *Āgama* çivaïtes du Sud (*śaivāgama*); mais les remarques que nous ferons seraient applicables, *mutatis mutandis*, aux *Tantra* çivaïtes du Nord, aux *Tantra* çâkta et aux *Saṃhitā* vichnouites.

I. - LES *ĀGAMA* ET LA LITTÉRATURE ÂGAMIQUE

1. Le çivaïsme du Sud de l'Inde ou *śaivadarśana* (nous éviterons pour le moment le terme de *Śaiva-Siddhānta* qui sera discuté tout à l'heure) repose sur des textes que l'on nomme *Āgama*, parfois aussi mais plus rarement *Tantra*. Il existe en pays tamoul une croyance tenace qui veut que les *Āgama* originaux — peut-être pas ceux qui ont été directement énoncés par Śiva, mais les premiers que les hommes aient reçus dans un langage d'homme — aient été écrits en tamoul. Tout ce que l'on peut dire, et on l'a souvent dit, est que les *Āgama* qui nous sont parvenus sont tous en sanskrit et ne présentent aucun indice d'une éventuelle traduction à partir du tamoul, bien que ce dernier, ou d'autres langues des pays où les *Āgama* ont été rédigés, ait pu influencer quelque peu leur vocabulaire. Certes, le sanskrit des *Āgama* est parfois incorrect du point de vue de Pāṇini; il est souvent pauvre et inélégant; mais c'est du sanskrit, même s'il est écrit dans des écritures qui ne sont pas la *nāgarī*.

Les *Āgama* ne sont pas datables dans l'état actuel de la recherche, mais on ne doit pas être loin de la vérité en admettant qu'ils furent écrits entre le IIIème et le VIIème siècle de notre ère [1]. Ces dates concernent les vingt-huit *Āgama* dits fondamentaux (*Mūlāgama*), tout au moins leur première partie lorsqu'ils en ont deux [2]. Quant à la rédaction

1. Nous traduisons ici en chiffres brutaux les indications beaucoup plus nuancées que M. Jean Filliozat donne dans son Introduction à l'édition critique du *Raurava*vāgama par N. R. Bhatt (*Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie*, No 18, Pondichéry 1961, p. XIII).

2. Certains *Āgama* en effet, dont le *Kāmika* et le *Kāraṇa*, sont composés de deux parties, l'une « première » (*pūrva*) et l'autre « seconde » (*uttara*). Un temps plus ou moins long a pu séparer la rédaction des deux moitiés.

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des quelque deux cents *Āgama* secondaires (*Upāgama*), elle a pu se prolonger au-delà de la période indiquée, bien que les plus célèbres de ces textes, tels le *Mṛgendra* ou le *Kālottara*, soient de toute évidence contemporains des grands *Āgama*.

Mais que contiennent les *Āgama*? Pas seulement, comme beaucoup le croient, des prescriptions de nature iconographique et des recettes de magie. Les *Āgama* fournissent toute la base doctrinale et pratique sur laquelle est assis le çivaïsme que nous connaissons. C'est dans ces textes que se trouvent les premières codifications de cette religion: règles de comportement des fidèles (*caryā*); description des rites qu'ils doivent ou peuvent accomplir (*kriyā*); exposé des conceptions du *yoga* particulier à l'école, et dont la connaissance est indispensable à la pratique des méditations enjointes (*yoga*); enfin, enseignement de la doctrine qui sous-tend tout cela (*jñāna*). La plupart des *Āgama* n'ont plus — ou n'ont jamais eu — les quatre sections traditionnelles que nous venons de définir; mais tous ont quelque chose de capital à nous apprendre, au moins au sujet du rituel (sous lequel d'ailleurs transparaît la doctrine, si elle n'y est pas explicitée dans de courtes digressions dont l'ensemble forme une sorte de *jñānapāda* diffus). Il est absolument impossible d'avoir une connaissance approfondie du çivaïsme, passé et présent, en faisant l'économie de l'étude de ces textes de base; pas plus qu'on ne peut connaître le christianisme sans étudier la Bible. La littérature postérieure facilite l'accès aux *Āgama* mais ne peut en aucune façon les remplacer.

2. Les commentaires d'*Āgama* et d'*Upāgama*.

Au premier rang de cette littérature postérieure, il faut mentionner les commentaires des *Āgama*. Avant 1200, on a déjà:

— le commentaire du *Raurava* et du *Svayambhuva* par Sadyojyoti (VIIIème ou IXème siècle);

— le commentaire du *Mṛgendra* par Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha (Xème s.);

— le commentaire du *Kiraṇa* et du *Mataṅgapārameśvara* par Rāmakaṇṭha, le fils de Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha.

D'autres ont suivi, bientôt doublés de commentaires tamouls. Certains de ces ouvrages vénérables sont parvenus jusqu'à nous, et l'un d'eux, le commentaire du *Mṛgendra*, a même été imprimé deux fois[3]. L'Institut Français de Pondichéry s'apprête à en publier d'autres. Il est inutile d'insister sur l'intérêt de ces gloses, grâce auxquelles sont en partie conservées les explications orales dont les maîtres d'autrefois

3. Dêvakôṭṭai, 1928 et *Kashmir Series*, 1930. Il s'agit dans les deux cas des *vidyāpāda* et *yogapāda* du *Mṛgendra*, avec leur commentaire par Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha. L'édition de Dêvakôṭṭai donne en outre le sous-commentaire du *vidyāpāda* par Aghoraśiva.

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enrichissaient leurs exposés des *Āgama*, et qui nous livrent en outre nombre de citations d'*Āgama*, fort précieuses pour les éditions de textes.

3. Une autre classe d'écrits en dépendance directe des *Āgama* est constituée par les manuels ou *paddhati* et par leurs commentaires. Ils traitent avant tout de la vie rituelle et du comportement régulier (*kriyā* et *caryā*) des çivaïtes initiés. Mais, comme dans les *Āgama* et plus souvent encore, l'exposé du rituel est parfois interrompu par des réflexions sur sa signification ou sa raison d'être, donc sur la doctrine qui lui est sous-jacente. On recueille ainsi l'écho d'âpres disputes qui nous révèlent la diversité des opinions possibles à l'intérieur de la famille âgamique et témoignent éventuellement de l'existence d'écoles aujourd'hui oubliées.

Le plus ancien des manuels qui nous soit parvenu dans son intégralité est celui de Somaśambhu (XIème siècle) [4]. Somaśambhu a eu un commentateur, Trilocana, qui écrivait probablement vers 1200 et à qui l'on doit d'autres ouvrages. Il a eu surtout de nombreux successeurs, qui tous l'ont considéré comme une autorité et dont la plupart l'ont imité d'une façon servile, tel Aghoraśiva, dont la *paddhati*, datée de 1158, n'est, tout au moins pour le rituel privé, qu'un démarquage de celle de Somaśambhu qu'elle se contente d'expliciter sans en modifier ni la teneur ni le plan. Beaucoup plus facile à utiliser que le manuel condensé du vieux maître, la *paddhati* d'Aghoraśiva a connu une fortune remarquable: c'est en récitant ce manuel que les prêtres çivaïtes du pays tamoul accomplissent, maintenant encore, les gestes de leur rituel. Pourtant cet ouvrage avait été suivi par quantité d'autres du même type. L'un au moins est bien connu: c'est la *Kriyādīpikā* (XVIème siècle) dont l'auteur, Jñānaśiva, est l'un des six grands commentateurs du *Siddhiar* [5].

Les manuels répondaient à deux exigences précises: (1) unification des enseignements, parfois contradictoires, des *Āgama*; (2) systématisation de ces enseignements. Ils ont si bien rempli leur fonction qu'ils ont fini par éclipser quelque peu les *Āgama* eux-mêmes. Mais d'un autre côté ils ont contribué à les préserver de l'oubli, parce que les commentateurs des différentes *paddhati* se sont toujours efforcé, pour justifier

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4. La *paddhati* de Somaśambhu a fait l'objet, comme le *Mṛgendra*, de deux éditions indépendantes, l'une à Dêvakôṭṭai en 1931, l'autre dans les *Kashmir Series* en 1947, cette dernière très mauvaise dans l'ensemble. De nombreux mss. en existent qui nous ont permis d'établir un meilleur texte et d'en donner une traduction, dont les deux premiers volumes ont paru (*Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie*, Pondichéry, 1963 et 1968).

L'ouvrage est daté 1153 *vikrama* (1096 A.D.) dans quelques mss., 1130 *vikrama* (1073 A.D.) dans d'autres. De toutes façons il est certain qu'il appartient au XIème siècle, et c'est par erreur que M. Rafaelo Gnoli, dans la belle communicatoin qu'il a faite en 1971, dans le cadre de la Convention Internationale des Etudes Indologiques, l'attribue au XIIème (cf. *Indologica Taurinensia*, I, Torino 1973, p. 62).

5. *Kriyādīpikā*, par Śivāgrayogīndra-Jñānaśivācārya, Madras, 1929.

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les injonctions de leurs maîtres, de rassembler le plus grand nombre possible de passages d'*Āgama* susceptibles de leur fournir un support.

4. Les traités doctrinaux.

Les commentaires et sous-commentaires d'*Āgama* et les commentaires des *paddhati* sont, à notre avis, les sources les plus précieuses que nous possédions en ce qui concerne la doctrine çivaïte dans toute sa richesse et sa complexité. Les traités didactiques indépendants, où cette doctrine est plus figée, n'en sont pas pour autant négligeables. Les plus intéressants sont aussi les plus anciens, ceux des auteurs kâchmiriens Sadyojyoti, Rāmakaṇṭha et Śrīkaṇṭha et d'un Bhojadeva qui semble bien être le Roi Bhoja de Dhâra [6]. Bien qu'ils aient vu le jour dans le Nord de l'Inde, ils se situent exactement dans la ligne de ce qui est maintenant le çivaïsme du Sud (dualiste); et ils sont abondamment cités par Mādhava pour illustrer la doctrine de ce *śaivadarśana.* On notera qu'ils ont été écrits entre le VIIIème et le XIème siècle, donc avant que ne commence, avec Meykandar, la série des exposés doctrinaux du *Śaiva-Siddhānta* tamoul. Avec leurs commentaires, dont certains appartiennent à la même époque et les autres au XIIème siècle, ils constituent l'assise doctrinale la plus solide et la plus accessible du çivaïsme âgamique d'expression sanskrite. Pourtant ils sont négligés de nos jours [7]. Un seul a été traduit, et c'est tout récemment, par P.-S. Filliozat [8].

II. - CONNAISSANCE (OU MÉCONNAISSANCE) DES *ĀGAMA*

1. Si la dernière classe d'écrits fondés sur les *Āgama*, c'est-à-dire les traités doctrinaux, semble avoir assez vite été connue des érudits indiens, le reste de la littérature âgamique, et particulièrement les *Āgama* eux-mêmes, est resté longtemps totalement ignoré du monde non çivaïte. En vertu d'une règle qui interdisait absolument aux çivaïtes initiés de communiquer leur Ecritures (considérées comme divines) aux personnes non initiées, les Āgama ont été confinés au monde çivaïte, comme des secrets de famille jalousement gardés. Le monde extérieur les connaissait de nom (la liste des *Āgama* se trouve dans certains *Purāṇa*); il en avait recueilli quelques fragments, parfois incorporés à des ouvrages clas-

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6. On a ainsi un ensemble de huit traités qui, groupés sous le vocable d'*aṣṭa-prakaraṇa*, ont été publiés à Dêvakôṭṭai en 1923 et 1925 (2 vol.), chacun avec son commentaire.

7. Il y a de notables exceptions. PANDEY par exemple (*Bhaskarī*, Vol. VIII, Lucknow 1954, p. LXVI à CX) utilise largement ces traités pour exposer le çivaïsme dualiste du *Siddhānta*.

8. Cf. *Journal Asiatique*, 1971, p. 247 sq.

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siques comme le *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*. Mais personne n'avait lu ces textes, personne n'en avait jamais vu aucun manuscrit. On a même pu douter que les vingt-huit titres dont on avait la liste aient tous correspondu à des ouvrages réels.

Cette période d'ignorance totale est révolue depuis trois quarts de siècle. Entre 1900 et 1928 en effet, quatre *Āgama* fondamentaux (les *Kāmika*, *Kāraṇa*, *Kiraṇa* et *Suprabheda*) et plusieurs *Āgama* secondaires on été publiés. Ces éditions en caractères *grantha* et à très faible tirage étaient en principe destinées aux lettrés çivaïtes; mais il était possible aux autres d'en prendre connaissance. Dès 1914, on voit un savant comme Gopinath Rao utiliser des *Āgama*, publiés ou inédits, pour en extraire des renseignements concernant l'iconographie des temples [9]. Un pas de plus a été fait récemment. Grâce à l'effort d'instituts de recherche au premier rang desquels ils faut citer l'Institut Français d'Indologie de Pondichéry, presque tous les *Āgama* fondamentaux ont été retrouvés, intégralement ou en partie. Les manuscrits sont rassemblés, recopiés en *nāgarī* pour en faciliter la lecture; leur publication scientifique a commencé et se poursuivra.

On pourrait donc s'attendre à ce que le monde savant se précipite, curieux, sur ces textes nouvellement accessibles. Il n'en est rien. Les ouvrages récemment parus en Inde sur le çivaïsme du Sud sont publiés comme ils l'auraient été il y a cent ans: les inévitables allusions aux *Āgama* sont vagues, et si l'auteur reproduit des citations, il ne cherche pas à les identifier, tant est ancrée l'habitude de considérer le recours à ces sources comme impossible [10]. Par ailleurs, des manuels européens sur les religions indiennes continuent à voir le jour sans aucun chapitre sur le çivaïsme âgamique.

Une telle persistance à vouloir ignorer une littérature essentielle est d'abord un effet de l'inertie naturelle aux hommes. Mais d'autres con-

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9. Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Madras, 1914-1916. Cf. aussi Prasanna Kumār Acharya, *An Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture*, 7 Vol., Oxford, 1927-1946.

10. Citons comme exemple la traduction du *Śataratnasaṅgraha* d'Umāpati par Thirugnanasambandhan, Madras, 1973. L'ouvrage est un assemblage de fragments d'*Āgama*, dont Umāpati donne presque toujours la provenance, jamais naturellement la référence précise. Le traducteur n'a essayé ni d'identifier les passages anonymes, ni de préciser les références des autres, ou de ceux qu'ajoute le commentateur. Conséquence inévitable: la traduction de plusieurs *śloka* est totalement erronée, le contexte où ils s'inséraient dans l'ouvrage original étant seul susceptible d'éclairer leur sens. Or le travail d'identification aurait été aisé, au moins pour les très nombreux passages provenant du *Mṛgendra* ou du *Kiraṇa*, tous deux publiés avec un index des *śloka*.

Cf. aussi V. A. Devasenapathi, *Śaiva Siddhānta*, Madras, 1966. On pourra vérifier à l'aide de l'index que toutes les références aux *Āgama* sont indirectes, et le plus souvent terriblement générales (« the Agamas say... », « Vedas and Āgamas say... »). Elles sont empruntées aux commentaires du *Siddhiar* que le livre résume pour exposer le *Śaiva Siddhānta*.

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sidérations jouent dans le même sens. Les unes sont d'ordre subjectif, tel le discrédit où les textes dits « tantriques » sont en général tenus; ou encore la conviction toute gratuite que ceux qui nous sont parvenus sont récents, et par là sans intérêt. D'autres sont objectives et fondées. Il est exact par exemple que l'écriture *grantha* dans laquelle sont écrits les principaux mss. retrouvés, et qui est aussi celle des premières éditions indiennes, ne se lit pas sans apprentissage, même pour un Tamoul. Il est exact surtout que la langue des *Āgama* est dans l'ensemble obscure, parce que technique et allusive. Elle fourmille de termes qui à première vue n'ont aucun sens pour le lecteur moderne; et l'état de corruption dans lequel les textes nous sont parvenus ne facilite pas leur lecture, qu'ils soient manuscrits — et c'est encore le cas le plus favorable, malgré les malheureuses corrections de scribes de bonne volonté — ou mal édités, comme ceux qui ont fait l'objet des premières publications. Mais ces derniers obstacles peuvent être surmontés, si l'on dispose de l'énergie et de la patience nécessaires; et l'effort pour le faire est largement payé de retour.

2. Tout ce qui précède concerne le monde savant non çivaïte. Mais le milieu çivaïte a-t-il su au moins préserver son trésor? La connaissance des *Āgama* s'est-elle transmise régulièrement jusqu'à nos jours? S'il en était ainsi, nous saurions à qui nous adresser pour nous les communiquer et nous les expliquer. Il faut malheureusement se rendre à l'évidence: parmi les çivaïtes eux-mêmes c'est l'ignorance aussi qui prévaut. Cette ignorance toutefois n'est pas totale, et nous allons essayer de faire le point à ce propos, en distinguant d'abord entre la pratique du rituel et la connaissance de la doctrine.

(a) En ce qui concerne le rituel, public ou privé, l'influence des *Āgama* est encore réelle, mais elle est indirecte. On l'a dit: l'ouvrage qui commande le rituel et que l'on suit à la lettre pour l'accomplir est un manuel du XIIème siècle, la *paddhati* d'Aghoraśiva, qui est basée sur les *Āgama*. Elle les préserve donc de l'oubli, puisqu'elle en transmet les enseignements; mais elle leur fait écran, puisqu'elle s'y substitue. Aghoraśiva a fort bien et fort clairement expliqué le détail des rites: pourquoi irait-on chercher des prescriptions dans ces textes confus et contradictoires que sont les *Āgama*? Par ailleurs, la pratique des rites suffit en général aux initiés, qu'ils soient ou non des maîtres; et il est rare que ces praticiens aient à coeur de pénétrer la signification de gestes qu'ils accomplissent, encore moins de réfléchir à leur accord — ou à leur désaccord — avec la doctrine acceptée de nos jours. Enfin, et ceci est plus grave parce que le mouvement semble irréversible, les officiants qui accomplissent leurs rites avec sérieux et conviction sont maintenant le très petit nombre. Même une cérémonie aussi solennelle qu'une *dīkṣā* ou que la consécration d'un maître est en règle générale menée avec négligence et même bâclée, toujours adaptée plus qu'il n'est permis aux conditions matérielles de temps et d'argent. Il faut avoir ces faits

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présents à l'esprit avant d'accorder créance aux rapports des ethnologues sur les rites qu'ils ont pu observer.

(b) En ce qui concerne la doctrine, la situation est plus complexe. Le *śaivadarśana* en effet s'est dédoublé au cours de sa longue histoire. La branche sanskrite issue des *Āgama* a continué sa croissance droite, mais en donnant des fruits de plus en plus rares; et une branche tamoule, en partie d'ailleurs enracinée dans un humus différent, s'est détachée du tronc principal et, sans instaurer de rituel particulier, a exprimé sa doctrine sous une forme puissante et originale, celle que l'on connaît sous le nom de *Śaiva-Siddhānta* (mais que nous préférons nommer *Śaiva-Siddhānta* tamoul, parce que l'autre branche est aussi un *Śaiva-Siddhānta*).

Les maîtres de la branche sanskrite sont des *ācārya* au sens technique du terme, qui en principe devraient unir à une science parfaite du rituel une connaissance sûre de la doctrine âgamique. Nous n'avons jamais rencontré de maître répondant entièrement à cette définition. Mais pluisieurs *ācārya* connaissent par coeur de nombreaux passages d'*Āgama* ou de manuels, recopient comme leurs prédécesseurs des ouvrages entiers, s'intéressent aux nouvelles éditions. On note même ces dernières années un effort réel dans le domaine de l'enseignement des Ecritures. La proportion de ces érudits est cependant très faible, et la plupart des çivaïtes qui portent le beau titre d'*ācārya* sont des ritualistes ignorants. Quelques-uns essaient de combler leurs lacunes doctrinales; mais comme ils connaissent trop mal le sanskrit pour lire avec profit les ouvrages de l'école, ils recourent aux traités tamouls. Et ceci nous amène au cas des héritiers de Meykandar. Ont-ils conservé intégralement la tradition des *Āgama*?

On lit et on entend dire que le *Śaiva-Siddhānta* tamoul représente *la* doctrine des *Āgama*, celle qui correspondrait au rituel âgamique resté en vigueur. Il est temps de dissiper cette illusion. D'abord, il n'existe pas de doctrine unique des *Āgama*; nous reviendrons sur ce point tout à l'heure. Ensuite, du simple fait que le canon du *Śaiva-Siddhānta* tamoul comprend d'autres ouvrages que les *Āgama* et *Upāgama*, la doctrine qui repose sur ces bases multiples n'a jamais pu s'identifier totalement avec celle, variée déjà, qui s'est élaborée à partir des sources sanskrites seules. Cependant, le lien entre le *Śaiva-Siddhānta* tamoul et les *Āgama* est longtemps resté très étroit. Au XVIème siècle, les commentateurs tamouls du *Siddhiar* connaissent le sanskrit de façon parfaite; ils puisent largement dans les *Āgama* pour écrire leurs traités et se battre contre leurs adversaires [11]. Le lien se relâche peu à peu; et, au XXème siècle, un spécialiste du *Śaiva-Siddhānta* tamoul ne semble même pas imaginer que la connaissance du sanskrit pourrait lui être de quelque utilité pour comprendre les oeuvres de son école. On se réclame

11. Cf. DEVASENAPATHI, *op. cit., passim.*

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encore des *Āgama* par habitude, ou parce que les auteurs tamouls que l'on utilise y font allusion, ou encore parce que Schomérus a insisté sur leur importance. Mais le contact réel est rompu, et l'école « officielle » s'éloignant de ses sources doctrinales les plus sûres, s'éloigne en même temps de l'école soeur du *Siddhānta* sanskrit. Ainsi se trouve-t-on en présence de deux écoles qui diffèrent sur un asez grand nombre de points de doctrine mais l'ignorent, ou ne s'en soucient guère. L'une a perdu toute vitalité et, à moins d'un redressement spectaculaire, ne sera bientôt plus qu'un objet de musée — intéressante à ce titre d'ailleurs. L'autre semble vivante, mais elle se stérilise en limitant sa nourriture aux traités de ses propres docteurs, tout au moins de ceux dont les opinions n'ont pas été jugées trop hardies. Elle comprend d'ailleurs de moins en moins leurs oeuvres, parce que les enseignements âgamiques qu'ils supposent connus ne le sont plus (d'où des erreurs parfois monumentales dans les traductions des passages sanskrits, ou des termes techniques, inclus dans les textes tamouls anciens); et elle les trahit, en admettant des doctrines qu'ils ont récusées d'avance.

Ce n'est donc pas en étudiant les textes du *Śaiva-Siddhānta* tamoul, aussi intéressants soient-ils, qu'on se fera une idée juste de l'enseignement doctrinal des *Āgama*. Il faut s'adresser à ceux-ci directement. Le premier résultat sera d'ordre scientifique: la découverte d'une école (ou d'écoles) presque disparue, celle que l'on peut appeler *Śaiva-Siddhānta* sanskrit. Le second aura une portée plus actuelle. Ce sera l'éclairage, par les *Āgama*, du *Śaiva-Siddhānta* tamoul lui-même, qui sera dès lors en mesure de préciser son originalité par rapport à la branche sanskrite, et peut-être de réfléchir à l'étrange alliance qu'il entretient avec un rituel dont maints aspects démentent certains de ses dogmes les plus chers.

III. - ERREURS ET PROBLÈMES

Nous espérons en avoir dit suffisamment pour que plus personne ne doute que l'étude des *Āgama* présente un intérêt capital. On pourrait développer davantage: insister sur l'originalité de la philosophie (ou des philosophies) âgamique; sur le caractère très particulier du *yoga* qui est exposé dans ces textes; sur la richesse et la portée des rites qu'on y trouve décrits et dont l'interprétation juste — oserons-nous dire la réanimation? — est encore possible, même avec la seule aide des textes que nous avons. C'eût été la méthode la plus naturelle pour souligner l'urgence de l'étude des *Āgama* si absolument rien n'avait jamais été dit sur ces Ecritures. Malheureusement, beaucoup de choses ont été dites, soit à propos des textes eux-mêmes (date ou contenu), soit à propos de leurs relations aux autres écrits, soit à propos des rites qu'ils commandent et dont un observateur peut à tout moment être le témoin; et ce sont souvent des affirmations fausses. Nous allons donc procéder négativement et essayer de stimuler l'intérêt pour la littérature âgamique

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en général et les *Āgama* en particulier en stigmatisant ces erreurs ou ces affirmations superficielles, en mettant le doigt d'autre part sur quelques difficultés peu connues. Les points soulevés concerneront successivement l'histoire, la doctrine, le rituel, les traductions de textes dépendant des *Āgama* et les observations d'ethonologues.

1. *Problèmes d'histoire*

(a) Arrêtons-nous d'abord sur l'origine du terme de *Śaiva-Siddhānta*. Un spécialiste de l'école tamoule de ce nom, qui se trouve en même temps être un sanskritiste, affirme en 1973 que le terme de *siddhānta* « *was applied first by Tirumūlar to the system of Śaivism developed in the south on the basis of Vedas and Āgamas* ». Thirugnanasambandhan, qui écrit ces mots à la p. XVII de son Introduction à sa traduction du *Śataratnasaṅgraha* d'Umāpati [12], nous apprend deux pages plus haut que Tirumūlar, dans son oeuvre, s'était explicitement référé à neuf *Āgama*: *Kāraṇa, Kāmika, Vīra, Vātula, Devyāmata, Kālottara, Suprabheda* et *Makuṭa*. Or le terme de *siddhānta* est utilisé à notre connaissance au moins dans le *Kāmika* [13], le *Suprabheda* [14] et le *Kāraṇa* [15] pour désigner justement l'école çivaïte qui repose sur les vingt-huit *Āgama* « dont le premier est le *Kāmika* ». Quelle que soit la date que l'on retienne pour Tirumūlar (l'auteur dont nous parlons le situe au Vème ou au VIème siècle), on se demande ce qui empêche ses admirateurs de reconnaître simplement qu'il a pris le terme de *siddhānta*, avec son sens technique précis, dans les *Āgama* eux-mêmes. Les auteurs du Nord, par exemple Kṣemarāja au XIème siècle, utilisent d'ailleurs ce terme couramment pour désigner le çivaïsme âgamique, et ceci sans référence aucune aux oeuvres tamoules qu'ils ignoraient très probablement. Il en va de même des *Purāṇa*.

(b) Le second point d'histoire qui nous retiendra concerne la date des *paddhati*. Dans le Volume II de la revue *Śaiva-Siddhānta*, un M. Arunachala entreprend d'instruire ses lecteurs au sujet des manuels nommés *paddhati* et des traités doctrinaux. Sans relever toutes les erreurs dont l'article est truffé, mentionnons quelques-unes des conclusions auxquelles l'auteur arrive, quant aux dates des manuels: Bhojarāja écrit au XIVème siècle (c'est sans doute au XIème); la *paddhati* d'Aghoraśiva aurait été composée au XVème siècle (elle est datée 1158, date confirmée amplement par ailleurs); Somaśambhu « doit se placer après Meykandar » (il écrit au XIème siècle); Nirmalamaṇi aurait vécu au XVIIème ou au XVIIIème siècle (c'est au XVIème); etc. Toutes les

12. Cf. n. 10.

13. *Pūrva-Kāmika*, 1, 21-22; *Uttara-Kāmika*, 24, 81.

14. *Suprabheda, caryāpāda*, 1, 6-9.

15. *Pūrva-Kāraṇa*, 26, 58-65, partiellement cité par N. R. Bhatt dans son Introduction à l'*Ajitāgama* (*Publ. de l'I.F.I.*, No 24, vol. I, Pondichéry, 1964, p. I, n. 1).

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dates des auteurs sanskrits sont rabaissées, sans raison valable, après des discussions reposant sur des prémisses fausses et nourries d'arguments imaginaires. La vérité est que l'auteur ne peut admettre que des oeuvres de valeur aient vu le jour en sanskrit avant que n'aient été écrits les traités qui font la fierté du *Śaiva-Siddhānta* tamoul.

Je ne crois pas que les idées personnelles de M. Arunachala inquiètent beaucoup les érudits. Mais il est pour le moins regrettable qu'elles soient diffusées par une revue qui se veut sérieuse, et obtiennent de ce fait l'audience de personnes simples, à qui l'apparence érudite de l'article en impose, et qui sont d'avance toute disposées à croire en la priorité absolue des travaux tamouls. Des « études » de ce genre ne peuvent qu'ajouter à la confusion. Une analyse systématique des manuels et de leurs commentaires permet d'obtenir une bonne chronologie relative, et beaucoup de manuels donnent en clair la date de leur composition. Ne serait-il pas temps que des chercheurs indiens s'attaquent à ce problème — un des plus faciles parmi ceux que pose la littérature âgamique — et mettent ainsi un point final aux déclarations gratuites et partisanes qui ne rehaussent pas l'éclat du *Śaiva-Siddhānta* tamoul?

(c) La troisième et dernier point d'histoire que nous toucherons concerne la chronologie relative des *Āgama* et des *Purāṇa*. On sait que plusieurs *Purāṇa* contiennent la liste intégrale des *Āgama* ainsi que de larges sections qui décrivent un rituel de type âgamique. On sait moins que ces sections sont parfois simplement prises à un *Āgama*. L'*Agni Purāṇa* par exemple possède une série de chapitres sur le rituel çivaïte (le septième du volume total de l'ouvrage) où l'enseignant est soudain Īśvara et l'enseigné Ṣaṇmukha, et qui sont très probablement la copie (tout au moins le reflet) d'un *Āgama* qu'il reste à identifier [16]. Le *Liṅga Purāṇa* [17], le *Śiva Purāṇa* [18] ont des passages semblables. Quoique mieux intégrés au reste de l'ouvrage que dans l'*Agni Purāṇa*, ils sont âgamiques par leur contenu et par leur style, tout émaillé de ces termes techniques qui découragent les éditeurs et les traducteurs, peu préparés à leur faire face. Nous donnerons plus loin quelques détails à ce sujet. Ce sur quoi nous voulions insister ici est la dépendance où ces *Purāṇa* sont vis-à-vis des *Āgama* quant à ces sections particulières. Déclarer que ces passages sont des additions tardives au texte ne résout rien, puisque leur volume est loin d'être négligeable et que nul ne pense à en amputer les *Purāṇa*. Il faut simplement corriger l'habitude acquise de considérer les *Purāṇa* dans leur ensemble comme des textes antérieurs aux *Āgama*, et reconnaître en même temps la nécessité de recourir à ces derniers pour comprendre les chapitres des *Purāṇa* où un rituel « tantrique » est décrit.

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16. *Agni Purāṇa*, *adhyāya* 72 à 106, à quoi il faudrait peut-être ajouter les *adhyāya* 125 à 149 et 317 à 327, eux aussi enseignés par Śiva à Ṣaṇmukha.

17. *Liṅga Purāṇa*, ch. 21 par ex.

18. *Śivamahāpurāṇa*, *Vayusaṃhitā*, en particulier les ch. 16 à 20.

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2. *Problèmes de doctrine*

Les affirmations erronées au sujet de la doctrine des *Āgama* étant légion, on se contentera d'indications sommaires, dont les premières sont données pour souligner la diversité des opinions rencontrées dans les textes fondamentaux et réfuter ainsi en bloc toutes les déclarations générales faites à leur sujet, et les secondes, pour attirer l'attention sur quelques points de divergence entre le *Śaiva-Siddhānta* tamoul d'une part, et les *Āgama*, unanimes cette fois, de l'autre.

(a) Les *Āgama* se s'accordent pas entre eux sur les points suivants:

— la nature de la relation entre Śiva et le monde; certains textes semblant enseigner un pur monisme tandis que d'autres contiennent la doctrine, devenue officielle dans les deux branches sanskrite et tamoule, des trois réalités indépendantes (*pati*, *paśu*, *pāśa*) [19];

— la liste des *tattva*, qui n'est pas toujours celle qu'ont popularisée les ouvrages de l'école *śākta* et les manuels du *Śaiva-Siddhānta*, sanskrit et tamoul [20];

— la nature des plus élevés parmi ces *tattva*, les cinq *tattva* dits « purs »: ils sont parfois conçus comme des aspects de Śiva, le plus souvent comme des parties subtiles du Cosmos;

— le nombre et le nom des mondes (*bhuvana*) [21];

— la conception et l'effet de la *dīkṣā*;

— la conception des cinq *kalā* (Nivṛtti, Pratiṣṭhā, Vidyā, Śānti et Śāntyatītā), d'ailleurs absente de plusieurs *Āgama*;

— le rôle du Sextuple Chemin (*ṣaḍadhvan*), lui aussi inconnu de plusieurs *Āgama* fondamentaux.

(b) Le *Śaiva-Siddhānta* tamoul, tel au moins que l'exposent ses derniers représentants et en particulier les auteurs contemporains, enseigne quelques doctrines qui sont en désaccord total avec tous les *Āgama* que nous avons lus. On en retiendra trois.

La première concerne l'instrument efficace de la libération de l'âme entravée par son triple lien (*pāśa*). Selon le *Śaiva-Siddhānta* moderne, la connaissance (*jñāna*) ou la *bhakti* peuvent jouer ce rôle libérateur;

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19. Cf. DEVASENAPATHI, *op. cit.*, ch. III, IV et V; ou PANDEY, *op. cit.*, p. LXXII-LXXIII.

20. La liste classique de trente-six *tattva* est donnée dans la Pl. V de notre traduction à la *Somaśambhupaddhati*, 1ère partie (cf. n. 4). Nous avons relevé deux listes différentes dans le seul *Suprabheda* (cf. *Journal Asiatique*, 1967, p. 47 et 53).

21. La liste la plus couramment acceptée est de 224. On la trouvera, ainsi que d'autres tout à fait différentes, dans le troisième volume (à paraître) de notre traduction de la *Somaśambhupaddhati*.

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pour tous les *Āgama* au contraire, une intervention directe de Śiva, qui ne peut avoir lieu qu'au cours d'un rite nommé *dīkṣā*, est indispensable [22].

Second point de divergence sérieuse: le statut de l'âme libérée. Les *Āgama* dans leur grande majorité clament que l'âme libérée devient *identique* à Śiva et parfaitement autonome; la plupart des auteurs tamouls refusent cette vision et (probablement pour laisser sa place à l'adoration, même après la disparition des entraves) affirment que l'âme libre reste différente de Śiva et sous sa dépendance [23].

Enfin, et ceci relève de l'attitude sociale plus que de la doctrine, la place faite aux *Veda* n'est pas la même ici et là. Les *Āgama*, si l'on excepte certaines déclarations ostentatoires que l'on place en début de chapitre et qui n'engagent à rien, refusent toute valeur réelle aux *Veda*, écritures humaines (*paśu-śāstra*) dont il faut se détourner pour suivre uniquement les écritures divines (*pati-śāstra*) que sont les *Āgama*. Les rites védiques font même obstacle au fruit de la *dīkṣā*, qui est la libération; et si on les a accomplis auparavant, il faut les « effacer » par un rite âgamique adéquat. Le *Śaiva-Siddhānta* tamoul au contraire aime à insister sur l'accord (prétendu) entre *Veda* et *Āgama*.

Les brèves indications qui précèdent n'ont pas été réunies pour décourager la recherche en mettant en évidence les difficultés qu'elle aura à surmonter, mais pour en démontrer la nécessité et en dessiner le programme: il faut préciser l'enseignement de chaque *Āgama*, comparer les *Āgama* entre eux en distinguant éventuellement des écoles, comparer les commentaires sanskrits et tamouls aux *Āgama*, déceler les choix, les déviations, voire les révolutions plus ou moins conscientes qui ont pu se produire à un moment donné. Après cela seulement on sera en mesure de parler avec autorité de l'enseignement doctrinal des *Āgama* et du çivaïsme qui repose sur eux. La connaissance du *Śaiva-Siddhānta* tamoul en sera régénérée, et les comparaisons avec les écoles parallèles (çivaïsme du Nord, vichnouisme, çâktisme, hindouisme passé et présent des pays influencés par l'Inde) pourront s'établir sur des bases sûres.

On notera à ce sujet que les problèmes de doctrine ne s'éclairent pas seulement par l'étude des sections théoriques des *Āgama*. Ce serait désespéré parce que les *Āgama* fondamentaux sont presque tous privés de ces sections. Mais, répétons-le, on trouve la doctrine d'un *Āgama* exprimée à l'occasion des rites ou implicite sous ces derniers; et ces enseignements accidentels ou même involontaires sont souvent beaucoup plus sûrs que ceux qui sont dispensés de façon systématique et réfléchie dans les sections spécialisées. L'exemple donné plus haut de la « démolition », pendant la *dīkṣā*, des rites védiques pour lesquels on

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22. Comparer par ex. les vers 58 à 74 du *Śataratnasaṅgraha* (*op. cit.*), qui insistent sur la nécessité de la *dīkṣā* en citant une série d'*Āgama*, avec les p. 254-255 de l'ouvrage cité de Devasenapathi.

23. Jñānaprakāśar fait exception; mais ses successeurs le critiquent vertement en l'accusant d'être un *samavādin*. Cf. DEVASENAPATHI, *op. cit.*, p. 283-288.

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affiche ouvertement le plus grand respect, est significatif à cet égard. C'est également l'étude des rites qui révèle la crainte avec laquelle on manipulait les « restes » de Śiva, ce dangereux *nirmālya* des *liṅga* fixes établis de main d'homme, tandis que la pratique actuelle a presque oublié les interdits qui l'entouraient [24]. C'est le rituel encore, celui des *Āgama* les plus anciens, qui permet d'affirmer la nature phallique du *liṅga* (au moins à partir du moment où son culte se fixe), en dépit des dénégations indignées de certains *Purāṇa* comme le *Liṅga Purāṇa*. Dans tous ces cas, l'analyse des rites conduit à découvrir une vérité de fait camouflée par des déclarations opportunes ou simplement oubliée ou reniée au cours des siècles.

Dans d'autres cas, on voit le rituel moderne s'opposer à la doctrine couramment reçue sans que l'on puisse expliquer leur désaccord par les raisons précédentes. Par exemple, le rituel de le *dīkṣā*, tel qu'Aghoraśiva (imitant Somaśambhu) l'a fixé, s'acharne à détruire les trois entraves de l'âme [25] lors de sa traversée de tous les étages cosmiques, alors que les théoriciens dans leur ensemble nient l'existence du *karman*, et parfois du *mala*, dans les mondes les plus purs .On se demandera alors si la doctrine n'a pas évolué depuis que le rituel a été conçu, acceptant des notions nouvelles (par exemple les trois catégories d'êtres telles qu'elles sont enseignées par tout le çivaïsme actuel) qui s'ajustent mal avec la structure figée du rituel. Le rite est en effet conservateur par essence, plus rigide que les exposés doctrinaux facilement remaniés ou allongés; et la résistance qu'il offre ainsi à l'intégration de doctrines étrangères permet dans une certaine mesure de suivre l'histoire de celles-ci.

3. *Problèmes de rituel*

Outre les problèmes de son accord avec la doctrine, le rituel pose évidemment à chaque pas des problèmes d'interprétation. Des difficultés ont dû surgir très tôt, car on voit le même geste, dans un contexte donné, expliqué de façons fort diverses par les différents commentateurs. La tâche d'un commentateur du XXème siècle est extrêmement malaisée, sans être impossible. Il doit à la fois tenir compte de toutes les lectures traditionnelles (elles se complètent souvent) et de l'ensemble cohérent que constitue la somme de tous les rituels prescrits; et il doit

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24. Cf. notre article sur la consommation du *nirmālya* in *Journal Asiatique*, 1969, p. 213-263.

25. Ce sont: l'impureté naturelle nommée *mala*, les effets des actes passés (*karman*) et les entraves matérielles dérivées de la *māyā* (*māyeya*). Cf. les textes cités n. 19, ou notre introduction à la *Somaśambhupaddhati*, Ière partie, p. XIII sq. (une mise au point sera apportée dans le troisième volume). Les êtres « liés » (*paśu*) sont classés en trois catégories, selon qu'ils sont liés par la première de ces entraves, ou par les deux premières, ou par les trois.

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se méfier à la fois de sa propre imagination et de celles des spécialistes contemporains des rites (les *gurukkal* du pays tamoul), rarement à même de l'aider efficacement. On retrouvera ces problèmes à propos des observations d'ethnologues.

4. *Problèmes de traductions*

Il ne s'agira pas ici de la traduction des *Āgama* et des textes qui en dépendent directement. Comme elle n'a pas commencé, aucune catastrophe n'est encore à signaler de ce côté[26]. C'est aux *Purāṇa* surtout que nous en aurons, car leur traduction va bon train et répand sur un vaste marché les pires erreurs à propos des rites âgamiques mentionnés dans ces textes. Il est à peine exagéré de dire qu'on ne peut rien tirer des traductions existantes des chapitres techniques, ceux qui décrivent des *dīkṣā* par exemple. Nous nous réservons de donner une nouvelle traduction du chapitre 21 du *Liṅga Purāṇa*, hermétique aux spécialistes des *Purāṇa* mais aisé à comprendre à la lumière des *Āgama*. Il faudrait faire de même pour les chapitres 81 à 89 de l'*Agni Purāṇa* où les fautes de l'édition sanskrite sont multipliées par celle du traducteur. M. N. Dutt avait au moins l'excuse d'écrire en 1903-1904; et il ignorait que son travail imparfait serait repris tel quel soixante ans plus tard. Il note au demeurant son incompétence dans son Introduction[27], en avertissant le lecteur que l'*Agni Purāṇa* contient de nombreux rites « which are entirely obsolete now and thoroughly inexplicable ». Ce qu'il ajoute encore, à savoir que ces rites auxquels il ne comprend goutte sont sans aucun intérêt pour le lecteur moyen, n'est que le corollaire faux d'une affirmation imprudente. La situation est exactement la même pour tous les *Purāṇa* qui ont des chapitres de ce genre. Au lieu donc d'aller répétant que le sanskrit des *Purāṇa* est facile et qu'on peut s'embarquer dans leur étude sans préparation particulière, il serait bon de s'imprégner de l'idée que de larges sections de ces textes ne sont compréhensibles que grâce aux *Āgama*, et qu'étudier ceux-ci, c'est éclairer ceux-là.

Un problème analogue, on l'a dit, se pose pour les ouvrages tamouls du *Śaiva-Siddhānta*, surchargés de termes sanskrits techniques que l'école a hérités sans toujours en conserver le sens. Courants et limpides pour les vieux maîtres, ces mots deviennent énigmes pour les *siddhāntin* contemporains, qui les interprètent à l'aveuglette, exactement comme les traducteurs des *Purāṇa*. Là encore, la clé est dans les *Āgama*.

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26. Mais cf. n. 10.

27. *Agni Purāṇa*, traduction par M. N. Dutt, *Chowkhamba Publications*, Intr., p. V. L'édition sanskrite utilisée par Dutt n'est pas indiquée. Mais certaines fautes évidentes de cette édition inconnue apparaissent à travers la traduction (M. N. Dutt lit *saptamanavaka* là où il faudrait avoir *svapnamanavaka*, trad. p. 325; *visvara* pour *viṣuva*, trad. p. 351; etc.); et ces mêmes fautes se retrouvent dans l'édition soi-disant nouvelle de Baladeva Upādhyāya, *Chowkhamba Series Office*, Varanasi, 1966.

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5. *Observations d'ethnologues*

Nous avons gardé pour la fin la critique, presque trop aisée, des travaux d'ethnologues portant sur les rites religieux hindous. Tout le monde a remarqué que l'image qu'ils en donnaient était ordinairement déformée, rarement apte en tout cas à faire avancer la connaissance de la religion dans laquelle ils s'insèrent. La raison de cette déficience est double. Il y a d'une part l'ignorance générale, et le manque de scrupule fréquent, des informateurs, trop vite prêts à dire n'importe quoi pour satisfaire la curiosité des enquêteurs; d'autre part, l'imagination des ethnologues eux-mêmes, qui souvent fonctionne à faux sur un terme incompris. Nous nous référerons à deux cas précis.

Le premier nous est fourni par la commuincation que Melle Brenta Beck a présentée au Congrès de Philadelphie en mai 1973. Melle Beck était d'ailleurs consciente de la fragilité de ses résultats, et prête à corriger dans son rapport écrit les erreurs qu'elle avait pu commettre en utilisant la méthode ethnologique aidée de réminiscences de mythes indiens et de ses propres réflexions. Si nous signalons ses erreurs — sous la forme qu'elles avaient dans la communication orale — c'est uniquement pour souligner la faiblesse de la méthode.

Melle Beck assiste à un *kumbhābhiṣeka*. Elle en relève avec soin tous les moments, sans erreur notable. Mais elle désire comprendre la signification des rites qu'elle observe; et c'est là que les choses se gâtent, car elle ne saisit pas le sens des mots techniques qu'utilisent ses informateurs pour la renseigner. Par exemple, lorsqu'elle voit rassembler des terres de diverses provenances, et qu'on lui dit que le rite se nomme *mṛt-saṅgrahaṇa*, elle comprend, on ne sait pourquoi, que le terme signifie « mesure de l'essence de la Terre — ou de la mort — »; et la voici qui s'abandonne à une méditation profonde sur cette « essence » de la Terre (ou de la Mort), alors que le terme utilisé signifiait simplement « collecte des différentes terres » — celles qu'il faut réunir pour y faire germer des graines avant le commencement de tout grand rituel. Deuxième exemple. Melle Beck constate qu'il existe une relation entre cinq *mantra* (qu'on lui donne) et les parties du corps de Sadāśiva. Lorsque ces mêmes *mantra* sont ensuite récités sur un *liṅga*, dans les quatre directions principales et au Nord-Est, elle s'efforce à tout prix de voir dans ce nouveau schéma l'image d'un homme couché, qui serait Prajāpati. Elle croit y parvenir; et la voici derechef qui dérive sur le démembrement de Prajāpati et sur son symbolisme, dont il est inutile de préciser qu'il n'a rien à voir avec la conception du quintuple Śiva. Dernier exemple. Melle Beck regarde la cérémonie de *vāstuśānti* à laquelle elle assiste comme une « Propitiation de la Réalité », alors qu'il s'agit d'un rite destiné à apaiser le courroux des dieux du Site, que dérange la construction — ou la réparation — de tout édifice. A quelle interprétation de la cérémonie d'un *kumbhābhiṣeka* ces réflexions, et d'autres semblables que nous n'avons pas relevées, peuvent-elles bien aboutir ?

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Le second cas que nous examinerons est un rapport d'ethnologue [28] qui nous est récemment tombé sous les yeux. On y voit consignées des séries de *mantra* que l'officiant récite au cours de rites funéraires (*antyeṣṭi*). Ces séries connues étaient parfaitement à leur place au moment du rituel où elles intervenaient, et toute personne un peu familière avec les *Āgama* ou la littérature âgamique pouvait en comprendre la signification. Mais ses informateurs avaient communiqué les *mantra* à l'ethnologue en les massacrant d'abord, en les accompagnant ensuite d'explications à tel point fantaisistes que l'ensemble obtenu n'avait ni cohérence ni sens (et d'ailleurs on n'en cherchait pas, ce qui contraste avec le premier cas envisagé). Est-ce faire une entorse à la vérité, fût-elle ethnologique, que de rétablir la forme correcte de *mantra* dont l'identification ne fait pas le moindre doute, et d'indiquer la signification précise que leur donnent les textes mêmes où ils sont enjoints? La vérité d'une religion se confond-elle avec la vision déformée qu'en obtient, de praticiens ignorants, un observateur incompétent, ou dans la conception qui a présidé à son élaboration par des maîtres authentiques, convaincus du sérieux de ce qu'ils faisaient? Si l'on accepte la seconde thèse, il faut en même temps reconnaître que les enquêtes ethnologiques qui concernent les religions dont les Ecritures sont connues ne peuvent en aucun cas faire fi de ces Ecritures. Dans le cas qui nous occupe, le rituel était de type âgamique et ne pouvait s'éclairer que par le recours aux textes de l'école, ou grâce à l'aide de spécialistes.

CONCLUSION

Il va sans dire que nous n'avons jamais voulu suggérer que l'étude des *Āgama* suffisait pour comprendre tous les aspects de la religion çivaïte, passée et présente. Les commentateurs tamouls soulèvent des problèmes que les lecteurs des *Āgama* pourraient ne pas flairer; les *Tantra* çivaïtes du Nord sont indispensable à l'intelligence de certains rites que l'école du Sud leur a probablemnet empruntés sans les accompagner de commentaires suffisants [29]; les *Purāṇa* fournissent aux rites leur complément mythique parfois indispensable; et les ethnologues, grâce à leur familiarité avec d'autres cultures, peuvent enrichir le sens des gestes religieux hindous en les reliant à des gestes similaires observés ailleurs. Il n'est pas jusqu'aux comptes rendus critiques des missionnaires des siècles derniers qui ne puissent apporter un éclairage bienvenu.

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28. Ce rapport a été publié depuis dans le Tome XLII du *Bullettin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, p. 55 à 124: Guy MORÉCHAND, *Contribution à l'étude des rites funéraires indiens.*

29. L'étude de la *dīkṣā* fournit de cela plusieurs exemples. Cf. *Somaśambhupaddhati*, 3ème partie, à paraître.

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Mais tous ces matériaux, auxquels il faut encore ajouter les témoignages des fidèles, ne peuvent être utilisés correctement que par des personnes qui ont une bonne connaissance de l'ensemble de la littérature âgamique. Ces spécialistes aujourd'hui sont une poignée; et un immense trésor de connaissance reste enfoui dans des textes qui attendent leurs lecteurs — et leurs traducteurs. Notre rôle était d'attirer l'attention sur eux.

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COLETTE CAILLAT *

EXPRESSIONS DE LA QUÊTE SPIRITUELLE DANS LE DOHĀPĀHUḌA (ANTHOLOGIE JAINA EN APABHRAṂŚA), ET DANS QUELQUES TEXTES BRAHMANIQUES

English Summary

In a paper entitled *On some under-currents of the Nātha-saṃpradāya or the Carpaṭa-śataka*, Dr. A. N. Upadhye showed how an author of the Nātha tradition used concepts and terms which are common among, and typical of, the Jainas — how, thus, the mystic communities have not been affected by sectarian divisions.

Dr. Upadhye bases his study on the analysis of the *Carpaṭa-śataka*, that is on a work composed of one hundred *pādākulaka* verses written in Sanskrit, about or before the 14th century. The conclusions reached by Dr. Upadhye can be attained as the result of two arguments.

Other scholars, already, have compared some Jaina teachings and famous Brahmanical sayings from *Bhagavadgītā, Upaniṣad*s... My starting point will be the Jaina anthology known as *Pāhuḍadohā*, or, rather, *Dohāpāhuḍa*; it groups a little more than two hundred *dohā*s, in *Apabhraṃśa*, and, according to the editor, H. Jain, it could have been compiled about the 11th cent. A. D. The author, Rāmasiṃha, invites the yogin to go beyond the purely doctrinal point of view, and to contemplate the true Self, which is « made of knowledge (*ṇāṇamaya*), free from aging and death (*ajarāmara*). The phraseology, the images encountered in these *dohā*s often strike the reader as if they were echoing phrases or reflexions which are met with in Sanskrit Brahmanical texts, *Upaniṣad*s, *Mahābhārata*... On the other hand, they also announce the stanzas which will be composed by later religious reformers, Kabir, for example.

In this paper, I confine myself to giving some few rough data. But, at the same time, it seems to me one should put the question: why, how, such similarities?

Many certainly are due to a common basic Indian education, and cultural background; some, perhaps, are fortuitous; others are but natural, considering the preoccupations, the aims of the authors, and counterparts could be found even outside India. Others also can be due to the persistancy, throughout Indo-aryan languages, of proverbial phrases, of comparisons (often inspired by common life).

Whatever the causes of these similarities between the *Dohāpāhuḍa* and the Brahmanical texts, they cannot possibly be denied.

Thus, between the various spiritual Indian communities, there appear to be, not only many points of controversy, but, as well, fundamental and persistent affinities.

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ABRÉVIATIONS USUELLES

ABBA = Kamaleswar Bhattacharya, *L'ātman-brahman* dans le bouddhisme ancien, Paris 1973 (EFEO 90).
ap. = apabhraṃśa.
BĀU = Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad.
BhG = Bhagavad Gītā.
C = Candāvejjhaya, références à l'éd., ... Caillat, Paris 1971 (ICI 34).
ChU = Chāndogya Upaniṣad.
Dhp = Dhammapada (éd. Pali Text Society). Les textes pāli sont cités selon l'éd. de la Pali Text Society (PED).
Dp = Dohāpāhuḍa, références à l'éd. Hiralal Jain (infra, Pd). S'il convient, compte tenu de la métrique..., d'apporter çà et là quelques retouches à cette éd. très méritoire, il a semblé inutile de les signaler dans la perspective présente. Sur le titre, note 3. Traduction en français, *JA* 264, 1976, pp. 63-95; en anglais (avec notes critiques), *Sambodhi*, A. N. Upadhye Volume.
Lehre = Walther Schubring, Die Lehre der Jainas..., Berlin Leipzig 1935 (Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde, 3,7).
Mhbh = The Mahābhārata... critically edited..., Poona 1933-66 (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute).
Pd = Pahuda Doha of Ramasimha Muni. An Apabhramsa work on Jaina mysticism. Critically edited... by Hiralal Jain, Karanja 1933 (Karanja Jaina Series 3).
pkr. = prākrit.
PPr = Śrī Yōgīndudēva's Paramātmaprakāśa (Paramappapayāsu). An Apabhraṁśa Work on Jain Mysticism... and also Yōgasāra... edited... by A. N. Upadhye, Agas 1973[3] (Śrīmad Rājachandra Jaina Śāstramālā 3) [une éd. préliminaire ayant été publiée dès 1934].
Up = Upaniṣad. Les BĀU et ChU sont citées d'après l'éd.-trad. Senart, Paris 1934, 1930 (Les Belles Lettres); les autres, généralement, suivant le texte publié dans la série Les Upanishad... sous la direction de Louis Renou, Paris.

* après une référence = Le texte cité est en vers (dans le cas de textes en vers et prose).

Dans un article intitulé *On some under-currents of the Nātha-saṃpradāya or the Carpaṭa-śataka* [1], M. A. N. Upadhye a montré comment un auteur de la tradition Nātha utilise des notions et un vocabulaire d'ailleurs usuels chez les jaina, comment, donc, les communautés mystiques transcendent les divisions sectaires [2].

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1. Cf. JOI Baroda 18, 1969, pp. 198-206.
2. Cf. p. 198 « "It is thus", as Professor R. RANADE puts it, "that the mystics of all ages and countries form an eternal Divine Society" »; également cité PPr[3], Intr., p. 28.

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M. Upadhye a fondé son étude sur l'analyse du *Carpaṭa-śataka*, un recueil de cent vers de type *pādākulaka*, en sanskrit, antérieur au XIVe siècle. Ses conclusions se prêtent à une sorte de contre-épreuve.

L'anthologie jaina intitulée *Dohāpāhuḍa*, « offrande de distiques »[3], qui rassemble quelque deux cents *dohā* en *apabhraṃśa* (XIe siècle?)[4], invite à dépasser le plan purement doctrinal: le *yogin* est convié à la contemplation mystique du Soi véritable, « fait de connaissance », « exempt de vieillesse et de mort ». Les expressions, les images employées dans ces *dohā* frappent souvent le lecteur comme l'écho de tournures, de réflexions qui se rencontrent, plus ou moins développées, en skr., dans les *Upaniṣad*, dans divers passages du *Mahābhārata*...; elles sont aussi comme l'annonce des couplets que composeront les maîtres et réformateurs religieux (Kabir par exemple), qui s'exprimeront dans les vernaculaires indo-aryens.

Il n'est pas douteux que le Dp soit d'inspiration jaina; en effet, lorsque sont spécifiquement mentionnés des points de doctrine, la pensée aussi bien que la terminologie sont conformes aux enseignements théoriques de la Communauté[5]. Mais l'emploi éventuel du *rahasya-vāda*[6] transpose les exhortations formulées dans cette œuvre en leur donnant une tonalité susceptible de dérouter parfois l'auditeur profane; l'*ātman*, par exemple — qui est tenu pour la divinité intérieure, intime, de l'homme —, est diversement appelé *deu* (skr. *devaḥ*), *Jiṇu* (*Jinaḥ*), *Siu* (*Śivaḥ*)... Au reste, bien des postulats, ou des métaphores, allégués dans le Dp nous sont déjà familiers par des œuvres d'autre provenance sectaire. Qu'on se rappelle toutes les comparaisons animales auxquelles se prête l'esprit, *manas*, terme que certains textes remplacent systématiquement par *citta*: Dp emploie l'un et l'autre substantifs, dans des contextes d'ailleurs identiques; et, comme dans les textes brahmaniques, il assimile volontiers le *manas* à divers animaux de l'Inde, éléphant, chameau...[7].

* * *

3. Selon l'un des deux manuscrits utilisés par H. L. Jain, l'autre ms., suivi par l'éditeur, donnant *Pāhuḍadohā*. Sur cette question, H. Jain, Pd. Introduction, pp. 9, 11, 13 ss.; A. N. Upadhye, dans son introduction à PPr, Intr., p. 69.

4. Selon H. Jain, Pd, Intr., p. 6. Mais, sur cette datation, voir les doutes exprimés par Ludwig Alsdorf, *Apabhraṃśa-Studien*, Leipzig, 1937 (AKM 22,2), p. 64 n. 1.

5. On se reportera, par exemple, à l'énumération des principes (*tattva*), Dp 29, cf. PPr 1,92; aux définitions des modalités des *karma-saṃvara* et *-nirjarā*, Dp 207-208; au rappel de la « décuple Loi » prêchée par le Jina, « dont l'essence est l'*ahiṃsā* », 209, à l'évocation des douze sujets de « réflexion » ou « méditation », *anuprekṣā* (ap. *aṇupehā*, pkr. *aṇuppehā*) ou *bhāvanā* (*bhāvaṇā*), 211, cf. infra n. 8.

6. Sur quoi H. Jain, Pd, Intr., pp. 17-18.

7. Cf. Arion Rosu, *Les conceptions psychologiques dans les textes médicaux indiens* (thèse, Paris, 1974, manuscrite); sur *manas / citta*, pp. 199-200; sur les comparaisons animales, pp. 75, 86... Dans le Dp, le *m.* est souvent appelé *karaha*, *karahula*, *kalaha*, « chameau / éléphant », cf. Turner, *A Comparative Dict. of Indo-Aryan Languages*, s.v. 2797.

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Réduite à son thème principal, l'anthologie signée du Muni Rāmasiṃha est une exhortation à réaliser pleinement la spiritualité du *jīva* (l'âme, provisoirement incorporée), à contempler ce Soi, qui est Réalité suprême — un but que le fidèle atteint uniquement « grâce » à l'enseignement du guru.

Au début de son apprentissage, le disciple aura parfaitement médité, assimilé, deux des principaux thèmes communément proposés à la réflexion des jaina: (1) l'autonomie et l'unicité essentielle du *jīva*, monade spirituelle, âme, « vive » (*ekatva*); (2) l'altérité de tout le reste, qui, malgré des apparences spécieuses, est extrinsèque au *jīva*, est « autre » (*anyatva*) [8].

Le *muni* est constamment invité à reconnaître la misère du *jīva* dans le monde, la nature de cette âme, qui, engagée dans l'existence, est mêlée de *karman*. Quand il parvient à la dégager des liens qui la garrottent, le fidèle l'identifie avec son véritable Soi (*appā*, *ātman*), qui n'est autre que le Soi suprême (*paramappaya*, *paramātman*, parfois, simplement, *para*), selon une phraséologie qu'emploient également d'autres textes jaina, ainsi le *Paramappapayāsu* de Joindu, auquel, d'ailleurs, le Dp emprunte environ un cinquième de ses dohā [9].

Le Dp souligne à plusieurs reprises, sous des formes diverses, plus ou moins développées, plus ou moins imagées, cette opposition fondamentale entre le Soi et l'autre (*ātman* et *para*), entre la vraie « vie » et son absence (*jīva*, et *a-jīva*, ou, plutôt, ici, *jīva* et corps, *deha*, ainsi que biens matériels, entourage..., 26-37 et passim, cf. PPr 1, 80 ss.).

L'une des expressions les plus condensées de cette conviction est contenue dans les deux *pāda*:

jahiṃ jahiṃ joyau tahiṃ tahiṃ ṇau ko vi u
hauṃ ṇa vi kāsu vi majjhu vi ko vi u,

« où que je regarde, il n'y a là personne (scil. que l'*ātman*): je n'appartiens à personne, et personne me m'appartient » (140 c-d, presque identique à *Yogasāra*, œuvre de Joindu, 40 d). Avec diverses variantes de détail, la formule se rencontre à travers toute la littérature jaina, *śvetāmbara* aussi bien que *digambara*. L'*Āyāraṅga*, l'un des plus vieux

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8. Deux des *anuprekṣā*, ou *bhāvanā*. Sur quoi Lehre § 175; A. N. Upadhye, dans l'introduction à son éd. Svāmi-Kumāra's *Kārttikeyānuprekṣā* (*Kattigeyāṇuppekkhā*)..., p. 11 ss. Autres références, Caillat, *Candāvejjhaya*, p. 148.

9. Cf. H. Jain, Pd, Intr. pp. 19-20.

Sur le *paramātman* tel qu'il est défini par Joindu et le *brahman* upanishadique, A. N. Upadhye, PPr, Intr. p. 37, cf. infra n. 44.

Rapprochements entre divers énoncés jaina (de Kundakunda, Joindu,...) et la *Bhagavad Gītā*, V. Raghavan, *The Bhagavad Gītā & Jain Literature*, in « Bhāratīya Vidyā », X, 1949 (K. M. Munshi Diamond Jubilee Vol., 2), [pp. 80-87], p. 83 ss. (ce savant, lui aussi, notant la parenté des mystiques, quelle que soit leur appartenance sectaire).

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textes canoniques des *śvetāmbara* l'allègue déjà, sous forme de citation: « *ego aham aṃsi; na me atthi koi na yâham avi kassai* » (Āyār, ed. Schubring, 1,37,7). Elle reparaît dans un śloka qu'insère le *Candāvejjhaya*, texte plus ou moins canonique, en māhārāṣṭrī jaina et mètre généralement āryā [10]. En outre, elle est très semblable aux enseignements du Mhbh 12,309,84-85, et du *śloka* qui les suit [11]:

aham eko na me kaś cin nâham anyasya kasya cit;
na taṃ paśyāmi yasyâhaṃ, taṃ na paśyāmi yo mama,

« je suis seul, je n'ai personne et il n'y a personne à qui je sois; je ne vois personne à qui je sois et ne vois personne qui m'appartienne ».

La nature « immaculée » de l'*ātman* est inlassablement définie dans le Dp: le Soi est pure connaissance, ou omniscience et vision (*passim*); il est « fait de connaissance », *ṇāṇa-mau* (37 a = 199 c; 40, etc.). L'épithète *jñāna-maya* évoque naturellement celle que les *Upaniṣad* anciennes appliquent à cet *ātman*, qui « n'est tout que connaissance », *ayam ātmā... kṛtsnaḥ prajñāna-ghana eva* [12]. Selon Dp (35, entre autres), l'*ātman* échappe à la vieillesse et à la mort; Rāmasiṃha fait donc sien, en quelque sorte, le « thème védique de la non-vieillesse promise comme récompense suprême, analogue à la non-mort », thème que Louis Renou relève dans la *Kauṣītaki Up.* et rapproche de la locution fréquente *ajaro 'maraḥ* [13].

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10. *ekko 'haṃ, n'atthi me koī, n'atthi vā kassaī ahaṃ*, 161 [śloka].
cf. C, notes ad loc., ubi alia; à quoi pourraient être ajoutées d'autres références, ainsi *Dasaveyāliya* 2,4*:
na sā mahaṃ no vi ahaṃ pi tīse.
Voir aussi Lehre § 175; Pd, note ad Dp 68 (p. 112).

11. Ce dernier, expurgé dans l'éd. critique.
Comparer la formule (canonique) bouddhique: « *n'etaṃ mama, n'eso 'ham asmi, na m'eso attā, Vinaya* 1,14,19, cité ABBA p. 12 et n. 3 ubi alia (« ceci n'est pas mien, je ne suis pas ceci, ceci n'est pas mon *ātman* », ABBA).
On pourrait aussi rapprocher Kabir (cité ici et infra suivant Ch. Vaudeville, *Au cabaret de l'amour*, Paris [1959], Connaissance de l'Orient, coll. UNESCO), p. 92:
Tu as considéré ce corps comme tien,
Et tu t'es égaré dans l'attachement aux biens sensibles,
O insensé!
(cf. p. 97 ss.).

12. BĀU 4,5,13; cf. 2,4,12, et trad. Senart, Paris, 1934, p. 33 n. 3, sur cette épithète.

13. *Kauṣîtaki Up*, 1,3; cf. trad. L. Renou, Paris, 1948, et note 29 p. 22. Comparer BĀU 4,4,25: *mahān a-ja ātmā, a-jaro '-maro '-mṛto '-bhayo brahma. A-bhayaṃ vai brahma, a-bhayaṃ hi vai brahma bhavati, ya evaṃ veda*; 4,5,14: *a-vināśī vā are 'yam ātmā, an-ucchitti-dharmā.*
Profession de foi comparable dans le bouddhisme canonique (références dans ABBA p. 11 et n. 1); cf., entre autres, *Therīgāthā* 512:
idam ajaraṃ idam amaraṃ idam ajarāmara-padaṃ asokaṃ ca
asapattam asaṃbādhaṃ akhalitam abhayaṃ nirupatāpaṃ
(rééd. Alsdorf, 1966, et voir K. R. Norman, *Elders' Verses* II, 1971, Notes, p. 177).

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Y a-t-il réminiscence latente? Toujours est-il que c'est en un tel contexte que le Dp recourt à l'emploi, unique, dans l'anthologie, du terme « *brahman* »:

jo ajarâmaru baṃbhu paru so appāṇa muṇehi,

« considère comme le Soi le brahman suprême, sans vieillesse ni mort » (33 c-d, cp. 197 d) [14].

L'*ātman* a encore pour caractère d'échapper aux bonnes comme aux mauvaises maturations du *karman*, et de se situer dans la pureté absolue. C'est, assurément, un trait jaina que cette inquiétude devant les conséquences éventuellement asservissantes du mérite; Dp les résume en citant une āryā prākrite:

« Du mérite naît la haute fortune; de la fortune, l'orgueil; de l'orgueil, le vertige mental,

et du vertige mental, l'enfer: qu'il ne nous naisse donc pas de mérite! » [15].

Mais les jaina ne sont pas seuls à éprouver ces craintes. Les bouddhistes, aussi, enseignent qu'il faut transcender le bien et le mal: le *Dhammapada* loue « celui-là qui a rejeté mérite et péché » [16]. Quant à la *Kauṣītaki Up.*, elle propose, comme l'écrit L. Renou, « un dépassement de la théorie du *karman* », quand elle évoque la destinée de celui qui, ayant quitté ce monde en possédant le vrai savoir, « connaissant le *brahman* », « se dirige vers le *brahman* »: « bonnes et mauvaises actions se secouent de lui... Comme (un homme) qui court en voiture regarde de part et d'autre les deux roues de la voiture, ainsi de part et d'autre, il regarde le jour et la nuit, l'acte bon et l'acte mauvais et toutes les oppositions. Ainsi, libéré du bon acte, libéré de l'acte mauvais, le connaisseur du *brahman* s'avance vers le *brahman* » [17]. Avec non moins de clarté, le Dp assure que « des maturations favorables

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14. L'assurance que le Soi ne vieillit ni ne meurt est souvent répétée au cours du Dp, cf., entre autres,

jarai ṇa marai, ṇa saṃbhavai..., 54 a,

« il ne vieillit ne meurt pas, ne naît pas », avec un curieux effet dans l'emploi de la négation — effet utilisé à plusieurs reprises dans Dp. — et, sans aucun doute, significatif.

15. *puṇṇeṇa hoi vihao, vihaveṇa mao, maeṇa mai-moho,*
mai-moheṇa ya ṇarayaṃ; taṃ puṇṇaṃ amha mā hou!, 138.

Cf. PPr, les principales références étant rassemblées par A. N. Upadhye, PPr Introd., p. 46.

16. *yo dha puññaṃ ca pāpaṃ ca bāhetvā...*, 267 (*Gāndhārī Dhp* 68 [*yo du...*], ubi alia); cf. 39, 412. — Sur pa. *dha*, K. R. Norman, loc. cit. I, 1969, pp. 169-170.

17. Trad. L. Renou: *sukṛta-duṣkṛte dhūnute... tad yathā rathena dhāvayan... evaṃ sukṛta-duṣkṛte sarvāṇi ca dvandvāni sa eṣa visukṛto viduṣkṛto brahma vidvān brahmaîvâbhipraîti*, 1,4. Voir p. 24 n. 15, ubi alia.

Cf. ABBA, Appendice 1: « Par delà le bien et le mal », p. 143 ss.; et les textes rassemblés p. 16 n. 3.

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résulte le *dharma*, des mauvaises naît l'*adharma*; (mais) l'âme qui s'est gardée à la fois des unes et des autres [c. à d. qui s'est tenue aux maturations pures, *suddha-pariṇāma*] réussit à évîter la (re)naissance »:

suha-pariṇāmahiṃ dhammu, vaḍha, a-suhaiṃ hoi a-hammu;
dohiṃ mi ehiṃ vivajjiyau pāvai jīu ṇa jammu (72; a-c, cf. PPr 2, 71 a-c).

C'est la méconnaissance de ces vérités qui conduit le *jīva* à confondre plaisirs sensibles et bonheur de la délivrance, à faire du malheur bonheur, et inversement (Dp 2-12, etc.). Pareil ensemble de convictions se retrouve, plus ou moins résumé, quelles que soient les différences de vocabulaire, dans certaines observations de la *Yogattattva Up.* [18].

Aussi bien, le Dp, qui adresse volontiers son enseignement au *joiya* (*yogin*), emprunte éventuellement des termes au vocabulaire du *yoga.*

Un rapprochement pseudo-étymologique aidant, l'anthologie invite le *yogin* à la contemplation au sein de l'Immaculé, *ṇimmali joiya joi* (96), à la méditation « solvante » (169) [19], et elle remarque:

« Ainsi que le sel se dissout dans l'eau, ainsi si les pensées viennent à se dissoudre:

l'âme s'identifie (au Soi): comment donc pourraient-elles (avec lui) opérer une concentration? »

jima loṇu vilijjai pāṇiĕ tima jai cittu vilijja:
sama-rasi-hūvai jīvaḍā kāiṃ samāhi karijja? (176).

Bien qu'elle n'aboutisse pas à la même conclusion, la stance, en son premier *pāda*, utilise la célèbre comparaison upanishadique « comme un morceau de sel jeté dans l'eau s'y dissout... », *sa yathā saindhava-khilya udake prāsta udakam evânuvilīyeta...* (BĀU 2,4,12). Quant aux deux derniers *pāda* de Dp 176, ils rappellent les réflexions de BĀU 4,5,15: « dans le cas où il y a comme une dualité, l'un voit l'autre... l'un connaît l'autre; mais dans le cas où tout, pour lui, est devenu exclusivement Soi, qui verrait-il et par quoi? par quoi connaîtrait-il celui par lequel il connaît tout?... Par quoi connaître le connaisseur? » [20].

La pureté (*ṇimmala*) à la contemplation de quoi est convié le *yogin* est la nature propre du Soi fait de connaissance (37). La connaître, c'est

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18. 4-6. Cf. la traduction explicative proposée par J. Varenne, *Upanishads du Yoga*, Paris [1971], Connaissance de l'Orient, coll. UNESCO, p. 49.

19. Cf. Jean Filliozat, dans *Inde classique* 2, Paris, 1953 (EFEO), § 1459 b. Noter aussi, 169 c, *sama-rasi-*, cf. M. Shahidullah, *Les chants mystiques de Kāṇha et de Saraha...*, Paris, 1928, p. 94, ad *Dohākoṣa* de Kāṇha 19.

20. Traductions selon ou d'après Senart; cf. ABBA p. 52: *yatra hi dvaitam iva bhavati, tad itara itaraṃ paśyati... tad itara itaraṃ vijānāti; yatra tv asya sarvam ātmaîvâbhūt, tat kena kaṃ paśyet... tat kena kaṃ vijānīyāt? yenêdaṃ sarvaṃ vijānāti, taṃ kena vijānīyāt ... vijñātāram are kena vijānīyāt?* Cp. *Kaṭha Up.* 6,12 et Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda*, Leipzig, 1921³, p. 286 n. 6.

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connaître la Réalité suprême — le dieu intérieur (41,40) — le dieu Jina, le dieu Śiva — distinct du corps matériel, qui n'est qu'un abri, cabane, ou temple... Au reste, « dans le triple monde se voit le dieu Jina, (et) ce triple monde dans le noble Jina... »:

tihuyaṇi dīsai deu Jiṇu, Jiṇavari tihuvaṇu eu
Jiṇavari dīsai sayalu jagu... (39).

Ne peut-on entendre, dans ce distique, comme une transposition de *Bhagavad-Gītā* 6, (29-)30, « Celui qui me voit partout et qui voit tout en moi... » [21], et des strophes 6-7 de l'Īśā Up:

« Mais celui qui considère toutes les essences comme étant simplement dans le Soi, et le Soi dans toutes les essences...

Celui chez qui le Soi est devenu toutes les essences, — pour qui le reconnaît, quel vertige alors, quelle souffrance y a-t-il, pour qui considère l'unicité? » [22].

Comment le *jīva* parviendra-t-il au but, *mokkha*, *ṇivvāṇa*, ou *siva-paya*, encore appelé *Siva-puri* ou Grande cité de Perfection, *Siddhi-mahāpuri* (97; 48; etc.)? C'est, naturellement, en renonçant à la périlleuse voie de la triple activité mondaine, de l'esprit, de la parole et du corps [23]; en répudiant les jouissances des domaines sensibles (3 ss., et passim). De telles recommandations sont évidemment monnaie courante dans les littératures indiennes à résonance religieuse.

Le Dp dénonce, d'autre part, les illusions que pourraient engendrer les simples signes extérieurs de la religion. Il met en garde contre les

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21. *yo māṃ paśyati sarvatra sarvaṃ ca mayi paśyati...*, BhG 6,30.

22. Trad. Louis Renou, Paris, 1943.
yás tú sárvāṇi bhūtāny ātmánn evānupáśyati
sarva-bhūtéṣu cātmānaṃ... (6)
yásmint sárvāṇi bhūtāny ātmaivābhūd vijānatáḥ
tátra kó móhaḥ káḥ śóka ekatvám anupáśyataḥ? (7)
(Sur ce texte, P. THIEME, in JAOS 85 (1965) [89-99] pp. 93-94). Cp. *Śvetāśvatara Up.* 4, 15*; 16*; 17*; 6,11*...
Comparer *Caraka* 4,5,7: *sarvaṃ lokam ātmany ātmānaṃ ca sarva-loke samam anupaśyataḥ satyā buddhiḥ samutpadyate.*
Voir, en outre, les références rasemblées ABBA p. 36 et n. 6.
Enfin comparer, p. ex., KABIR, *Cabaret*, 200:
Je suis en tout, tout est en moi...

23. *joiyā, visamī joya-gai* (189), « ô yogin, périlleuse est la voie des activités ».
Cf. *cintai jaṃpai kuṇai ṇa vi jo muṇi bandhaṇa-heu*
kevala-ṇāṇa-phuranta-taṇu so paramappau deu,
« Sa personne resplendit de l'Omniscience, il est le Soi suprême, il est dieu, celui qui ne pense, ne parle ni n'agit, parce qu'il a considéré que (ce sont là) causes de servitude » (60).

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vaines apparences, ascèses, habit, arrachage des cheveux [24]; contre la pure et simple exécution des prescriptions rituelles, ablutions, *pūjā*, pélerinages aux gués réputés sacrés [25], contre les procédés techniques de la pratique du *yoga*... [26] tous sarcasmes que Kabir aussi proférera [27]. Dp (135) lance une apostrophe véhémente aux faux ascètes: « Tête rase des têtes rases des têtes rases: ta tête a été rasée, tes pensées ne l'ont pas été:

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24. *jo muṇi chaṇḍivi visaya-suha puṇu ahilāsu karei,*
luñcaṇu sosaṇu so sahai puṇu saṃsāru bhamei,

« Le muni qui a laissé le bonheur des sens, puis, néanmoins y aspire,

il supporte (certes) arrachage des cheveux, ardeur des austérités, il erre néanmoins dans le cours des transmigrations (16):

abbhintara citti. mailiyaī bāhiri kāiṃ taveṇa?
citti ṇirañjaṇu ko vi dhari muccahi jema maleṇa,

« Au dedans, dans les pensées (règnent), les souillures: au-dehors, à quoi bon des austérités?

En tes pensées, retiens l'objet Immaculé; de la sorte, tu te délivreras de la souillure » (61).

25. *titthaiṃ tittha bhamehi, vaḍha, dhoyau cammu jaleṇa;*
ehu maṇu kima dhoesi tuhū, mailau pāva-maleṇa?

« Tu erres de gué sacré en gué sacré, pauvre enfant! Tu t'est lavé la peau avec de l'eau!

(Mais) ton esprit, là, comment le laves-tu, lui qui est souillé de la souillure du péché? » (163, cf. 162, etc...).

Cp. Dhp 141. — Voir aussi *Uttarajjhāyā* (éd. Jarl Charpentier) 25,31.

26. *jeṇa ṇirañjaṇi maṇu dhariu visaya-kasāyahiṃ jantu*
mokkhaha kāraṇu ettaḍau, avaraiṃ tantu ṇa mantu,

« Ce qui a retenu fixé sur l'Immaculé l'esprit qui (spontanément) se dirige vers les (plaisirs) sensibles et les passions,

c'est là très exactement, la cause de la délivrance — non pas tout le reste, versets (et) formules (62, cf. PPr 1, 123* [3]); et, surtout:

mantu ṇa tantu ṇa dheu ṇa dhāraṇu,
ṇa vi ucchāsaha kijjai kāraṇu;
emai parama-sukkhu muṇi suvvai
.....,

« (Point) de verset, ni de formule, ni de (procédés de) méditation ni (de) fixation de l'esprit;

il n'est pas fait, non plus, usage (du contrôle) des souffles.

C'est ainsi que le muni dort le (sommeil) du bonheur suprême » (206).

[Sur ce sommeil, ABBA pp. 26-27].

27. Kabir, *Cabaret*, p. 64:

A quoi bon tes lavages et tes baignades,
Si tu n'as pas reconnu Râm présent en ton âme?
A quoi bon récurer le corps à l'extérieur,
si l'intérieur est plein d'immondice?
.....
Pourquoi revêtir ce vêtement safran comme une défroque de comédien?
.....

Cf. p. 52:

Pourquoi se baigner à Jagannâth,
pourquoi se prosterner à la mosquée?...

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qui a réussi à raser ses pensées, il a réussi à trancher le cours des transmigrations »,

muṇḍiya-muṇḍiya-muṇḍiyā, siru muṇḍiu cittu ṇa muṇḍiyā;
cittaha muṇḍaṇu jiṃ kiyau saṃsāraha khaṇḍaṇu tiṃ kiyau.

Il invective de même les prétendus sages:

« Pandit d'entre les pandits des pandits, tu as laissé le grain pour pilonner la balle!

Tu t'es satisfait du sens (littéral) et du texte, (mais) tu ne connais pas le Sens suprême: tu es un pauvre sot! »,

paṇḍiya-paṇḍiya-paṇḍiyā, kaṇu chaṇḍeviṇu tusa kaṇḍiyā:
atthe ganthe tuṭṭho si, paramatthu ṇa jāṇahi, mūḍho si (85) [28].

L'étude, l'érudition, engendrent l'orgueil, bien plus qu'elles ne conduisent à la délivrance [29]. Le Dp précise que l'expérience spirituelle ne peut pas s'écrire, qu'elle ne s'apprend pas par des échanges de question et de réponse:

jaṃ lihiu ṇa pucchiu kaha va jāi,
kahiyau kāsu vi ṇau citti ṭhāi... (166 a-b).

Elle est incommunicable, sinon par la grâce du Maître spirituel (166 c); et elle n'existera qu'éprouvée, vécue:

jo aṇuhavai so ji pariyāṇai (165 c).

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28. Cp. 84, 86, etc., etc.; cf. Dhp 258-259.

29. *akkharaḍehiṃ ji gavviyā kāraṇu te ṇa muṇanti...*
vaṃsa-vihatthā ḍoma jima para hatthaḍā dhuṇanti,
« Fiers de leurs (connaissances) scripturaires, d'elles seules, ils ne considèrent pas la cause (de la délivrance):
comme de malheureux équilibristes, experts au maniement du bambou, ne font rien de plus que gesticuler » (86).
Ou:
chaha-daṃsaṇa-ganthiṃ bahula avarupparu gajjanti:
jaṃ kāraṇu taṃ ikku para vivarerā jaṇanti,
« Ils sont beaucoup à tonitruer entre eux à propos du texte des six systèmes de philosophie;
la cause elle, est unique, suprême: ils croient le contraire! » (125).
Comparer déjà, *Ch. Up.* 7,1,3 ss.; 7,23 ss.
Et Kabir, *Cabaret*, p. 51:
dans les arguties ils ont gaspillé leur vie...
Ou, p. 69:
O Cadi, quel est donc ce Livre que tu vas commentant?
Jour et nuit, tu clabaudes et tu argumentes,
et tu ne comprends pas que tous les systèmes se valent!
Et, p. 57:
En lisant et en commentant le Véda, les Pandit se sont égarés,
Et ils n'ont pas compris le mystère de leur propre moi!
Etc.

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Déjà la *Kaṭha Up.* avertissait: « Cet *ātman* ne peut être atteint par l'exégèse, ni par l'intellect, ni par beaucoup d'étude... » [30], et elle ajoutait:

« Ce que beaucoup ne réalisent pas même à l'entendre...
Merveille qui le connaît, instruit par un habile! » [31].

Enfin, le Dp note que l'expérience mystique du *muni* consiste à dormir le sommeil de la suprême béatitude:

emai parama-sukkhu muṇi suvvai (206 c, cf. Dp 144; 46).

On pense ici à l'état de « sommeil profond », décrit ou évoqué dans les *Upaniṣad*, ainsi dans la *Kauṣītaki*: « Quand un homme qui dort ne voit pas de rêves, c'est qu'il devient un dans ce souffle. Alors la voix rentre en lui avec tous les noms... l'esprit rentre avec toutes les pensées » [32]. Comme le dit L. Renou, c'est l'état « le plus proche de l'absorption en *brahman* », — analysé dès les BĀU (2,1,17-19), *Chāndogya Up* (6,8,1), *Praśna Up* (4,5) [33]. Avant de parvenir à cette quiétude sereine, il faudra avoir livré un long combat spirituel [34], qui exige discipline, fermeté, courage, et un guide infaillible; car « comment l'aveugle montrerait-il le chemin à un autre aveugle? », demande Dp (128 c-d) [35], proche, cette fois encore, de *Kaṭha Up.* 2,5, où sont évoqués « ceux qui, circulant au milieu de l'ignorance, se croyant des savants, ... tournent en rond... semblables à des aveugles conduits par un aveugle » [36].

Le yogin devra savoir brider ses sens sans merci (43-44), s'être dompté l'esprit (*manas*), l'avoir vigoureusement maté:

maṇu moḍivi sahasa tti (95, cf. PPr 2,157);

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30. 2, 23, trad. L. Renou.
nâyam ātmā pravacanena labhyo na medhayā na bahunā śrutena = *Muṇḍaka Up.* 3,2,3.
Cf. ABBA pp. 20-21, et les notes à ces pages; p. 56.

31. 2,7, trad. L. Renou:
śravaṇāyâpi bahubhir yo na labhyaḥ...
... āścaryo jñātā kuśalânuśiṣṭaḥ;
cf. 2,9.

32. 3,3 trad. L. Renou: voir ses notes ad loc.
yatraîtat puruṣaḥ suptaḥ svapnaṃ na kañcana paśyaty athâsmin prāṇa evaîkadhā bhavati; tadaînaṃ vāk sarvair nāmabhiḥ sahâpy eti... manaḥ sarvair dhyātaiḥ sahâpy eti...
Cf. ABBA pp. 13.

33. Cp. Arion Rosu, loc. cit. p. 198, sur l'activité cognitive de l'homme endormi.

34. Sur les aspects « combattants » de divers actes religieux, en Inde, au Tibet..., IIJ 4, 1960, p. 252; IIJ 8, 1964, p. 149. Cp. 132.

35. *so andhau avarahā andhayahā kima darisāvai panthu?*

36. Trad. Louis Renou.
avidyāyām antare vartamānāḥ... paṇḍitā manyamānāḥ
... pariyanti... andhenaîva nīyamānā yathā 'ndhāḥ.

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il l'aura contenu, dressé, comme l'éléphant qu'attireraient les Vindhya sauvages, ses montagnes natales [37]. Éléphant ou chameau, l'animal, en définitive, se dirigera seul, sans faux pas (190), vers le *nirvāṇa*, si on l'a fait paître dans le « champ des vertus du Jina » (112), de telle sorte qu'il y vive comme en un parterre de lotus (42); s'il a grandi dans l'étable du contrôle de soi, avec les austérités pour attache, ... l'équanimité et la maîtrise de soi pour selle, il va au *nirvāṇa* (113) [38]. Ces comparaisons pourraient être évidemment rapprochées de celles qui, dans les *Upaniṣad*, évoquent la pratique du *yoga* [39].

Deux attitudes caractéristiques de cette psychomachie sont définies dans Dp. La stance 111 invite à prendre pour cible l'animal sauvage (chameau ou éléphant), à le vaincre, le monter, comme font tous les grands *muni* [40]. Le *dohā* 121 recourt à la métaphore si fréquente — et noble — de l'archer: « Celui qui a disposé (sa flèche en prenant) pour (cible) l'immatérielle (Perfection), il est un Archer, indubitablement:

qui a disposé (sa pensée) en union avec la Réalité bénéfique, il demeure sans inquiétude » [41].

C'est le lieu de rappeler le titre d'un opuscule déjà cité du canon *śvetāmbara* tardif (ou apocryphe), le *Candāvejjhaya*, « La prunelle-cible », ainsi intitulé du fait des strophes qui montrent combien il est difficile au religieux de viser et d'atteindre le but spirituel (128-130). La métaphore, comme on sait, est très répandue, que ce soit dans la littérature jaina, ou dans la littérature brahmanique [42]. La *Muṇḍaka Up.* la développe en deux stances:

Prends pour arc la grande arme upanishadique,
Poses(-y) une flèche aiguisée par la méditation.
Bande (l'arc) avec un esprit tourné vers l'essence des choses.
Sache que la cible, c'est l'Impérissable [43].

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37. Cf. *ammie, ihu maṇu hatthiyā Viñjhaha jantau vāri* (155 a-b).
38. *... ṇa, joiya karahulau vivarerau pau dei* (190);
karahā, cari Jiṇa-guṇa-thalihiṃ... (112);
tava dāvaṇu, vaya bhiyamaḍā, sama-dama kiyau palāṇu;
saṃjama-gharahaṃ umāhiyau, gau karahā ṇivvāṇu (113).
39. Cf. *Kaṭha Up.* 3,4; 5-6; 9; *Śvetāśvatara Up.* 2,9, etc.
40. *ajju jiṇijjai karahulau lai paiṃ deviṇu lakkhu*
jitthu caḍeviṇu parama-muṇi savva gayāgaya-mokkhu,
« Aujourd'hui, tu vas (te le) donner pour cible, tu vaincras totalement le chameau (— esprit)
que monte (et dompte) tout sublime *muni* (pour être) délivré des va-et-vient (de la transmigration) ».
41. *asarīrahaṃ saṃdhāṇu kiu so dhāṇukku ṇiruttu*
siva-tattiṃ jiṃ saṃdhiyau so acchai ṇiccintu.
42. Cf. C, p. 137, ubi alia.
43. *Muṇḍ. Up.*, 2,2,3 (texte adopté par J. Maury, Paris, 1943):
dhanur gṛhītvaûpaniṣadaṃ mahâstraṃ
śaraṃ hy upāsā-niśitaṃ saṃdhayīta [?]
āyamya tad bhāva-gatena cetasā
lakṣyaṃ tad evâkṣaraṃ somya viddhi;
cf. aussi 4; *Mārk. Pur.* 42, 7 c-d et 8 a-b.

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Les strophes de la *Muṇḍaka* sont adaptées dans le *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*; tandis que, sous une forme plus simple, l'image figure dans le Mhbh 12,289,37.

En regard du Dp, je n'ai examiné ici qu'un nombre réduit de textes, qui relèvent tous d'une même famille de pensée, et qui, pour la plupart, datent d'une époque ancienne, antérieure à l'ère chrétienne [44]. Les exemples seraient assurément plus abondants si l'enquête portait sur un plus grand nombre d'écrits [45].

Je me suis bornée, d'autre part, à présenter les données d'une analyse qui mériterait, me semble-t-il, d'être reprise. En effet, il conviendrait de s'interroger sur la nature des parallélismes qui viennent d'être esquissés. Les rapprochements sont parfois fugitifs; parfois, au contraire, ils sont probablement dus à une certaine communauté d'éducation de tous les milieux indiens [46]; ou bien ils s'expliquent par la similitude des points de vue, des fins poursuivies, des polémiques engagées par les mystiques — et ils ne manqueraient pas de contre-parties hors de l'Inde [47]. D'autres encore tiennent, sans doute, à la persistance, en indo-aryen, de locutions plus ou moins proverbiales, ou d'images, de métaphores (souvent empruntées à la vie courante) qui ont été constamment reprises, élaborées, et qui se sont ainsi perpétuées depuis les temps védiques.

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44. Cf. les remarques de A. N. Upadhye, *Yōgīndu's Super-spirit Compared with Upaniṣadic Brahman*, PPr, Intr., p. 37: « Jōindu's reflections on Ātman and Paramātman... deserve to be compared with Upaniṣadic utterances whose spirit is sufficiently imbued by our author, even though his details are set in the metaphysical framewor of a heterodox system like Jainism ».

En outre, V. Raghavan, loc. cit., supra n. 9; aussi *Jain works and Indian culture*, in: « The Adyar Library Bull. » 38, 1974 (Mahāvīra Jayanti Vol.), p. 209 et notes; N. M. Kansara, *The yoga in the Bhagavadgītā and in Yaśovijaya's Adhyātmasāra*, ibid. 115-144, et p. 118 n. 2, référant à V. Raghavan, Bhāratīya Vidyā X, (supra), tous deux citant P. K. Gode, *The Bhagavadgītā in the pre-Śaṃkārācārya Jain Sources*, in: ABORI XX.2 1940, pp. 188-194 = *Studies in Indian Literary History I* (Bombay, 1953, Singhi Jain Series 37), pp. 14-21.

De surcroît, Kamal Chand Sogani, *Comparative study of the expressions of the ethical ideal according to the Upaniṣads, the Gītā and Jainism*, in: « Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal » 2,1 (1964) = Vishv. Indological Papers 102; id., *The negative and positive sides of conduct according to the Upaniṣads, the Gītā and Jainism*, ibid. 3,1 (1965) = Vishv. Indol. Papers 139.

45. Cp., par exemple, la « note » de Bruhn/Tripathi, ad Bansidhar Bhatt, *Vyavahāra-naya and niścaya-naya in Kundakunda's works*, in ZDMG 1974, Suppl. II, XIII Deutscher Orientalistentag 1972 (279-290), rapprochant cette distinction de celles que proposent les doctrines de Śaṅkara ou des Mādhyamika (p. 290).

46. Cf. V. Raghavan, loc. cit. (supra n. 9), p. 81, référant à P. K. Gode (cf. supra, n. 44); John Brough, *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*, passim, p. XXIV (ad 164), p. 229 (« echoes of the same prototype »).

47. Cf. les comparaisons proposées par K. Bhattacharya, ABBA, passim.

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Je n'étudierai pas cette question. Mais, quelle que soit la nature des relations qui puissent être établies entre le Dp et les textes brahmaniques, elles permettent de constater, malgré les oppositions doctrinales, malgré les différences d'époque et de communauté religieuse, les affinités profondes et durables qui existent entre les diverses familles spirituelles de l'Inde.

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SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI *

SAṂSKṚTA - DIG - VIJAYA

(The World-Conquest of Sanskrit)

At the Second World Conference of Sanskrit which was held in Turin in Italy during 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th of June 1975, Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji spoke on the subject of *Saṃskṛta-Dig-Vijaya* or « the World-Conquest of Sanskrit ». He had prepared a longish paper on the subject running up to 186 pages or sheets in type. As this would be quite a big monograph, it would not be suitable for printing along with the other papers read or discussed at the Conference. The paper has as its peroration, and as a gist of the whole subject, some thirty Sanskrit verses composed by the author, with an English rendering. This peroration or epilogue, as being germane to the subject-matter of the paper, to be too long, and which will be published in due course as a separate book.

Āryāṇāṃ pitṛ-bhūr āsīt purôttarakurōḥ parē /
Kāukasaṃ girim ullaṅghya prāptās tē dhāma vāi navam // 1 //

The fatherland of the Aryans in olden times was beyond the land of Uttara-Kuru. After crossing the Caucasus Mountains, they reached a new abode.

Uttara-Kuru = Central Asia, present Russian and Chinese Turkestan (Sin-kiang).

Tigrā-Suprātu-nadyōr vā antar-vēdī yad ucyatē /
tatr-Âsura-Bavērubhyaḥ prāptavantaḥ kalāṃ bahum // 2 //

The land between the two rivers, *Tigrā* or the *Tigris* and *Suprātu* or the *Euphrates*, which is called the *Doab* or Mesopotamia of the *Tigrā*

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or *Tigris* and *Suprātu* or *Euphrates* — there the Aryans received many arts from the *Asura* or Assyrian and the *Bavēru* or the Babylonian peoples.

Tigrā = old Persian *Tigra*, from Assyro-Babylonian *Diglat*, which became in Old Arabic *Diglāh*, and Modern Arabic *Dijlāh* = Greek *Tigris* taken from the Old Persian. *Suprātu* = Old Persian *Ufrātu* = Assyro-Babylonian *Puratu*, whence Arabic *Furāt*. The Greek *Euphratēs* was taken from the Old Persian Ufrātu. *Asura* = *Ashshur* = Assyrian. *Bavēru*, as in the Pali *Jātaka* and other Indian works, is from the Old Babylonian *Babilu*, taken over through the Iranian.

Chāndasasya hi yā mūlam Ārya-Vāg vāi pra-Vāidikī /
prāpya sā Bhārataṃ Varṣaṃ rūpaṃ jagrāha Saṃskṛtam // 3 //

The Aryan speech, which was the Pre-Vedic (*pra-Vāidikī*) source of the *Chāndasa* or the Speech of the Vedic poetry, took a new form, that of Sanskrit, when it was established in the land of India.

Niṣādāir Dramiḍāiś câpi Kirātāiḥ pari-vardhitā /
sā Saṃskṛtâbhidhā bhāṣā dēva-bhāṣā-padaṃ gatā // 4 //

This language, which came to be known as Sanskrit, attained to the position of a *Dēva-bhāṣā* or the Language of the Gods, when it was developed and extended by the pre-Aryan *Niṣāda* or Austric (i.e. Kol and Munda), *Dramizha* or *Dramiḍa* (i.e. Dravidians) and by the *Kirāta* (or the Indo-Mongoloid) peoples.

vidyā-vāibhava-sampannā sāhitya-kalayânvitā /
maṇḍalē sarva-bhāṣāṇām āsīt sā cakravartinī // 5 //

This Sanskrit language, then endowed with the glorious wealth of her Knowledge and possessing the Art of Literature, became the Queen within the circle of all languages.

Vālmīki-Vyāsayōḥ kīrttir yadīyē mūrdhni vartatē /
ṛṣibhir bahubhir yâsīt kavibhiḥ sēvitā sadā // 6 //

The artistic creations of Vālmīki and Vyāsa are established at her head: this language was always cultivated by numerous sages (*Ṛṣis*) and poets.

maṇḍitā yōgibhiḥ siddhāir bhaktāir lōka-hitāiṣibhiḥ /
ācāryāiḥ paṇḍitāiḥ sadbhir yā ca nītā 'mṛtaṃ padam // 7 //

It was also adorned by *Yogis*, by *Siddhas*, and by devotees (*Bhaktas*), who always worked for the good of men; and this language was also established in a status of immortal glory by its great scholars (*Ācāryas*), by its learned men (*Paṇḍitas*), and by its saints (*Sants*).

sarvēbhyō bhūmi-putrēbhyō jātāḥ santi hi yē 'mṛtāt //
niḥśrēyasasya lābhāya diśantī vividhān pathaḥ // 8 //

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This language was also showing the various ways for the attainment of the Supreme Good for the benefit of all sons of the soil (*bhūmi-putras* or aborigines) also, who are indeed the offspring of the Immortal.

vi-niḥsṛtā Bhāratāt sā bhūtvā saṃskṛti-vāhinī //
Ṛṣi-Buddha-Jinâcāraṃ tatānâkhila-kṛṣṭiṣu // 9 //

This language then became a great bearer of civilization, and emerged out of India and spread the ideas of the *Ṛṣis*, the *Buddhas*, and the *Jinas* among all nations.

gambhīrā lalitā vāṇī puṣpa-vajra-svarūpiṇī /
dhṛtā śirasi yatnēna sarvāir bhū-lōka-vāsibhiḥ // 10 //

This language is profound, it is soft and sweet, and it embodies the beauty of the flower and the strength of the thunder; and all dwellers of different lands received this speech with great honour on its head, as it were.

Siṃhalē 'bhijagāmâtha dakṣiṇaṃ navam ālayam /
Kambujēṣv atha Campāyāṃ Rāmaṇyēṣu ca sarvataḥ // 11 //

This Sanskrit language received a new home in the South, in the Island of *Siṃhala* (Ceylon); and elsewhere also among the *Kambujas* (= the land of Cambodia), in *Champā* (i.e. Cochin-China), and among the *Rāmaṇyas* (= Pali *Rāmañña* i.e. *Rmeñ* or *Mon* people and its home-land — South and Central Burma and South Siam).

ēvaṃ vasanti yē prācyāṃ su-durdharṣāḥ Kirātajāḥ /
Śyāma-Brahma-samâkhyātā Dāi-Mranmā-saṃjñakā hi yē // 12 //

And also the powerful peoples of *Kirāta* or Mongoloid origin, who live in the eastern land and are known as the Siamese and the Burmese (*Śyāma* and *Brahma*) and whose own names are *Dai* (or *Thai*) and *Mranmā* (or *Myanma* or *Byamma*) respectively.

Rāmaṇya-Kambujēbhyaś ca yāir labdhôttarakālataḥ /
Saṃskṛtā Prākṛtā gīś ca, Bhāratīyā 'pi saṃskṛtiḥ // 13 //

From the *Rāmaṇya* or Mon and *Kambuja* or Cambodian peoples these Burmese and Siamese at a later period learned the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages and obtained their Indian civilization.

āgnēyē vidyatē kōṇē sāgarō dvīpa-śōbhitaḥ /
tatra nītā rarājâiṣā bhāṣā rājñîva Bhāratī // 14 //

In the *Agni-kōṇa* or South-Eastern corner of Asia there is the sea, beautiful with its islands — the Indonesian area: there the Indian language Sanskrit was taken and established as a queenly speech.

sēvitâsīc ca Barhiṇyāṃ Svarṇadvīpē tathânyataḥ /
Yavadvīpē Balidvīpē pūjitā ca viśēṣataḥ // 15 //

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Sanskrit was cultivated in *Barhiṇī* (=Borneo) and also in *Svarṇa-dvīpa* (= Sumatra). The language was specially honoured in the islands of Java and Bali.

adhunâpy arcanā-rītir bahuśō dṛśyatē janāiḥ /
Śyāmâdi-prācya-dēśēṣu dēśē dvīpamayē 'pi ca // 16 //

Even now at the present day people can see the great honour shown to Sanskrit in the countries of the East, like Siam etc. and in the land of the islands in the sea.

Āsiyāyās tathā madhyē yē yē dēśā bhavanti vāi /
Ārya-Ânāryā janās tatra sita-pītâdi-varṇataḥ // 17//

Within the heart of the continent of Asia there are many lands where other peoples, both Aryan and non-Aryan, and white as well as yellow in colour, have their abode.

tēṣāṃ madhyē Bhāratīyā yē 'bhavan Ārya-bhāṣiṇaḥ /
Kustanaṃ nagaraṃ tatra sthāpayitvā 'vasan purā // 18 //

Those Indians who spoke the Indian Aryan language went in the past to live among them, and they established the city of *Kustana* (= Khotan) and settled there.

dharmaṃ saṃsthāpayāmāsus tatra tē Buddha-dēśitam /
ēvaṃ Brāhmaṃ ca Bāuddhañ ca vacanaṃ su-prati-ṣṭhitam // 19 //

They established there the religion as preached by Buddha, and both Brahmanical and Buddhist lore were firmly set up.

janēṣûdīcya-dēśēṣu tadâbhūc citra-kīrttiṣu /
prasāraḥ Saṃskṛtēr nō vāi prēyasē śrēyasē 'pi ca // 20 //

In this way among the various peoples of the *Udīcya* or the Northern Lands who had great cultural work to their credit, there was an extension of our Indian civilization, both for their material and spiritual benefit.

abhūt kṣētram asāu dēśaḥ kṛṣṭīnāṃ saṃgamasya vāi /
Bhāratasya ca Cīnasya Parśōś ca Yavanasya ca // 21 //

That country became a great area for the mixture of various peoples — the peoples from India, China, *Parśu* or Iran and Greece. (The land of *Serindia*=Ancient Central Asia, where the peoples and cultures of India, China, Persia and Ionia or the Yavana countries met.)

janās tatrā 'vasan yē 'pi Śakāś ca Sulikās tathā /
Āryāṇāṃ Yavanānāñ ca Ṛṣīkā jñātayaś ca yē // 22 //

The peoples who dwelt there were the *Śakas* (Scythians) and the *Sulikas* (= Sogdian Iranians) as well as the *Ṛṣīka* (= the so-called Tokharians living in the cities of Kucha and Qara-shar), who are related to the Geeks, the Romans and the Western Europeans (rather than to the Aryans of India and Iran).

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Kirāta-jātijā Bhōṭās Turuṣkā Maṅgalās tathā /
Kōrayāś ca Mahācīnā Yamatō-vaṃśajāś ca vāi // 23 //

The *Bod* (Indianized to *Bhōṭa*) or the Tibetan people, who are of Mongoloid origin; and the *Turuṣkas* (or Turkic peoples) and their relations the *Maṅgalas* (Mongols); besides the *Korai* (or the Korean people) and the people of Great China (*Ta-ts'-in* or *Mahā-cīna*); and the *Yamato* (or Japanese people).

Kāivalya-dāyinī bhāṣā sarvāir ētāiḥ samâdṛtā /
anūditā kvacij jātā Cīna-Bhōṭânugāminī // 24 //

All these nations honoured Sanskrit as the language which brought to them *Kāivalya* (i.e. knowledge of the Supreme Truth). In many places the Sanskrit language wats transformed by translations, following the spirit of both the Chinese and the Tibetan speech.

Yavanēṣv api sā bhāṣā prasṛtā priya-darśiṣu /
vidyābhyō jyōtiṣ-ādibhyō yāir āsīt sam-alaṃkṛtā // 25 //

Among the *Yavanas* or the Greeks, who were a nation of handsome men and women, the Sanskrit language also spread; and these *Yavanas* also in their turn adorned the Sanskrit language through the sciences like Astronomy.

Ārabya-Pārasīkēṣu mānitā jñāna-dāyinī /
gaṇitaṃ jyōtiṣaṃ śāstram ākhyānaṃ vāidyakaṃ tathā // 26 //

Among the Arabians and the Persians, Sanskrit was accepted as a language which brought to them all Science and Arts — like Mathematics, Astronomy, certain other Sciences, Medicine, as well as stories and romances.

tēbhya ētāni dattāni jñanañ câdhyātmikaṃ mudā /
jīva-Brahmâikatā prōktā Brahma-nirvāṇikā tathā // 27 //

To these nations, viz. the Persians and the Arabs, the above sciences were bestowed, and spiritual wisdom as well — e.g. the idea of the Unity of the Human Soul and the Supreme, as well as the Absorption of the Human Soul into the Supreme Being (the Muslim Sufi Conceptions embodied in texts like *Ana-l-Haqq* i.e. « I am the Truth » or « I am God », and *Fanā-fī-llāh* or « Absorption into God »).

ēvaṃ Pāścāttya-khaṇḍē ca janā yē śakti-sādhakāḥ /
tēṣāṃ yē vaṃśajāḥ santi Pātālē janam-ējayāḥ // 28 //

Further, the various nations of the West (Europe), who have been Seekers for Power, and other peoples who were descended from them, driving or conquering various other nations in *Pātāla* or the land of the Antipodes (i.e. America),

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vāg jyaṃ tāir gṛhītā 'pi bhavēt kālôpayōginī /
yōga-kṣēmasya satyasya śāśvatasya ca siddhayē // 29 //

They too received the Sanskrit language which became suitable for their use in the present age; Sanskrit in their hands became the language which helped them to attain new things of value in their own culture and the benefits which they could find in their own Euro-American Civilization as well as in the realization of the everlasting Truth.

samagra-jana-jātānāṃ hita-priya-vidhāyinī /
gīr iyaṃ Bhāratīyā sā sadâstu svasti-vardhinī // 30//

May this Speech of Indian origin, Sanskrit, which brings all that is good and is loved by men of the entire nations of the world, be always conducive to the well-being of the world.

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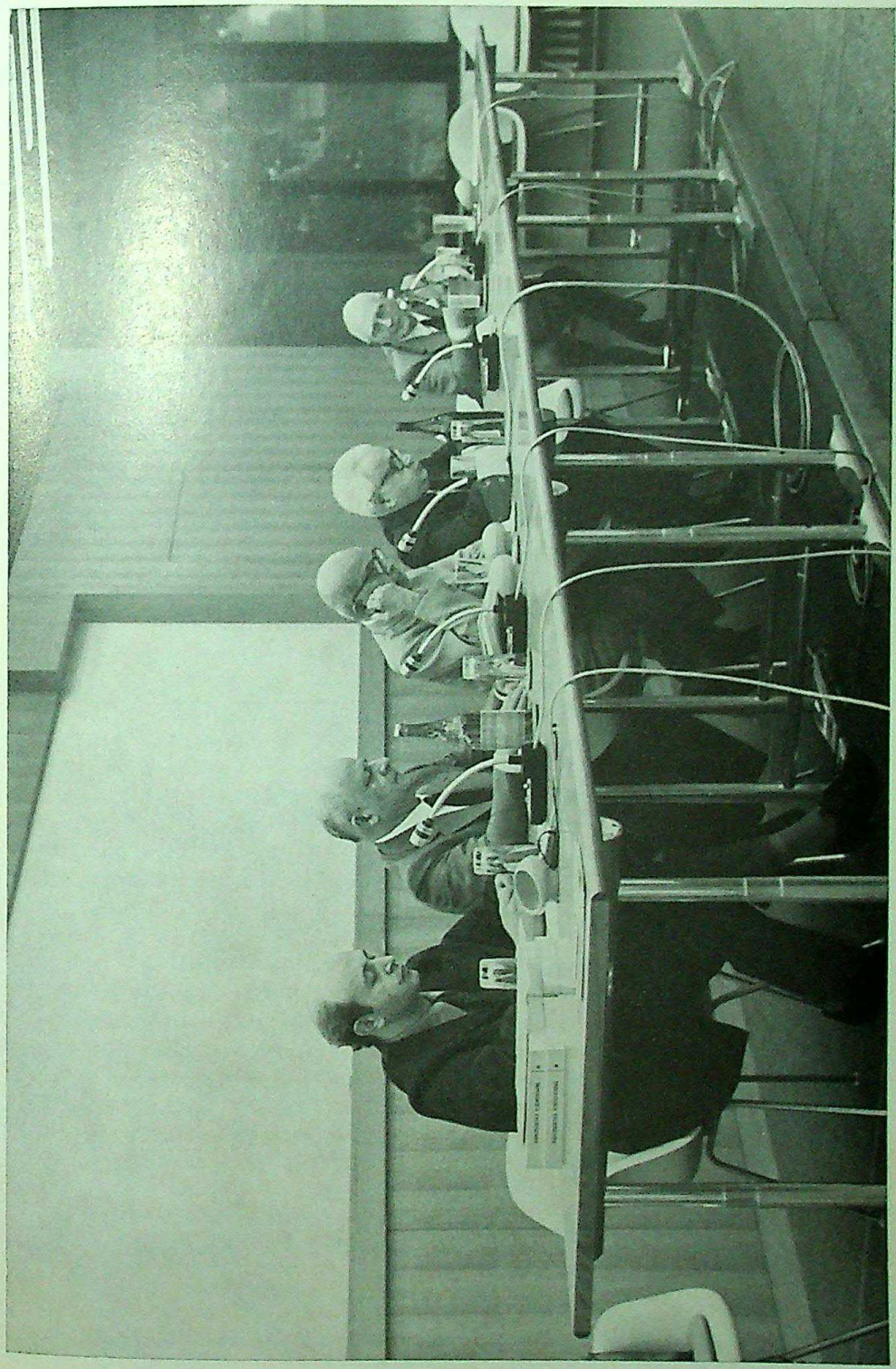

Professors G. M. Bongard-Levin, O. Botto, V. Raghavan, L. Sternbach, J. Gonda.

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GIULIO COGNI

UN RARO TESTO BUDDHISTA: IL MANICŪḌĀVADĀNA

Il *Maṇicūḍāvadāna* è un *Divyāvadāna* sanscrito, pubblicato per la prima volta a Londra, attraverso la collazione di sette manoscritti, da Ratna Handurukande nel 1967 per la Pali Text Society[1]. Consta di brani narrativi in prosa e di squarci in *śloka*, che per la maggior parte esprimono momenti lirici dei personaggi. Nell'edizione è pubblicata anche un'altra versione metrica di 475 *śloka*, che costituisce originariamente il IV capitolo di uno *Svayaṃbhū-purāṇa*, il cui unico manoscritto conosciuto si trova nella Bibliothèque Nationale di Parigi. Non presenta sostanziali differenze di contenuto dai manoscritti sanscriti in prosa. Ancora nella medesima edizione è pubblicata un'altra versione drammatica della leggenda in lingua tibetana, che reca tuttavia il titolo sanscrito *Lokānanda*, ed è una traduzione di un originale testo sanscrito perduto, attribuito a Çandragomin, vissuto nel VI sec. d.C. L'accurato riassunto annesso fa pensare ad un testo drammatico molto efficace e ricco, attraverso i cinque atti, di molteplice fantasia, che in parte si discosta dal racconto letterario, sia nella successione dei tempi che nei particolari momenti psicologici dei personaggi, pur contenendo esattamente tutti gli episodi fondamentali.

Dell'*avadāna* sanscrito esiste una evidente versione libera, con saltuarie parafrasi, in lingua Nevāri, pubblicata da Siegfried Lienhard negli Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis (Stockolm Oriental Studies) presso Alquist & Wiksell nel 1963: *Maṇicūḍāvadānodahṛta - a Buddhist Rebirth Story in the Nevāri Language*, edited and translated by S. L., che si presenta cioè come un estratto della leggenda generale. In realtà questa versione non si discosta in nulla di essenziale dai manoscritti sanscriti, di cui riproduce esattamente la successione degli episodi, talvolta con le medesime frasi e parole, talvolta concedendosi degli allargamenti, come

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1. *Maṇicūḍāvadāna* being a Translation and Edition, and *Lokānanda* a Transliteration and Synopsis by Ratna Handurukande, London, Luzac & Company, 1967.

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nella descrizione di un giardino, di una battaglia, di un dialogo, con minime varianti psicologiche, che annoteremo per quanto riguarda l'episodio che qui particolarmente intendiamo esaminare. Vi sono momenti meno eticamente puri, come per es. nel grande sacrificio di Maṇicūḍa, che quantunque sia pronto a dare in pasto se stesso al *rākṣasa*, svolgendosi una battaglia fra gli dèi a proposito del sacrificio stesso non esita a dare in pasto al *rākṣasa* gli dèi uccisi (II A). Mentre Indra stesso dimostra una grande invidia per le sublimi virtù del re, che mettono in pericolo la sua supremazia (8 B), e questo è il motivo, assai volgare, per cui lo tenta sotto la forma del dèmone. Il manoscritto era stato scoperto da J. Klatt nel 1873, che lo aveva definito una *Nepālī bhāṣā*, e sembra di data molto recente (1800 circa). Non ci occuperemo qui di qualche altro frammento della leggenda, di cui uno in 191 versi, pubblicato in « Journal and Texts of the Buddhist Text Society of India », vol. I par. III (Calcutta 1893), ricordato da Kṣemendra e citato da Lienhard.

* * *

Il presente saggio non ha scopo filologico, né di analisi dell'intero testo. Intende unicamente rilevare l'episodio centrale della leggenda, che ha un particolare valore filosofico, etnologico e religioso perché presenta, in misura molto maggiore di altri consimili più brevi (episodio del re Uśīnara nel *Mahābhārata*, vari *jâtaka* buddhisti [2]) il valore interiore della liberazione suprema raggiunta attraverso il dono del proprio corpo in pasto ad altre creature, praticato come sereno costume, quale mezzo per dare una tomba vivente e amata al proprio corpo, nelle culture del cannibalismo sacro patrofagico, ma anche in riti drammatici del cannibalismo rituale, per esempio, nel Messico, e in forme crudeli di divorazione del corpo vivo del condannato nel cannibalismo giudiziario. Come dono d'amore fu sublimato da Gesù nell'Ultima Cena, me-

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2. In particolare la Storia della Tigre e la Storia della Lepre. V. *The Jātakamālā or Garland of Birth-Stories, by Ārya Sūra translated by J.S. Speyer*, London, 1895. *Ārya Sūra, Storia della Tigre e altre storie delle vite anteriori del Buddha (Jātakamālā)*, a cura di Raniero Gnoli, Leonardo da Vinci, Bari, 1964. Nel *Libro Tibetano della grande Liberazione*, a cura di W. Y. Evans Wentz (trad. it. di C. Cipollini e S. Piovano Newton Compton, Ed. Vicenza, 1973), che racconta la vita di Padmasaṃbhava, v'è un analogo episodio di una principessa che, su consiglio dell'asceta, dà il suo corpo in pasto ad animali affamati. Il testo è pieno di episodi cannibalici; e vi è chiaramente detto che i *rākṣasa* sono « gente » demoniaca, che abita probabilmente Ceylon, oppure altri luoghi dell'India (pag. 203). Praticamente si tratta dunque di popolazioni aborigene con costumanze cannibaliche. Cfr. la storia del re Uśīnara in *Mahābhārata*, III, 130 sgg. Richard Wagner scrisse, dopo la lettura del passo in A. Holtzmann: *Indische Sagen*, a Mathilde Wesendonck da Londra (30 aprile 1855): « Wollen Sie meine Religion kennen lernen, so lesen Sie *Usinar*. Wie beschämt steht unsere ganze Bildung da vor dieser reinsten Offenbarung edelster Menschlichkeit im alten Orient » (W. Ute Jung: *Die Rezeption der Kunst Richard Wagners in Italien*, Regensburg, 1974, pag. 251). Il passo è riportato già in: Helmut von Glasenapp: *Indische Geisteswelt*, Baden-Baden, B.I, pag. 308.

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diante un transfert di natura parapsicologica nel pane e nel vino destinati in cibo degli amati. Lo scambio totale della propria vita con la vita altrui realizza la liberazione suprema da qualunque limitazione, dell'io e degli altri attaccamenti, nella grande gioia dell'accettazione di essere interiormente tutto: condizione nirvanica, che nell'induismo era il *samādhi* supremo del ritorno alla consapevolezza e all'esperienza consapevole di essere il *brahman-ātman.*

Il grande segreto dell'atteggiamento vedantico e buddhista mahāyanico davanti al mondo è l'affermazione perentoria, in forme diverse ma sostanzialmente convergenti, e in una misura pressoché sconosciuta alla tradizione occidentale, dell'Essere (*sat*) quale Realtà e Sé onnipresente (*ātman*) non duale (*advaita*) di tutto l'esistente, la cui dualità è il gioco di *māyā* (*māyālīlā*); *icchādveṣasamutthena dvandvamohena bhārata — sarvabhūtāni saṃmohaṃ sarge yānti paraṃtapa = yeṣāṃ tv antagataṃ pāpaṃ janānāṃ puṇyakarmaṇām — te dvandvamohanirmuktā bhajante māṃ dṛḍhavratāḥ* (Gītā, VII,27,28). « Tratti dall'illusione duale di brama e avversione, / tutti gli esseri, o Bhārata, son dalla nascita illusi. = Ma quelli in cui il male è alla fine, genti di ricche virtù, / liberi da ogni dualismo, adorano me con fermezza »[3]. Questo soltanto è *cit*, cioè la vera Mente, la sapienza, che non è solo *manas*, pensiero, mente dualisticamente orientata a pensare l'altro da sé, e quindi tutto il mondo come altro, ma *prajñā*, *bodhi*, *mahābodhi*, illuminazione dell'Identità universale. Questa sorge quando ci si è liberati dalla mentalità dell'io e del molteplice, quali realtà ritenute ultime, e non quali aspetti del gioco di *mâyā*; il liberato dalla distorsione dell'*ahaṃkāra*, il *vimukta* (*vimuttasmiṃ vimutta*) è nella gioia suprema di essere tutto senza dualità (*kevalādvaita*) e quindi di essere anche, senza attaccamento, ogni singola creatura, che è il fine segreto e la sostanza della voluttà dell'amore, ed è quindi il compimento dell'amore (*kāma* e *bhakti*) e più che l'amore. *sarvabhūtastham ātmānaṃ sarvabhūtani cātmani — īkṣate yogayuktātmā sarvatra samadarśanaḥ* (*Gītā*, VI,29). « Vede in ogni essere Sé, tutti gli esseri nel Sé, / nello yoga fatto Uno tutto ovunque uguale scorge ». In questa suprema *voluptas*, libera anche dai condizionamenti comuni del sesso e dell'amore umano, che porta ad estremo compimento — nel buddhismo è *mahākaruṇā*, *charitas* suprema — ogni possibilità di mortalità o di dolore o delusione è svanita. *yasmin sarvāṇi bhūtāni ātmaivābhūd vijānataḥ — tatra ko mohaḥ kaḥ śoka ekatvam anupaśyataḥ* (*Īśa Up.* 7). « In chi si sa divenuto ogni essere, chiaroveggente, / qual delusione o dolore coglie chi l'unità scorge? ». E questo è *sat.*

Nella visione buddhista *sat* è *tathātā*, e colui che è giunto alla liberazione è *tathāgata.* Chi è allora egli? L'universo come *sat*, che è anche *śūnya*, il Vuoto dei mondi. Il suo Essere — non la sua mente, *manas*,

3. I versi cit. in nostra trad.: *Bhagavadgītā*, interpretazione lirica secondo la misura dei ritmi originali e con introduzione di Giulio Cogni, Milano, 1973. Per la *Iśa Up.* cit. più oltre in nostra trad. v.: « *Città di Vita* », Firenze, luglio-agosto 1973. Il detto *vimuttasmiṃ vimutta* in *Sāmāññā Phala Sutta* nel *Dīgha Nikāya.*

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o non questa soltanto — sarà allora indifferentemente tutti i *bhūta*, tutto il *bhava*; e accetterà di essere via via ogni creatura, non come essa si pensa e si vede soltanto, limitata e soggetta al *karman* suo proprio nel *saṃsāra*, ma come *è*, quale Identità di Sé con Sé; essa stessa, come tutto, *svayaṃbhū*, autogena nel divenire dei mondi, tutte le cui immagini visuali sensibili e pensabili risplendono di sfolgorante luce dal di dentro, *bodhi*, quale Identità, *tathāta*, *advaita*, in quanto appunto *svayaṃbhū* nell'essenza: per l'induismo, immediatamente il *brahman-ātman* che si autopone, buddhisticamente dal nirvanico *śūnya* universale.

A questo punto il liberato realizza, secondo il mistico buddhista Śāntideva [4], il *parinirvāṇa*, che consiste nella *parātmasamatā* che è anche *parātmaparivartana* — Identità universale del Sé e sostituibilità universale dei sé —; e questo è *mokṣa*, liberazione finale nel *nirvāṇa*, che splende della luce universale dell'*ānanda*.

Non resta allora nel *tathāgata* che l'universale compassione — in senso soprattutto etimologico di consentimento con tutti gli elementi e le creature — *karuṇā* verso tutti gli esseri viventi avvolti nel *karman* del *saṃsāra*, sentiti come Sé infinito luminosamente rifratto nei milioni di mondi. *Seid umschlungen, Millionen! — Diesen Kuss der ganzen Welt!* canta lo schilleriano canto cosmico della Nona sinfonia; il compiuto, il *tathāgata*, ritrova ovunque se stesso, a cui è pronto perciò a fare dono della sua vita, donando alle altre creature « vita con la sua vita », come canterà Maṇicūḍa. Ma che è la vita, se non cibo che si trasforma in vita, e come si può dar vita con la propria vita alle creature, se non donando loro la nostra stessa vita in cibo, qualunque sia l'energia che noi diamo loro? Senonché il cibo fondamentale, quello che permette la vita e l'assorbimento anche di tutti gli altri cibi, è tuttavia il cibo del corpo, in parte gassoso (l'atmosfera) in parte liquido e solido. Anche questo cibo è il *brahman-ātman*. È così che la *Taittirīya Up.*, vedendo tutte le creature nascere dal cibo e quindi in un costante rito di sacrificio universale dell'Essere per la vita delle creature, può esclamare per bocca del *brahman:* « Colui il quale sa che ciò che è alimento è fondato sull'alimento — è egli stesso fondato nel *brahman* » (2,9) e levare l'inno giubilante: *hā vu hā vu hā vu, aham annam aham annam aham annam — aham annādo aham annādo aham annādaḥ*, con cui si conclude la Upaniṣad nell'esclamazione finale: *śāntiḥ! śantiḥ! śāntiḥ!* [5].

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4. V. Giuseppe Tucci, *In cammino verso la Luce*, Torino, 1925. Oscar Botto, *Buddha e il Buddhismo*, pagg. 142-3, Esperienze, 1974. Amalia Pezzali: *Śāntideva mystique buddhiste des VII e VIII siècles*, Firenze, 1968.

5. Il testo continua: *aham ślokakṛd aham ślokakṛd aham ślokakṛt*, tradotto variamente: « Io sono il Poeta » (Pio Filippani Ronconi in *Up. antiche e medie*, Torino); « I am who makes Scripture » (Śrī Aurobindo, *Eight Up.*, Pondicherry, 1965): ma Śaṅkara, collegando la parola *śloka* con *śleṣa*, dice che significa *unione*, cioè unione del cibo e del mangiatore del cibo, accentuando così l'identità essenziale fra mangiato e mangiante (*Eight Upanishads* with the Commentary of Shankarācharya, transl. by Swāmī Gambhīrānanda, Calcutta, 1965). Filippani Ronconi ricorda: « L'alimento (*anna*) è inteso come vita divina fluente dal cosmo, parte che il *Brahman* offre di se stesso per continuarsi nel mondo delle creature ».

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Come abbiamo detto in un altro saggio, l'uomo non è una statua, come non lo è nessun vivente, ma vive di un ininterrotto flusso di energia che continuamente si nutre e forma dal cibo: per la *Taittirīya Up.*, egli è fatto di *anna, prāṇa, manas, vijñāna, ānanda,* che sono contemporaneamente la medesima energia fluente in vari rifrangenti aspetti dell'arcobaleno del *brahman.* È così che il tathāgata — al pari del *brahman* — non può essere veramente gli altri se non è anche loro cibo. Una tremenda constatazione, che fonda il mistero eucaristico, come quello degli antichi riti del cannibalismo sacro, ed è anche il mistero fondamentale dell'esistenza creaturale, fondata sull'amore e sul sacrificio universale.

Tutto questo discorso è necessario per chiarire l'essenza profonda, insieme psicologica, filosofica e religiosa, ma anche biologica, dell'*avadāna* buddhista a cui ci volgiamo.

Il re Maṇicūḍa, *bodhisattva,* anzi precedente incarnazione del Buddha, detto anche Ratnacūḍa, ha questi nomi perché nella cima della sua testa è infisso un gioiello di inestimabile splendore. Quando nacque, una gran luce si diffuse dal gioiello nella città di Sāketa, non lontana da Hastināpura — siamo nell'India del Nord — e si commossero i mondi. Era infatti nato un tesoro di generosità e di illuminazione; tanto che anche sua madre, Kāntimatī, sino da quando lo ebbe in seno fu presa da un grande furore di generosità e di illuminazione, e di saggezza verso tutti e tutto. E in che consisteva quella generosità del gran re? Nel donare tutto a tutti attraverso un'infinita compassione, che lo farà commuovere fino alle lacrime per ogni sventura o minorazione altrui, come se egli fosse quello sventurato, quel minorato. Egli infatti era anche gli altri, che non erano quindi gli altri, ma lui in tutte le forme. Così era veramente simbolo e incarnazione totale del regno e dell'universo.

Il racconto eroico del *Maṇicūḍāvadāna* si svolge in una luce di leggenda felice. Il re nasce da Kāntimatī che appunto già prima del parto diviene generosissima e saggia per le voglie della gestante. E diffonde beni e massime di saggezza al suo popolo. Poi, quando nasce il bambino con il gioiello sulla cima della testa — un gioiello che era « caldo quando faceva freddo e freddo quando faceva caldo » — « gli dèi levarono bandiere e oriflamme celesti per ogni regione. Suonarono strumenti divini e sparsero fiori celestiali ». E' un rituale comune a tutti i grandi eventi nel buddhismo, e anche qui sparge gioia e musicale armonia. Gli viene dato il nome che rappresenta la struttura miracolosa della sua testa, simbolo della luce del buddhismo.

Oṃ namo ratnatrayāya sarvabuddhabodhisattvebhyaḥ. Evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye Bhagavān śravastyāṃ viharati. È il *Buddha* stesso, da cui il narratore ascolta la grande leggenda.

Quando il bambino sarà grande sposerà Padmāvatī, propostagli da un asceta, senza opporre alcuna di quelle resistenze ascetiche — in fondo quasi sempre egoistiche nella rinuncia — che compaiono invece in altre versioni (cioè in quella nepalese e nella tibetana). Ne avrà un

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bimbo, Padmottara. Poi subito, nel racconto, chiama a raccolta una grande adunata di popolo nel giorno di luna piena, insieme con le regine, i principi, i ministri e i residenti della città e del contado, che tutti al suono delle campane si recano nel *maṇḍalavāṭa*, il sacro recinto circolare fuori della città. Prende a parlare, e annuncia il suo proposito. « Io darò ricchezze a coloro che non ne hanno... Io darò loro sufficienza di beni, in modo che essi possano sostenere le loro vite, dare elemosine e praticare atti di merito ». Per grande virtù di immedesimazione, egli si farà umile fra tutti, rinuncerà possibilmente al regno, farà del suo regno potenzialmente, in virtù dell'amore, quello che oggi potrebbe essere uno stato socialista.

« In quell'occasione il *bodhisattva* recitò l'inno seguente.
Il donatore diviene beato, celebre e fortunato
in questo mondo, e nasce poi in un felice stato.
Vive a lungo ed è forte, ed è coraggioso e bello
e fascinoso, amato dal popolo, e nasce come un patrono.
. . .
Perciò chi vuole star bene doni sempre elemosine.
E chi desidera il cielo pratichi la virtù » (14).

Questa virtù non è né dolorosa né scabra né arida; ma è fondata sulla constatazione che essere tutto, donare agli altri come a se stessi è gioia suprema e vero possesso universale. Il dono non è la causa, ma la conseguenza naturale dell'essere tutto.

È in seguito a queste manifestazioni di eccezionale grandezza interiore che i guardiani del mondo si recano alla città di Sāketa, ma non possono procedere oltre in seguito al potere del *bodhisattva*. Nella versione in Nevāri il prodigio viene interpretato vilmente da Indra come una menomazione per lui; ma qui nulla di questo. Neanche la tentazione suprema a cui Śakra (cioè Indra) sottoporrà durante il grande sacrificio il re sarà qui una vendetta, come nel testo nepalese, ma anzi una prova per suprema ammirazione. Questa sorge subito, sconfinata. « Doni dispensa il re, pieno di compassione — e così insegna a tutti ad essere generosi ». « Con questo agire pieno di meriti qual regno avrà — questa grande anima compassionevole e piena d'amore? ». Ed ecco che, in quell'assemblea divina, appare un glorioso raggio di luce. Tutti vogliono aiutare dunque il gran re « *kāruṇyaṃ paramaṃ kṛtvā* », nella sua sublime missione.

Si giunge così rapidamente all'episodio centrale della leggenda eroica, di cui occupa gran parte il sacrificio *nirargaḍa* (o *nirargala*, come nel ms. nevāri: sacrificio « infinito, senza limiti »). E' in questo grandioso periodo di riti sacrificali, una grande e lunghissima festa, nella quale il *bodhisattva* dispenserà doni a non finire a tutto il suo popolo in giubilo, che egli verrà messo ad una suprema prova da Indra-Śakra nel grande recinto sacrificale, proprio sull'altare dalla cui fiamma si le-

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verà nel ventesimo giorno un grande *rākṣasa* « terribile, con un viluppo volante di capelli arruffati sulla testa, occhi rossi, mani e piedi enormi, una bocca spalancata, una tremenda bocca aperta con la lingua penzoloni. Sorse d'un tratto dal gran fuoco sacrificale con un riso cupo e terrificante, sorpassando di statura il lustro del fuoco ». Non è tanto, in fondo, un malvagio, quanto una manifestazione mostruosa della sfrenata natura. Un dèmone scatenato. Potrebbe essere anche, com'è noto, un ricordo leggendario di una nera creatura cannibalica di stirpi aborigene, che sbucano mprovvisamente dalla foresta, e uccidono uomini per mangiarli. Non è comunque una bella, attraente ragazza quella a cui Maṇicūḍa si donerà; il suo dono sarà, oltretutto, un superamento di tutte le convenzionali preferenze della natura umana, che hanno nell'*ahaṃkāra* le loro radici.

Subito quell'essere enorme, a prima vista repugnante, armato di tremenda dentatura, gli chiede cibo ricco di energie, cibo di carne viva. « E' da molti anni che sono oppresso da fame e sete. — Non sento giammai parlare di cibo né mai ne vedo ». Il grande sacrificio *nirargaḍa* che il re stava consumando era incruento, secondo i principi del più alto buddhismo, che evita accuratamente ogni azione che possa produrre ingiuste sofferenze nelle creature senzienti. Ma il *rākṣasa* è inesorabile; ha bisogno di carne viva, uccisa di fresco. Nella versione drammatica i consiglieri esterrefatti avanzano la proposta di sacrificare animali lì prossimi, con i quali forse si consumavano nel recente passato altri sacrifici. Ma in questo puro racconto nulla di ciò. « Nessun essere vivente venne ucciso in quel grande sacrificio ». Il re, messo alla preoccupante prova, prende la decisione eroica. « Ahimè! ché mi trovo davanti ad una grande difficoltà. Che cosa fare in questa circostanza? Carne fresca, ricca di sangue non può aversi senza distruggere vite. Io gli darò il promesso cibo, ma non posso uccidere alcuna creatura vivente, neanche un piccolo insetto. Per adempiere alla perfezione della generosità darò a questo *rākṣasa* questa mia carne e sangue ». Una volta accettato il punto di vista dell'*ahiṃsā* spinto fino allo scrupolo, egli non può per nessuna ragione far soffrire le creature, perché la sofferenza è sempre, imposta o subìta, un male che produce altri mali. Altra cosa è la sofferenza accettata invece come olocausto — non sofferta nel *jīva*, ma realizzata come gaudiosa offerta di bene nell'*ātman*: *io ti darò vita con la mia vita.* Sarà allora « l'offerta suprema cercata da tutti i *Buddha* », quale sbocco nello stato nirvanico della grande liberazione da ogni limite personale.

Così egli canta a quella gigantesca, demònica creatura la grande offerta:

« Non temere, caro, mangia la carne mia fresca
come vuoi, senza timore, e bevimi quanto desideri ».

Egli si fa tutto ciò che quello vuole, tutto ciò che desidera, olocausto supremo al bisogno della sua vita.

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« Io ti farò soddisfatto come non sei mai stato,
con la mia carne e sangue. E sii finalmente contento!
Oggi, mio buon amico, così perverrò alla soglia
dell'offerta suprema, cercata da tutti i Buddha.
Oggi per te compirò l'impresa del dono di questo
corpo mio impuro, che è destinato alla morte.
Oggi, per l'onniscienza, io ti farò felice
donandoti la mia carne calda e tutto il mio sangue.
Oggi ti darò carne tagliandola a poco a poco
dal corpo mio, perché tu riesca infine a saziarti.
Oggi farò che gli dèi coi *gandharva* e con i *dānava*
gioiscano mentre vado alla morte verso la luce.
Oggi, donando il mio corpo per liberare gli esseri,
salgo alla grande pace dell'illuminazione.
Oggi, donando la carne e il sangue, schiaccerò Māra,
e darò luce al mondo che anela alla liberazione ».

« Come il saggio *bodhisattva* ebbe detto questo, tutta la terrà tremò con un boato simile a quello dell'oceano sbattuto dal vento.

Gli dèi, gli *asura* e i *gandharva*, che erano nel cielo, udendo questo mirabile dono, furono ricolmi di gioia » (24).

Il dono è compiuto per l'onniscienza, *sarvajñāna*; per esso il donatore raggiungerà la grande *bodhi* e l'ultimo *mokṣa*: *sattvanirmokṣa*.

Seguono i particolari del sacrificio sempre più terribile che egli, il re, essendosi ogni altro rifiutato di mettere il coltello nelle sue carni, si pratica da se stesso, e lascia compiere coi denti al *rākṣasa*, mentre tutti lo supplicano di cessare da quell'orrenda offerta. Ma nessun cupo dolore, nessun terrore è ormai nel cuore del *bodhisattva*, che « va alla morte verso la luce » e « sale alla grande pace dell'illuminazione ». Egli è ormai in uno stato nirvanico, nella grande ipnosi, che sempre, quando viene raggiunta, elimina ogni dolore. « Vieni caro, adempi al mio desiderio! Accetta il mio sacrificio! Bevi a sufficienza il mio sangue! ». Il dolore tuttavia qui non è ancora veramente eliminato, ma piuttosto fatto fonte di suprema gioia; è una musica speciale dello stato ipnotico derivato dall'infinito amore: altrimenti, se fosse stato subito soppresso in una totale insensibilità, sarebbe stata piuttosto una fuga dal dolore che un suo vero superamento. Si toccano a questo punto i misteri della più alta etica, anche cristiana, che nel dolore gioioso vede l'indiamento. A questo vertice, ogni valutazione psicologica — masochismo e simili — sarebbe evidentemente fuori luogo, data l'altezza transpersonale del supremo livello di totale liberazione dall'io. « Tagliava carne dal suo torace, dalle braccia, dalle cosce, dai fianchi e dai polpacci, e la donava con le sue proprie mani. Preso da terribili dolori, metteva insieme tutto il suo coraggio, stringeva i denti, e diceva incoraggiando il suo cuore: 'Ciò che tu sempre desiderasti, o cuore, pensando: Quando sarò in

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grado di servire l'umanità, qui stesso, con sangue, carne, grasso, ossa e midollo?' desideroso di raggiungere la suprema illuminazione per tutti i tempi: questa occasione è sorta oggi ». Poi il *bodhisattva* sviene « sopraffatto da terribile dolore, imbrattato di carne, sinovia e sangue, agitando i cuori di quella moltitudine ». La regina Padmāvatī urla dalla disperazione. E la moltitudine leva da tutte le parti dell'immensa adunata alti lamenti. Ed ecco infine la grande pace del superamento di ogni pena. « Allora il *bodhisattva*, riguadagnando la coscienza, si svegliò e si sollevò ad un tratto neutralizzando la terribile pena con la forza della sua energia e determinazione ». E' l'effetto ultimo dell'ipnosi. Finché esclama con il cuore pieno di gioia: « Ti prego, accettami! Affrettati, caro, e mangia le mie ossa o il midollo delle mie ossa, il cuore, o la carne e il grasso del cuore, o il mio cervello mentre sono ancora in vita, in modo che io possa, vedendo ciò, sviluppare i miei alti pensieri di generosità, essere gioioso e felice, e confortare la mia mente pensando: 'La mia carne, il mio sangue e la mia vita sono serviti alla tua vita'. L'illuminazione, suprema e perfetta, sarà allora a portata di mano. Questo sarebbe difficile a raggiungere se io fossi già morto'. — A quel punto gli dèi adunati nell'aria levarono voci di giubilo dai loro cuori pieni di ammirazione ».

E' giunto così il supremo momento. Il dolore si fonde interamente nella gioia; la gioia è perfetta e suprema nella constatazione interamente consapevole — ancora in vita — che « la mia carne e il sangue e la mia vita sono serviti alla tua vita ». Ecco il grande *parātmaparivartana*. Vinta ogni limitazione, *kleśa*, tendenza dell'io, *ahaṃkāra*, egli è tutto in tutto: e questa è suprema liberazione, *mokṣa*, e suprema *voluptas*, *ānanda*. Non c'è più né mio né tuo, ma l'Essere (*sat*) nella sua plenitudine. Il *bodhisattva* ha toccato con mano la *tathāta* universale, « *sarvabhūtāni cātmani* ». Tutto il Vuoto è un solo Vuoto, e quello sono io. In ogni essere sta il Sé, secondo il *mantra* induista, ogni essere è il Sé, e quello sono anche io. La mia vita, il mio *jīvātman*, è indifferentemente tutti i *jīva*, ogni *ātman*.

A quel punto Śakra ricompare nella sua vera forma « grandemente soddisfatto », e chiede al *bodhisattva*, dopo averne ricostituito miracolosamente il corpo con potenti medicine, che cosa desidera avere in ricompensa per la prova suprema. Il *bodhisattva* risponde che non desidera « essere uno Śakra, un Māra o un Brahmā, o guadagnare sovranità sopra le direzioni dello spazio, o nascita in cielo, o il regno di un monarca universale, o alcun altro reame terrestre ». « Vorrei soltanto raggiungere la suprema illuminazione, e aiutare quegli esseri che non hanno ancora varcato la soglia a varcarla, sollevare gli oppressi, consolare gli sconsolati e liberare i non liberi. Questo è il mio desiderio ». E quando Śakra gli chiede se nel dare il suo corpo non avesse sentito amarezza o rimpianto, risponde: « Kauśika, io non ho mai sentito alcuna amarezza o rimpianto ». Il *bodhisattva* fa ancora una breve dichiarazione, « fissando la mente nell'illuminazione, perfetta e suprema, e nutrendo pensieri d'amore verso tutte le creature », e il suo corpo è pienamente

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ricostituito in tutto il suo splendore. Indra-Śakra gli chiede perdono per avergli causato tanto dolore; il *bodhisattva* lo perdona di tutto cuore. « In quell'istante... il signore degli dèi, insieme con i centomila differenti dèi, salutò reverente il *bodhisattva* e scomparve ».

Il testo non lo dice apertamente, ma da tutte le espressioni d'amore che il *bodhisattva* aveva rivolto al suo divoratore emerge, nell'*ānanda* delle sue stesse parole che, contemplato nel suo *sat*, nella identità non duale, anche il *rākṣasa* gli era apparso nella sua verità creaturale in tutto il suo demònico (non demoniaco) splendore. Come avviene all'occhio interiore di ogni grande artista e grande amante, nell'identità *advaita* tutta la realtà appare *svayaṃbhū*, momento della *bodhi* universale, e quindi, come un'antica lampada cinese, splendente dal di dentro della pienezza dell'Essere. Il difetto, il male, il demoniaco eventuale, che tanto disturbano l'occhio ordinario, impedendogli spesso in maggiore o minore misura di scorgere il divino *Brahman* nella creatura, sono negatività che in realtà non esistono nel *sat*, nell'Essere profondo della *māyā* del *samsāra*, come non esiste positivamente l'ombra, ma solo la luce che la fa apparire. Di qui la gioia suprema del *bodhisattva* di contribuire con la sua vita alla vita di quella creatura.

All'episodio del dono del corpo di Manicūda seguono altri doni e sacrifici: un asceta gli chiede in dono sua moglie e suo figlio, il vicerè, per ripagare del suo insegnamento Mārīci che « vive in un romitaggio sulla montagna Himālaya ». Ed egli prega moglie e figlio di sacrificarsi anch'essi mettendosi al servizio dell'anacoreta. Poi v'è un re arrogante e naturalmente egoista, Dusprasaha, che avendo udito della sua sterminata bontà e compassione, rinunciando ad ogni scrupolo « è venuto sprezzante a distruggere il nostro regno ». Manicūda ha compassione della sua ignoranza, e gli dona anche un elefante, che deve ricomprare da altri. Tenta di ritirarsi in solitudine e abbandonare le miserie del potere. Ma poi è costretto dalle preghiere dei sudditi, e dello stesso anacoreta presso cui si era recato, a ritornare a casa. Più tardi salva la vita a Padmāvatī, insidiata da un dèmone della foresta, e la riprende con sé insieme col figlio, per consiglio dello stesso Mārīci.

Infine viene la più atroce delle prove. Il re Dusprasaha, per allontanare una pestilenza, ha bisogno del gioiello che sta al sommo della sua testa, e gli invia ambasciatori per ottenerlo. Egli esulta ancora più che prima per il dono della sua carne. Se lo lascia estrarre da quelli con repugnante ferocia; e rinnuova gli inni di gaudio per la suprema prova della liberazione.

« Oggi io raggiungerò l'estrema riva del mare.
Oggi dischiuderò l'illuminazione prossima ormai.
Salgo alla luce suprema, difficile ad ottenere,
e dono gioia al mondo in pena con la non-morte.

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Col mio potere io vi condurrò dall'oscuro *saṃsāra*
sconvolgitore alla pace della città del *nirvāṇa* » (58).

I Brahmani cominciano l'incisione per estrargli la lucente pietra preziosa dalla testa, fra inenarrabili laceramenti e dolori. Ma egli dirà:

« O mio cuore,
potrai salvare l'intero mondo, per cui tu sei pronto
a sopportare la pena suprema vedendolo inerme! ».

E dicendo a se stesso: « Aho! grande è il dolore che la gente patisce nel mondo. Sopporterò perciò da solo tutto questo dolore per il bene di tutti gli esseri. Che non uno sia più vittima del dolore! » mentre così buddhisticamente si carica del dolore del mondo « non appena detto questo, o monaci, quelle terribili pene d'un tratto disparvero ». A mano a mano che quegli uomini crudeli continuavano a percuoterlo con acuminatissimi coltelli « il *bodhisattva* intensificava i suoi pensieri di pazienza, di tenero amore e compassione verso di loro, e verso Duṣprasaha e il suo seguito ».

Il racconto continua: « I brahmani, vedendo una resistenza così straordinaria, stupivano. Guardandosi in faccia gli uni con gli altri, dicevano: 'Nel passato avevamo soltanto udito dire che il *mahātman* dava anche la sua carne ai mendicanti, senza esitare, per compassione. Ma ora siamo testimoni del suo dono e della sua compassione, mille volte più grande di quanto sapevamo'. Così spaccarono tutto il cranio del *bodhisattva* e cominciarono ad estrarre il gioiello cranico dalla carne del cervello, imbrattandosi del grande fiume del sangue ».

Quando finalmente il *bodhisattva* sembrò esalare l'ultimo respiro, « il sistema cosmico delle tremila grandi migliaia di mondi si scosse tre volte, s'agitò e tremò. La terra mandò fuori un sordo boato... Nelle quattro direzioni apparvero masse di fumo, terribilmente paurose. Ovunque scorrevano meteore, consumando i quarti... Tutti gli abitanti del mondo si terrorizzarono ». Ma accade il miracolo: il *bodhisattva* riprende a poco a poco coscienza, e il suo corpo, dopo un *mantra* incantatorio, ritorna qual'era prima. Tutti i saggi del mondo si recano ad ammirarlo; lo stesso re Duṣprasaha viene a chiedergli perdono, e a farsi suo suddito e « l'intero Jambudvīpa risplende di frutti, fiori, alberi e acque, ricco, prosperoso, pacifico e abitato da molto popolo ».

Dopo questo episodio impossibile, che in tutto somiglia al precedente meno che per la sua palese artificiosità fabulistica, il racconto si chiude, con la rivelazione fatta dal *Buddha* stesso ai discepoli: « Io stesso fui il grande re Maṇicūḍa, che seguiva la condotta di un *bodhisattva* a quel tempo. Fui io che diedi via il gioiello che era nella mia testa ». « Le azioni, o monaci, che aveva compiuto lo stesso Maṇicūḍa, accumulate e messe insieme, una volta maturate, in realtà agirono su di lui come una piena che produce i suoi effetti... Neanche fra cento migliaia di anni si spengono gli atti. — A tempo debito recano i loro

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frutti alle genti ». « *Idaṃ avocad bhagavān. Ātmanas te bhikṣayo bhagavato bhāṣitam abhyānandan. Iti śrī Maṇicūḍāvadānaṃ samāptam* ».

Nel sacrificio identificante di sé con l'*altro* universale il *bodhisattva* pervenne così alla suprema beatitudine della non-dualità, che è il perfetto Vuoto nirvanico.

* * *

Il discorso si farebbe molto lungo se dovessimo evocare i motivi segreti che certamente stanno dietro questo episodio del testo buddhista. Intanto, come abbiamo accennato, i *rakṣasa* non erano necessariamente, in origine, spiriti; può darsi che fossero trasposizioni leggendarie di uomini e donne delle tribù aborigene che venivano dalla foresta, da cui talvolta sbucavano per impossessarsi di uomini e donne che trascinavano con sé per mangiarli. Se nell'India la pratica è supponibile solo per tempi molto lontani, il costume di tribù che assalgono tribù di altri villaggi a scopo cannibalico è ben conosciuto dagli etnologi, e in certi luoghi, per esempio nell'Amazzonia, sussiste tuttora, come risulta anche da un recente racconto. L'episodio della leggenda non vive nell'aria, ma ha probabilmente dietro di sé una lunga esperienza antica di costumi cannibalici, che nell'antica India tribale è possibile che si verificassero, mentre la pratica antica della patrofagia, il cui motivo etico è comunque elevatissimo, vi è largamente testimoniata.

Se apriamo il testo ormai classico di Ewald Volhard: *Der Kannibalismus*, pubblicato nel 1939 a Stuttgart (Strecker und Schroeder) negli *Studien zur Kulturkunde* fondati da Leo Frobenius e diretti da Edouard Jensen, la cui edizione italiana (Einaudi, Torino 1949) è stata da noi stessi curata e introdotta, leggiamo che il cannibalismo patrofagico era largamente praticato, come in quasi tutta la fascia tropicale del globo, anche in India, come in Persia; Erodoto (IV,34 segg.), Plinio (*Hist.* Nat. VII,II,I), Strabone (IV,5,4) e ancora Erodoto (I,216; IV,26), Strabone (IV,I,5), come anche il primo in III,99 e III,38, riferiscono dei Massageti, Carmani, Issedoni, Derbisci, Caucasici e Caspi, popolazioni persiane, ma anche dei Padei e Kalati indiani; mentre notizie più recenti si hanno della Birmania, dei Gonda, del Tibet. In tutte queste terre vigeva il costume di preferire assolutamente la tomba dei corpi viventi a quella della oscura terra, e il destino di essere divorati dagli amici amati e dalla giovane generazione era ritenuto senz'altro desiderabile. Secondo Erodoto, per esempio, i Massageti, tribù scita a nord della Persia, mangiavano i loro familiari defunti, tutte le volte che lo potevano. « Essere fatti oggetto di banchetto » era considerata per i morituri una fortuna, anzi il migliore destino. Se il defunto, che spesso era stato, per sua stessa volontà, ucciso allo scopo di renderlo ancora commestibile, non poteva venire mangiato, cercavano di offrirlo in pasto ad animali; e se neanche questi lo gradivano, veniva affidato alla terra; ma questa era ritenuta la fine peggiore. Tale pratica era ancora diffusa, fino

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a tempi recenti, in molte isole dell'Indonesia. Di una di queste — Dragouain, che forse è Sumatra — riferiva Marco Polo (cap. CXLV): « Ma io vi conterò un mal costume c'egli hanno; che quando alcuno ha male, e' mandono per loro indovini e incantatori che fanno per arti di diavolo, e domandano se 'l malato dee guarire o morire. E se 'l malato dee morire, egli mandano per certi, ordinati a ciò, e dicono: 'Questo malato è giudicato a morte: fa' quello che dee fare'. Questi gli mette alcuna cosa sulla gola e affogalo; e poscia lo cuocono; e quando è cotto, vengono tutti li parenti del morto e mangianlo. Ancora vi dico ch'egliono mangiano tutte le midolle dell'ossa, e questo fanno perché dicono che non vogliono che ne rimanga niuna sustanza... E perciò mangiano tutto; poscia pigliano l'osse, e pongonle in una archetta in caverna sotterra nelle montagne, in luogo che non le possa toccare né uomo né bestia. E se possono pigliare alcuno uomo d'altre contrade, che non si possa ricompensare, si lo si mangiano »[6]. Folco Quilici, nel recentissimo volume: *L'Alba dell'Uomo* (De Donato, Bari, 1974) al cap. *Il Cimitero degli ultimi cannibali*, conferma, per esperienza diretta di un popolo, i Puka Puka della Nuova Guinea, i particolari riferiti da Marco Polo.

Il cui testo può servire di paradigma universale. Si trattava, in tutti questi casi e ovunque, di una forma di cannibalismo sacro, che era fornito di un altissimo contenuto etico, contrariamente a quanto i non informati possono pensarne. La sostanza era sempre la medesima. Meglio del destino della tomba, meglio che essere abbandonati alla putrefazione e ai vermi del terreno, quei popoli antichi, asiatici ed africani, come anche molti dell'America precolombiana, ritenevano splendido destino essere mangiati dai parenti e amici, e in genere dalla nuova generazione, servendo con i propri corpi alle loro vite. Era come una spirale vitale, che si riavvolgeva nelle spirali vitali delle giovani generazioni, ritrasformando immediatamente il defunto nel vivente, mediante un dono che oggi ha di nuovo un pallido confronto nel dono degli organi in morte, come del resto nella gioia del dono del sangue in vita.

Ma esistevano anche i sacrifici spontanei, indipendentemente dall'età e dalla morte prevista, che si svolgevano in molte pratiche rituali di cannibalismo sacro, di cui le più grandiose si ebbero, come è noto, nel Messico; non erano solo prigionieri, talvolta bellissimi, o schiere di bambini, che venivano crudelmente sacrificati per motivi sacri, ma accadeva anche (v. Volhard: op. cit., America centrale) che sacerdoti, nobili e liberi donassero, per supremo voto sacro, in lunghi rituali spontaneamente i loro corpi al popolo, intendendo certamente raggiungere con questo un'agognata altissima mèta di liberazione.

Il gesuita messicano e grande storico del Messico, Francesco Saverio Clavigero, nella sua ampia *Storia antica del Messico*, pubblicata su una grandissima scorta di documenti in lingua italiana a Cesena nel 1786, così racconta di uno degli innumerevoli sacrifici (Libro VI): « Nel se-

6. (BUR) Rizzoli, Milano, a cura di Ettore Camesasca.

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condo giorno del primo mese (dell'anno messicano) facevano una gran festa a Tlaloc con sacrifizi di fanciulli per tal fine comperati... ». Il primo poi dei grandi sacrifici, il 17 maggio, era dedicato al Dio Texcatlipoca. Dopo sontuosissime feste « facevasi poi il sacrifizio della vittima rappresentante il Dio Texcatlipoca. Questa era un giovane il più gentile, e ben fatto di tutti i prigionieri. Sceglievanlo un anno innanzi, ed in tutto questo tempo andava vestito dell'abito di cotal Idolo; girava liberamente per la Città, ma scortato ognora di buona guardia, e da tutti era adorato, quale immagine viva di quella suprema Divinità. Venti giorni innanzi la festa questo giovane sposava quattro donzelle belle, e ne' cinque giorni precedenti la festa gli faceano lauti pranzi, e gli accordavano tutti i piaceri della vita. Nel giorno della festa conducevanlo con grande accompagnamento al tempio di Texcatlipoca; ma prima di arrivare, licenziavano le sue mogli. Accompagnava l'idolo nella processione, e venuta l'ora del sacrifizio, distendevanlo nell'altare, ed il Sommo Sacerdote gli apriva con gran riverenza il petto, e gli strappava il cuore. Il cadavere di lui non era, come quello delle altre vittime, gettato giù per le scale; ma portato in braccio da' sacerdoti, ed appiè del tempio decapitato. La testa di lui era infilzata nel *Tzompantli*, dov'erano i teschi delle vittime sacrificate a Texcatlipoca, e le gambe e le braccia cotte, e condite erano imbandite nelle tavole de' Signori. Dopo il sacrifizio si faceva un gran ballo... ».

Nel cannibalismo giudiziario, vigente in moltissime regioni del globo (v. Volhard al cap. rel.) il condannato a morte veniva mangiato vivo; e così riassume il Volhard stesso il costume dal volume di Franz Junghuhn: *Die Battaländer auf Sumatra* (Berlino 1847). « L'avversario del condannato, di solito il capo del villaggio stesso, prende il coltello in mano e fa un breve discorso, in cui si ricordano i moventi dell'avvenimento dichiarando all'adunanza che ora è venuto il momento dell'espiazione... A questo discorso a tutti i presenti viene l'acquolina in bocca ed essi sentono l'irresistibile desiderio d'introdurre nel proprio stomaco un pezzo della sua carne, considerandosi dopo ciò al sicuro da ogni sua azione nociva. Queste sono le loro stesse espressioni. Secondo la loro descrizione, il godimento che sentono appagando così la loro vendetta e la tranquillità consolante con ciò acquistata non è paragonabile a nient'altro. Tutti, spronati da quest'istinto, afferrano i loro coltelli. Il *rāja*, oppure l'offeso taglia al condannato un primo pezzo di carne prendendolo, secondo il suo gusto personale, dalla parte interna dell'avambraccio, o anche dalla guancia se questa è ben grassa, lo solleva giubilando e beve con occhi lucidi di voluttà il sangue sgorgante. Poi corre a uno dei fuochi per arrostire leggermente la sua porzione prima di divorarla; allora tutti i presenti si scagliano sulla vittima sanguinante tagliandole la carne di dosso per arrostirla al fuoco (molti la mangiano anche cruda o mezza cruda) e divorarla con avidità terrorizzante, mentre le urla spaventose del disgraziato, che con occhi ancora non spenti vede arrostire pezzi della propria carne, sembrano non commuoverli affatto. Si accarezzano lo stomaco con orribile piacere dimostrandosi soddisfat-

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tissimi dell'ottimo pasto. In generale, dopo otto o dieci minuti la vittima, scarnificata in un centinaio di punti, reclina il capo, e dopo un quarto d'ora è morto. La poca carne attaccata alle ossa viene staccata tutta; poco dopo si sotterra lo scheletro fuori del villaggio. La carne viene mangiata solo con un po' di sale e pepe spagnolo. Con l'uccisione del condannato la festa è finita ».

E' facile notare la somiglianza di questo racconto con quello della leggenda di Maṇicūḍa, che viene anch'egli divorato vivo.

Le vittime, persino nel cannibalismo profano o comunque punitivo, non dovevano generalmente soltanto soffrire; poteva forse accadere loro ciò che accadde a Maṇicūḍa, se pure non animati da motivi così elevati. Hans Staden, viaggiatore tedesco del Cinquecento, racconta nella sua *Wahrhaftige Historia* di aver visto un giovane destinato ad essere mangiato da una tribù brasiliana (Tupinamba) — che, del resto, era stato dato prima, secondo il costume, in godimento ad una donna — il quale, quando fu prossimo al sacrificio « führete solche rede, als ob er sollte zur kirmess gehen » (parlava in modo come se andasse ad una festa). Rideva, e rispose con un sonoro *sì* alla domanda se fosse ben disposto a morire. Del resto, quando Staden stesso, che avrebbe dovuto essere mangiato, venne condotto in presenza delle donne del villaggio, che poi avrebbero sensualmente fatto ludibrio di lui, fu costretto a cantare loro una cantilena: « Ich, euer essenspeise, komme » (Io vostra vivanda, vengo). (È anche riprodotto, nell'originale, il detto nella lingua indigena). È, in fondo, l'idea gioiosa di essere destinato al loro nutrimento, che quelle donne volevano instillare in lui; donne e uomini, che, come Staden stesso racconta, erano molto belli e ben sviluppati.

Quando pubblicammo l'edizione italiana dell'opera del Volhard scrivevamo nella Prefazione queste parole: « Il problema non è di poco momento, se solo si consideri... che alla base della più sublime esperienza occidentale, quella di Gesù, sta nientemeno che la Comunione dell'ultima cena, e la frase del Vangelo giovanneo: ' Chi mangia la mia carne e beve il mio sangue sta in me ed io sto in lui ' (Giov. VI,57). La somiglianza di questa immagine di sublime amore ed olocausto — che già destò scandalo fra gli ascoltatori di Gesù — e la serena volontà di sacrificio di certe vittime di questi riti cannibalici, è evidente.

« Quali le ragioni di tanta abnegazione immedesimante? ».

« Lasciamo le ragioni teologiche, cioè in fondo razionali e contenutistiche, che vengono dopo; e atteniamoci alla carica emozionale, cioè interiore dell'immagine. Nel mondo occidentale naturalmente l'immagine è vissuta meno crudamente attraverso un'*immedesimazione col cibo* (pane e carne dell'agnello) mentre il più barbaro primitivo offre semplicemente in pasto quel possibile cibo, con cui già siamo immediatamente immedesimati: cioè il *proprio corpo.* Là, con un procedimento che oggi le esperienze metapsichiche rivelano possibilissimo ai sensitivi e agli ipnotizzati, ci si incorpora nel comune cibo, che diventa nell'istante anch'esso il proprio corpo. La signora Reyes, medium psicometra, dice, nel volume di Gustav Pagenstecher, *Percezione Extrasensoriale*: 'Du-

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rante la mia catalessi l'oggetto è una parte di me stessa'. Presso i primitivi le cose, non dovendo passare attraverso i freni sociali, vanno semplicemente più spicce ».

« Ma l'intento, anche se talvolta su diverso piano etico, ci sembra evidentemente il medesimo ».

« Qual valore dunque può avere per lo spirito il *darsi in cibo*, cioè in olocausto totale ai corpi amati? ».

Continuavamo: « Si può semplicemente supporre che ognuna di queste vittime entrava in uno stato secondo, una condizione di estasi, liberatrice dalle catene della personalità e dell'io, la quale, tolte le apparenze singole ed esteriori, la immetteva nel puro oceano, nell'energia fondamentale, che è comune denominatore di tutta la vita, e a cui quindi è completamente indifferente ormai il farsi questo o quello ».

« L'esperienza dovette avere valore interiorizzante, superatore dell'angoscia che risiede nel limite dell'esistenza intellettiva singola e finita. Un valore quindi immedesimante, attraverso l'olocausto alle vite di alcuni uomini, con la vita totale che tutti fa essere: con quel sentimento, energia, tensione, ritmo, che di fuori non si vede, ma che anima tutti i corpi, ed è tutto e indiviso sempre in tutti... Compiere quell'atto significa infatti semplicemente abolire lo spazio che separa la vittima dall'altro vivente, che mi è davanti come non-io, e accettare — volente o nolente — di farmi quell'altro essere, non più immagine esteriore e di carne quale io lo vedo coi sensi personali che si spengeranno, ma dall'intimo della sua stessa tensione vitale, cioè della sua anima ».

« Certamente, se il processo si continua a considerare dall'esterno può significare una semplice trasformazione della materia del mio corpo in materia esterna dell'altro corpo, di un fango in un altro fango. Senonché questa non è affatto la realtà interiore del processo, sentito emozionalmente ».

« La quale è appunto soltanto questo cessare violento e dolce di stare di faccia al mondo; e immergersi invece in una parte di esso, facendosi — come è a ognuno il suo corpo dall'interno — la sua interiore tensione stessa, dopo essersene fatto schiavo assoluto. E la sua interiore tensione è poi senza più limiti l'intero suo mondo, vissuto dalla base sorgiva dell'esistenza ».

« Per una logica poi inderogabile, una volta penetrati, come per un foro, in un punto del mondo — il vivente fratello che mi divora — si è implicitamente penetrati nella vita interiore di tutto il mondo, poiché è abolita la *posizione dirimpetto*, e si è trapassati nella *posizione interiore*; come dire che, immersisi in un'onda del mare si è praticamente sott'acqua, e quindi in comunicazione diretta con tutta l'interiorità del mare ».

« Quest'immersione equivale dunque, e realizza in modo drammatico e pienamente calzante l'aspirazione di ogni mistica e di ogni poesia; che consiste appunto nel farsi l'interno dell'oggetto amato o contemplato ».

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Professors S. K. Chatterji, G. M. Bongard-Levin, O. Botto, V. Raghavan, L. Sternbach.

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« Si comprende allora l'intensa voluttà di questa esperienza ».

Concludevamo: « L'orrore della tomba, come fredda e morta cosa in cui è orrido trasmutarsi, e la bellezza vitale delle tombe viventi — i corpi degli altri — completano il quadro psicologico di questo grandioso, terribile tentativo di negare l'orrore della morte nella vita ».

Aggiungeremo che, per virtù dell'analisi che l'intelletto civilizzato opera permanentemente sulla realtà, il cibo, quantunque sia palesemente il fondamento di ogni vita e ciò di cui unicamente siamo fatti, è stato paurosamente svilito nella sua dignità, una volta separati la materia dallo spirito e il nutrimento da colui che si nutre, nel quale è invece palese che continua e risorge. La vicenda fisiologica del cibo è apparsa, così, repugnante, indegna di essere subìta. Il cibo, quantunque sia la prima e l'ultima cosa che tutti continuamente cercano, senza di che neanche sarebbero vivi, è stato così svilito, e il destino di servire di nutrimento ad altri è apparso volgare, puramente materialistico, repugnante e indegno dell'uomo, e riservato alle bestie e ai vegetali, esseri inferiori.

Ma il pensiero primitivo, di cui quello del *Vedānta* indiano è in fondo una sublimazione, è fondamentalmente monistico, e compone in unità assoluta — prima di ogni analisi distintiva, che influenzerà tutta la filosofia delle culture occidentali — le separate visioni materialistiche e idealistiche, entrambe fondamentalmente illusorie nel far prelevare un aspetto della realtà a scapito dell'altro. Solo Ludwig Feuerbach, in occidente, tentò di ricordare, per primo, agli uomini che « L'uomo è ciò che mangia », valendosi nel titolo di un gioco linguistico tedesco. Non dovrebbe quindi tenere a vile ciò da cui nasce, come dalla propria madre, e di cui è composto interamente, ma rispettare le creature di cui è costretto a nutrirsi, e sentire anzi l'altissima dignità del sacrificio del cibo in ogni momento dell'esistenza.

Ma già la *Taittirīya Up.* aveva detto: « Non bisogna disprezzare l'alimento — tale è il precetto ». E: « Dall'alimento nascono le creature: — quelle che si trovano sulla terra — vivono solo di nutrimento — e alla fine ad esso ritornano ». « Poiché il nutrimento è il primo degli esseri [7] — perciò esso è chiamato medicina universale. — E in verità; ottengono ogni alimento — coloro che onorano il *brahman* come nutrimento, — perché il nutrimento è il primo degli esseri, — esso è chiamato la medicina universale (*sarvauṣadha*). — Le creature nascono dal nutrimento — gli esseri crescono grazie al nutrimento, — esso è mangiato, — esso è mangiato ed esso mangia le creature, — ed è perciò che lo si chiama

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7. « *Jyaiṣṭham* », può significare egualmente il più antico, come il più eccellente. V. anche la decisa affermazione in *Maitry Up.* (III, II sgg.) « *paraṃ vā etad ātmano rūpaṃ yad annam, annamayo hy ayaṃ prāṇo 'dha* ». Suprema è la forma dell'*ātman* che è il cibo, poiché il *praṇā* stesso ne deriva; se non si mangia, continua il testo, non si pensa, non si ascolta ecc. Se invece si mangia, continua la *śruti*, si pensa con pieno vigore, ecc. Il testo di Feuerbach, sopra ricordato, reca il titolo: *Das Geheimnis des Oppers, oder der Mensch ist, was er isst*, Leipzig, S.W., 1860.

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nutrimento ». Dunque il cibo è anch'esso il *brahman*; e comprendiamo allora meglio quei sacrifici in cui la vittima, spesso umana, veniva adorata come il Divino stesso e poi mangiata.

Ci sembra che quanto dicemmo in quell'introduzione lontana, prima assai di conoscere questi testi sanscriti, corrispondesse perfettamente ad essi. E che dunque le esperienze dell'antropofagia mondiale, da cui — come del resto da caute riflessioni fondamentali del Volhard sparse nella sua opera — traevamo quelle conclusioni, possano fare luce completa sul significato recondito, filosofico e psicologico, dell'*avadāna* buddhista, che non è un capriccio mistico, ma una visione saldamente fondata sulle più alte intuizioni dell'induismo, soprattutto vedantico, e del buddhismo. E' evidente che questo testo, più ancora dei *jātaka*, per es. della lepre o della tigre, esprime in misura estrema e addirittura sublime, una volta decifrati, tutti quei motivi, e l'alta liberazione che ne consegue. Si tratta della *mahābodhi* suprema raggiunta attraverso il rito più estremo possibile di liberazione dall'*ahaṃkāra*: il *dānam param* in nutrimento della propria vita (*jīvātman*) all'altrui vita, il *parātmaparivartana*.

* * *

Non v'è dono più grande, dice Gesù nel Vangelo di Giovanni, di quello di colui che dà la propria vita per la vita dei suoi amici. E sarebbe superfluo ricordarne il momento del dono supremo e assoluto di sé sulla mensa dell'ultima cena. Quello che tutti coloro che amano intensamente vorrebbero vivere, ma non vivono quasi mai interamente perché si donano anche interiormente soltanto per contatto e abbraccio, egli realizzò completamente annientando la propria vita e il proprio corpo negli amici amati.

Ma si può scendere, concludendo, dalla vertigine delle vette, per coglierne la radice psicologica che affonda in un segreto molto umano, riportando il brano di una lettura che un giovane sensibile e amoroso di una missione cattolica dell'Amazzonia scrisse all'amico scrittore Tobias Schneebaum, e da questi è riportato nel racconto: *Keep the River on the Right*, tradotto recentemente in italiano [8]. La lettera giunse nelle mani del destinatario quando l'autore, che si era recato da solo nella foresta presso una tribù quasi sconosciuta, era stato ucciso e mangiato. Nel punto decisivo diceva: « Il fatto è che ho sempre desiderato di essere utile in qualche modo e francamente avrei preferito esserlo da

8. Con il titolo: *Sono stato un cannibale* (trad. di Vito Messana) ora nei pockets Longanesi, Milano, 1974. Il giovane si chiamava Manolo; pag. 162 e sgg. Era molto sensuale, e intratteneva rapporti intimi con i giovani indigeni, abituati a dormire in ammuchiata fra loro. Altrove aggiunge nella lettera all'amico: « Io volevo te: volevo possederti in me, ti volevo per darmi a te, al punto che avrei persino potuto mangiarti mentre tu mi guardavi farlo. Penso all'amore che ho da dare al mondo ».

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un punto di vista amoroso, sensuale, quasi al modo in cui il corpo di Cristo viene usato nella comunione. Vorrei essere capace di riempire gli animi di amore. Tanto per cambiare, invece di essere sempre qualcun altro a suscitare in me l'amore, voglio essere io a riempire completamente qualcuno d'amore, anche se questo vuol dire che il mio corpo e il mio sangue devono entrare in un altro corpo. Non mi è facile dirti questo, perché non è facile pensare alla conclusione che cerco. Ho me stesso e ho uno scopo, ma è la strada che conduce a questo scopo che mi preoccupa. Ho sognato che il mio corpo veniva mangiato da uomini, e questo mi entusiasmava in modo così indescrivibile che ho avuto un orgasmo, prima di realizzare cosa stesse accadendo dentro di me».

Le parole di quel giovane presago del sacrificio sembrano una risonanza lontana del testo buddhista, ove il divino si fonde indissolubilmente con l'esperienza umana dell'amore. E' un documento che conserva il suo pieno valore di testimonianza anche se fosse soltanto un'invenzione letteraria.

A sigillo, ancora una volta sublime e più che umano, di questo pensiero, possiamo mettere, se pure fuori argomento, i nomi luminosissimi del polacco beato padre Kolbe e del carabiniere italiano Salvo D'Acquisto, che, ancora in recenti anni di turbine, in un pieno e supremo *parātma-parivartana* scambiarono veramente la propria vita con la vita altrui.

Questa generosità sublime non è dunque soltanto una favola.

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LEON CYBORAN

I. - PHILOSOPHICAL SANSKRIT

In the opinion of orientalists Sanskrit is often admitted as the most difficult language. The additional difficulty is that every branch of Indian literature or knowledge has elaborated its specific form of thought-construction and extraordinary technical terminology. In this connection it is justified that we distinguish Sanskrit not only in the historical aspect of its development as Vedic Sanskrit (which is also divided into several strata), Epic Sanskrit and Classical Sanskrit, but we mention also Sanskrit of Dramas, Ritual Sanskrit, Philosophical Sanskrit etc.

As for Philosophical Sanskrit it is worth repeating the opinion of such great Indian scholar as S. Dasgupta found on the first page of his five volume *History of Indian Philosophy:* « Sanskrit is generally regarded as a difficult language. But no one from acquaintace with Vedic or ordinary literary Sanskrit can have any idea of the difficulty of the logical and abstruce parts of Sanskrit philosophical literature. A man who can easily understand the Vedas, the Upaniṣads, the Purāṇas, the Law Books and the literary works, and is also well acquainted with European philosophical thought, may find it literally impossible to understand even small portions of a work of advanced Indian logic, or the dialectical Vedānta ».

The basic texts of philosophical systems are composed in extremely laconic forms (mostly they are *sūtras* or *kārikās*). The *bhāṣyas* are very laconic, too, and they needed further explanations, supra-commentaries. In all the treaties nominal sentences with multiple *samāsas* dominate. There are many multistage abstracts, the homonyms with very different meanings, or — at least to all appearances — with very similar ones, having magic significance. The texts are overburdened by terms; there is no place for common human speech. Many philosophically important terms are neither well-defined nor even partially explained. We have impression that those terms had to be well-known among some groups of people in the past. Very often the distance of time between the

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sūtras and their *bhāṣyas*, or between the latter and their further commentaries is of many centuries.

When examining a treaty we cannot be blindy influenced by its commentators. It is a need to examine separately the contents of the basic texts and separately the philosophy of the commentators or the representatives of the later schools. We have always to attach more importance to the history of the ideas and views previous to the examined treaty. Because of reachness of contents of particular treaties it is necessary, too, to examine thoroughly and elaborate the single problems which are philosophically important. After such a solid work it will be easier in future to reconstruct philosophy of particular authors, to discover more certainly historical connections and then to carry out the synthesis of the development of Indian philosophical thought. Professor Ludwik Skurzak, historian of ancient India, told me seventeen years ago that we need to examine Indian philosophy one hundred years more in order to make its synthesis. Now, when retired he says that we need three hundred years more for it. The conclusion may be that we must be patient. *Śanaiḥ śanaiḥ sarvaṃ sādhu bhaviṣyati.*

There is still another problem — it is of transposition into the language of occidental philosophy. The difference in general ontology, specific psychology and gnoseology — that all dynamic in connection with practical way to *mokṣa* which is the *prayojana* of Indian philosophy — makes a difficult adaptation of the terms of European philosophy. It is very necessary to be cautious at transposition. The best dictionaries would be deceptive or misleading. Although the dictionaries deliver many terminological equivalents of European philosophy, the real sense of the term lies usually « somewhere between » the series of approximate meanings. The substitution of such ready-made equivalents from Western philosophy misleads a person uninitiated in philosophy less than a philosophically educated one, because the first will either understand or not but the specialist of philosophy will interpret correctly or incorrectly depending on the good or bad translation of the text.

II. - SANSKRIT IN PHILOSOPHY DEPARTMENTS

I would like to inform about my partly successful experiment of introducing Sanskrit in philosophy departments. Few years ago two universities in Poland, that is Catholic University of Lublin and Academy of Catholic Theology in Warsaw invited me to introduce and organize regular course of studies of Indian philosophy for the students of Faculty of Philosophy. All the students of the Department of History of Philosophy attend the lectures and exercises on Indian philosophy and they have to pass the examination of it. Besides of that general course the students who are more interested in Indian philosophy attend two years'

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course of Sanskrit, especially the students of the first and second year of studies are invited to this course. For the students already advanced in Sanskrit I conduct special semineries at which we read Sanskrit philosophical treaties.

I see from my experience that the students of philosophy are often better in Sanskrit and Indian philosophy than the students of indology (Indian philology). As regards to Indian philosophy it is understandable that the students of philosophy are more interested and clever in philosophy on the whole than those of philology. But what is interesting here is that the students of philosophy have much pleasure in studying difficult but precise structure of Sanskrit. After a half-year's basic course of Sanskrit grammar connected with easy exercises the students are able to read *Bhagavadgītā*. After one year of the course they are ready to start studying the philosophical treaties in original.

Now, what is the method of studying philosophical Sanskrit? — More than 90% of abstract terms are derivations of the verbal roots. The student has to know three elements: (1) the basic meaning of the verbal roots, (2) the subtility of meanings of praeverbia, and (3) the sufixes which form deriviations. If he is taught scientifically to analyse every term into those three elements, then after some time of practice — even though he has to work on a quite new text — he is able to understand almost every word in its basic meaning better than in his mother language and very often he will discover its subtle meaning from the context. Though he is to refer to the dictionaries to acquaint with the history of development of the meanings of every term, to read translations and other works on the subject, by the above-mentioned method he is himself prepared to study independantly the contents of the Sanskrit philosophical treaties. After this three-years' experiment some of the students of philosophy are prepared to study critically Indian philosophy from the original sources. One of them, Mr Tomasz Rucinski (who was formerly my student at Indology Department of the Warsaw University and now is doctorant at the Philosophy Department of Academy of Catholic Theology) is analyzing deeply *Brahmasūtras* and is helping me to teach Sanskrit.

I heard that in Western universities the employment of indologists is now very limited, in spite of the fact that there is very great interest in Indian philosophy particularly among young people. We know that many of the books on Indian thought written both by Indian *svāmīs* and by Western authors which are now available are of very little value. Therefore I would like to propose to try with such an experiment mentioned above to make more interesting the study of Indian philosophy in Western universities. There are many universities and each of them is ambitious to have philosophy department. Because of the interest in Indian philosophy, because of need of good lectures and good books on this subject, and, also, because of the necessity to break nowadays the europocentrism of our philosophical thought, it is necessary to introduce

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the regular course of Indian philosophy at philosophy departments for many students interested in it and especially for the students of history of philosophy.

For a scholar it is clear that we need philological work on Indian treaties much more. But we also need the philologically well-oriented philosophers who will study pure philosophical problems and will broaden historian knowledge of them among the other philosophers. I do not suppose it is a fanatic suggestion but a sensible one in view of wadening our philosophical horizon. A good student or scholar of philosophy need not be influenced but only to grow sensibilized by the subtle problems of another philosophy.

It would be a good thing, too, to found International Academy of Indian Philosophy in India, may be, under the protection of UNESCO and also backed by some foundations, where serious scholars could contact themselves to exchange their specialized knowledge, and to examine manuscripts to publish good editions, and to educate students of different countries. The ideal place for such an academy, in my view, would be in ancient Magadha, or in Himalayas, or in South India either in Madras or in Mysore State. As in ancient times the Greek, with the result of their contact with East, founded Academy of Alexandria, so now is a need to found such an academy in India. I believe that the academy will not only help to discover anew the deep Indian thought but will also be in future the source for new philosophical ideas serving for wisdom and benefit of the free and open-minded mankind of the future. Such an academy would be something another in its atmosphere and function than the existing many-institutions, traditional universities, the authoratative *āśramas* of nowadays, and the well-proclaimed Auroville, based on material and spiritual slavery reminding European monastery organizations. But here is no place for expounding the idea in detail.

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R. N. DANDEKAR

THE BEGINNINGS OF VAIṢṆAVISM

The subject of my talk [1] has been announced as « The Beginnings of Vaiṣṇavism ». What, however, I propose to do this evening is to make a few general observations on the early phases of Vaiṣṇavism as reflected in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and Patañjali's great commentary on it. Without discussing at any length the question of the dates of Pāṇini and Patañjali, for my present purpose, I take Pāṇini to have lived in the fifth century B.C. and Patañjali about 150 B.C. I am aware of the view of some scholars that the *Mahābhāṣya* (*MB*) contains certain interpolations made at a much later date [2], but I do not find that view quite convincing.

I shall begin with the assumption, which, I believe, will be readily acceptable to all, namely, that, when the Vedic Aryans arrived in India, there was by no means any kind of religious vacuum in this country. Different religious cults prevailed in different regions of the pre-Vedic non-Aryan India. It is possible to identify at least two main such cults, which I would designate as the Muni-Yati-cult and the Bhakta-cult in contradistinction from the Vedic Aryan religious cult which I would characterise as the Ṛṣi-cult. Broadly speaking, the Muni-Yati-cult subsisted as a dominant feature of the Paśupati-Śiva religion of the Indus valley as also of the ancient Magadhan religious complex which latter eventually proved to be the fountain-head of Jainism and Buddhism among others [3]. It may be presumed that the indigenous Muni-Yati- and Bhakta-cults and the exotic Ṛṣi-cult exercised significant influence upon one another, both in a positive and a negative sense. For instance, the Vedic god Rudra is but a Vedic Aryan version of the pre-Vedic non-Aryan Śiva, both in name and character. On the other hand, there

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1. Open lecture delivered on June 12, 1975, at the Second World Sanskrit Conference held at Torino (Italy) from the 9th to the 15th of June 1975.
2. Cf. D. C. Sircar, *IHQ* 15, 633-38.
3. Dandekar, *Some Aspects of the History of Hinduism*, Ch. I and p. 87.

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are clear indications in the *Ṛgveda* of the Vedic Aryan antagonism towards the Yatis, the Śiśnadevas, and the Mūradevas [4]. It is again not improbable that Vasiṣṭha's attitude towards Varuṇa was influenced by the indigenous Bhakta-cult. It would seem that, on account of its freshness, vigour, and flush of victory, the Vedic Aryan religion overwhelmed the various indigenous religious cults and kept them under suppression for a fairly long time. When, however, the hold of that religion upon the people at large began to dwindle owing to various obvious reasons in the last days of the major *Upaniṣads* [5], that is, in the seventh-sixth centuries B.C., the indigenous religious cults again came into their own and soon developed into potent religious forces to such an extent that they eventually came to pose a serious challenge to the Vedic religion itself.

The doctrine of Bhakti may be said to constitute perhaps the most significant feature of what we today understand by Vaiṣṇavism. And one of the correlates of Bhakti is the concept of *āśis*, that is, special benediction or grace of god. In P. (Pāṇini-Sūtra) VI.2.148, *kārakād dattaśrutayor evā 'śiṣi*, there occurs an indication of such benediction or grace. Speaking about the accent, this Sūtra tells us that, in respect of a name, which implies benediction, such as Devadatta (which is explained as *devā enaṁ deyāsuḥ*), the posterior member of the compound, being a past passive participle, gets the Udātta accent on its last syllable, only if that past passive participle is either *datta* or *śruta* [6]. It is suggested that a similar kind of benediction or grace is intended also in P.V.3.84 [7].

More pertinent to our present purpose, however, is the group of Sūtras, P. IV.3.95-99. P. IV.3.95 is made up of one single word, namely, *bhaktiḥ*. But, in this context, the word *bhakti* is used in a variety of senses, such as, 'attachment', 'liking', 'loyalty', and 'religious devotion'. It may also be noted that, here,commentators understand the word *bhakti* in the sense of 'object of *bhakti*' (*bhaktiviṣaya*). The Sūtras mention different terminations to be affixed to different words while forming from those words derivatives meaning persons who entertain *bhakti* for the entities (things, persons, etc.) denoted by those words. For instance, according to P. IV.3.95, as explained by commentators, the termination *aṇ* is used in the case of persons entertaining *bhakti* or attachment for a certain locality. Thus a person, the object of whose *bhakti* or attachment is Srughna, is called Sraughna [8]. In the case of a

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4. Dandekar, « Rudra in the Veda », *JUPHS* 1, pp. 94-148.
5. Dandekar, « Cultural Background of the Veda », *UCR* 11, 135-151.
6. The first Vārttika of this Sūtra points out that, if in such a name no benediction is implied, there is no *antodāttatva* of the posterior member. For instance, in the case of Devadatta, which is the name of a conch but which does not imply benediction, the Sūtra VI.2.148 does not apply.
7. The Sūtra reads: *śevalasupariviśālavaruṇāryamādīnāṁ tṛtīyāt.*
8. *srughnaḥ bhaktiḥ asya sraughnaḥ.*

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person who entertains *bhakti* or liking for a thing, which is insentient and which denotes something other than space or time, the termination is *ṭhak*[9]. Accordingly, one, the object of whose liking is *apūpa*, is called *āpūpika*[10]. The termination *ṭhañ* is used to derive a word meaning one who entertains *bhakti* for Mahārāja — P. IV.3.97: *mahārājāṭ ṭhañ*[11]. The exact sense of the word *mahārāja* in this Sūtra is not clear. It is suggested that *mahārāja* may here denote Kubera[12] or a Lokapāla in general[13]. Or, otherwise, on the strength of P. IV.2.35 — *mahārājaproṣṭhapadāṭ ṭhañ* — *mahārāja* is understood as some kind of divinity[14]. It is, however, not improbable that, in P. IV.3.97, the word, *mahārāja*, is used in a political sense and that *bhakti*, in that case, denotes 'loyalty'.

It may be noted that the meanings of the word *bhakti* in connection with the three Sūtras — P. IV.3.95-97 — discussed above (namely 'attachment', 'liking', 'loyalty') are more or less secular in character. The Sūtra in this group, which is most crucial for our present purpose, is P. IV.3.98: *vāsudevārjunābhyāṁ vun*. It purports to say that the derivatives from the words, *vāsudeva* and *arjuna*, meaning Vāsudeva-bhakta and Arjuna-bhakta, are formed by affixing the termination *vun* to those words. Accordingly, those derivatives are *vāsudevaka* and *arjunaka*. Now the question is asked: What is the specific reason for mentioning *vāsudeva* in this Sūtra? The next Sūtra, P. IV.3.99: *gotrakṣatriyākhyebhyo bahulaṁ vuñ*, tells us that the derivatives from the names of Gotras and Kṣatriyas, in the sense of persons entertaining *bhakti* for those Gotras and Kṣatriyas, are mostly formed with the termination *vuñ*. The word *vāsudeva*, which is the name of a Kṣatriya and which is therefore covered by this Sūtra, would thus give the derivative, *vāsudevaka*, in the sense of Vāsudeva-bhakta. There is no difference between the word *vāsudevaka* formed with *vun* and the word *vāsudevaka* formed with *vuñ* so far as the form and the accent (and also the meaning) of those words are concerned[15]. Why, then, is *vāsudeva* separately mentioned in P. IV.3.98?

Patañjali, in his *MB*, seeks to justify the mention of *vāsudeva* in P. IV.3.98 in two ways: Normally, according to P. II.2.34[16], the first member of a Dvandva compound should have a smaller number of syllables. But Vārttika 4 of that Sūtra — *abhyarhitam* — sets forth an exception to this general rule, namely, that, irrespective of the number of syllables in it, the word denoting a superior entity should be made

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9. P. IV.3.96: *acittād adeśakālāṭ ṭhak*.
10. *apūpāḥ bhaktiḥ asya āpūpikaḥ*.
11. *mahārājaḥ bhaktiḥ asya māhārājikaḥ*.
12. Cf. V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 359.
13. This is, however, a later Buddhist sense.
14. Commentators explain: *mahārājaḥ devatā asya māhārājikam*.
15. In the case of the word *arjuna*, on the other hand, the termination *vun* will give the derivative *arjunaka* while the termination *vuñ* will give *ārjunaka*.
16. *alpāctaram*.

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the first member of a Dvandva compound. The word *vāsudeva* is included in P. IV.3.98 as the first member of the compound *vāsudevārjunābhyām* to indicate the superiority of Vāsudeva to Arjuna. This explanation is quite irrelevant and unconvincing. The rules and exceptions relating to the Dvandva compound have already been laid down and discussed in an earlier chapter. There was no need to confirm any of them in the present context, as Patañjali does by saying: *vāsudevaśabdasya pūrvanipātaṁ vakṣyāmi.* The second explanation, as is generally the case with Patañjali, is more pertinent. Patañjali points out — and here we can do no better than depend on Patañjali — that Vāsudeva mentioned by Pāṇini in IV.3.98 cannot be said to have been covered by IV.3.99. For, Vāsudeva of P. IV.3.98 is not the name of any ordinary Kṣatriya, but it is the name of the 'worshipful one'[17]. In other words, *vāsudeva* of P. IV.3.98 signifies the god Vāsudeva as against any ordinary Kṣatriya, named Vāsudeva, who may be covered by the word *kṣatriya* in P. IV.3.99. Thus, according to Pāṇini, the word for the Bhakta of Vāsudeva, the god, is to be derived by affixing the termination *vun*, while that for the Bhakta of Vāsudeva, any ordinary Kṣatriya, is to be derived by affixing the termination *vuñ* — though, eventually, the form and the accent of the so derived words may be the same[18].

It may be pointed out that some editions of the *MB* read *saṁjñai 'ṣā tatrabhagavataḥ* for *saṁjñai 'ṣā tatrabhavataḥ*. The intention of P. IV.3.98, namely, that *vāsudeva* mentioned in the Sūtra is the name of a god is thereby made quite explicit. Kaiyaṭa also seems to accept that reading, for, his gloss reads: *nityaḥ paramātmaviśeṣa iha vāsudevo gṛhyate.* It would, however, seem that *tatrabhagavataḥ* was a deliberate emendation of *tatrabhavataḥ*. The critical edition of the *MB* by *Kielhorn*[19] leaves no doubt about this. Moreover, the occurrence of *tatra* in *tatrabhagavataḥ* is rather strange. It is also to be remembered that in most cases where the word *bhagavat* occurs in the *MB*, it refers to Pāṇini[20].

That the word *tatrabhavat*, in this context, implies divinity can be safely presumed[21]. It is used in opposition to the word *kṣatriya*; *tatrabhavān* here denotes one who is different from a Kṣatriya. He (that is, *tatrabhavān*) may be a 'worshipful' Kṣatriya (as against an 'ordinary' Kṣatriya); or he may be a non-Kṣatriya worshipful one, that is, a Brāhmaṇa, etc.; or, finally, he may be a 'non-human' worshipful one as against a Kṣatriya human. In the first alternative, the suggested dichotomy would be between 'worshipful' and 'ordinary' or 'normal'; in the second, between 'non-Kṣatriya' and 'Kṣatriya'; and, in the third, between 'non-

17. *athavā nai 'ṣā kṣatriyākhyā | saṁjñai 'ṣā tatrabhavataḥ.*

18. Logically, Sūtra 98 should have come after Sūtra 99. Or, better still, it should have been given as a Vārttika of Sūtra 99.

19. Third Ed. pub. by BORI, Poona, 1962-1972.

20. In one place, it seems to refer to Kātyāyana.

21. Gonda, *Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism*, 160 ff., is doubtful about this.

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human' or 'divine' and 'human'. P. IV.3.99, which mentions *kṣatriya* without suggesting any distinction between 'ordinary' and 'worshipful', rules out the first alternative. It may also be noted, in this connection, that Patañjali uses the word *tatrabhavān* without any substantive. The second alternative also is rendered nugatory in view of the fact that Patañjali hardly ever employs the word *vāsudeva* as the name of a person belonging to a social order other than Kṣatriya[22]. We have, therefore, to assume that *tatrabhavān* Vāsudeva (mentioned in P. IV.3.98) is a god and is to be distinguished from a Kṣatriya whose name might be Vāsudeva and who could then be covered by P. IV.3.99. It may be, incidentally, added that Vāsudeva, when coupled with Arjuna, usually denotes a god.

It is, however, not intended to be suggested that wherever the word *tatrabhavān* occurs in the *MB* it refers to a god. The word occurs fourteen times in the *MB*. In all these contexts, except three, the substantives qualified by *tatrabhavat* are specifically mentioned. In the three passages, which represent the exception, *tatrabhavān* is not followed by any substantive; that is to say, it is itself used in the sense of a substantive. Two of these three passages, namely, commentaries on P. IV.2.25 and P. IV.3.98, read *saṁjñai 'ṣā tatrabhavataḥ*. P. IV.2.25 — *kasyet* — explains, among other things, the form *kāya* in the sense of 'something whose divinity is Ka or Prajāpati'[23]. The question is there posed regarding the call which the Adhvaryu is required to give out to the Hotṛ in connection with the Puronuvākyā relating to the offering to Ka (*kāyaṁ haviḥ*). Should it be *kasmai anubrūhi* (on the assumption that *kāyam* presupposes the *ādeśa* to *kim*) or *kāya anubrūhi* (on the assumption that *ka* is an independent word)? Patañjali concludes that, in either case, the call should be *kasmai anubrūhi* (with the pronominal dative *kasmai*), for, he argues with rather queer logic, both *kim* and *ka* are *sarvanāmas* — *kim* because it is a pronoun, and *ka* because it is the *nāma* (name) of *sarva* (that is, Prajāpati). Continuing, Patañjali alludes to another view on the subject and ends with the statement, *saṁjñā cai 'ṣā tatrabhavataḥ*. What is relevant to our present purpose is that the word *tatrabhavat* (used by itself) in this statement clearly denotes a god, that is, Prajāpati. The context permits no doubt about this whatsoever. One would, therefore, be fully justified in inferring that, in an exactly similar statement in the commentary on P. IV.3.98 also[24], the word *tatrabhavat* denotes a god. This would then support our earlier contention that *vāsudeva* in P. IV.3.98 is the name of a god. The godhead of Vāsudeva and Vāsudevism or the religion centering round Vāsudeva

22. Besides, the word *gotra* in P. IV.3.99 may be understood to cover Brāhmaṇas, to some extent.

23. *kaḥ devatā asya kāyam: kāyaṁ haviḥ.*

24. The word *ca* is omitted in the latter statement.

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(which has to be regarded as the primary form of the classical Vaiṣṇavism) must have become fairly well established in Pāṇini's time (5th century B.C.) — indeed, so much so that Pāṇini thought it necessary to compose a special Sūtra in respect of them.

It may be presumed that the popular religion with its cult of Bhakti, which had been reduced to a kind of torpidity on account of the increasingly pervasive influence of the Vedic Aryan religion, became re-animated, as it were, as the vitality of the Vedic religion began to diminish, and an aspect of it emerged in the form of Vāsudevism and, as we have seen, became a dominant force already in Pāṇini's time. The tradition of the supreme godhead of Vāsudeva and of Vāsudevism has been continuous ever since that time. Megasthenes (4th century B.C.) speaks of the people of Śūrasena who held Heracles (by whom Megasthenes obviously meant Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa) in special veneration[25]. The *Bhagavadgītā* (3rd century B.C.) eulogises the man of knowledge, who, at the end of several births, betakes himself unto the Lord in the conviction « Vāsudeva is All » (VII.19). We then have the Besnagar inscription, belonging to the last quarter of the second century B.C., on the Garuḍadhvaja of Vāsudeva, the god of gods, erected by Heliodoros, the Bhāgavata, the son of Dion and an inhabitant of Takṣaśilā.

We have seen that Patañjali has characterised Vāsudeva of P. IV.3.98 as *tatrabhavat* and has thereby isolated him from any Kṣatriya whose name may be Vāsudeva. But there is a well-attested tradition that the god Vāsudeva himself originally belonged to the Kṣatriya family of the Vṛṣṇis. In this context, one may just remind oneself of the Lord's statement in the *Bhagavadgītā*, namely: « Of the Vṛṣṇis, I am Vāsudeva » (X.37). This tradition is confirmed also by the *MB*. Commenting on the seventh Vārttika[26] of P. IV.1.114[27], Patañjali relates Vāsudeva to the Vṛṣṇi family: *vṛṣṇyaṇo 'vakāśaḥ / vāsudevaḥ bāladevaḥ*. That, here, the divine Vāsudeva is intended becomes clear from his association with Baladeva[28]. Saṁkarṣaṇa was a well-known Vṛṣṇi prince (who too was deified), and inscriptions closely ally Vāsudeva with him thereby implying that Vāsudeva also was a Vṛṣṇi prince who was later deified[29]. Thus the Ghosundi stone inscription of king Sarvatāta, belonging to the second half of the first century B.C., mentions the construction of a stone enclosure, called Nārāyaṇa-vāṭaka, for the place of worship of the gods Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva. Similarly, homage is paid to Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva in the Nanaghat cave inscription of the Sātavāhana queen Nāganikā of the first century B.C. The *Kāśikā* emphasises this

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25. It is suggested that Megasthenes must have rendered Hari-Kṛṣṇa as Heracles.
26. *senāntāṇṇyaḥ.*
27. *ṛṣyandhakavṛṣṇikurubhyaś ca.*
28. It is significant that the *Kāśikā* mentions Aniruddha also in this context.
29. It is by no means unusual that a historical personage, particularly a religious leader, is deified in course of time.

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close relationship between Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva by giving the example, *dvandvaṁ saṁkarṣaṇavāsudevau*, to illustrate P. VIII.1.15, *atyantasahacarite lokavijñāte dvandvam ity upasaṁkhyānam*. From all this, coupled with P. IV.3.98 as explained above, one may, indeed, presume that Vāsudeva of the Vṛṣṇis had been deified and made into the supreme god of Vāsudevism already before Pāṇini's time.

Incidentally, a reference may be made in this context to the facts that there had been several Kṣatriya princes who bore the name Vāsudeva, but that it was only the Vṛṣṇi prince Vāsudeva who was deified and became the supreme god of Vāsudevism. Traditional legends are narrated of Vāsudeva, king of Puṇḍrakas, and Vāsudeva, king of Karavīrapura, each of whom claimed to be the true divine Vāsudeva but whose claim was entirely nullified by the prowess of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa of the Vṛṣṇis [30].

Though the religion centering round the popular god Vāsudeva had become well established since before Pāṇini's time, it is strange that the Buddhist canonical text *Aṁguttaranikāya*, which mentions [31] such religious sects as the Ājīvikas, the Nirgranthas, the Muṇḍaśrāvakas, etc., does not refer to the Vāsudevakas. Similarly, Aśoka's inscriptions, which mention the Śramaṇas, the Brāhmaṇas, the Ājīvikas, and the Nirgranthas, do not speak of the Vāsudevakas. The only possible explanation of this would be that Vāsudevism, which was naturally restricted to the regions dominated by its chief promoters, namely, the Vṛṣṇis, the Sātvatas, and the Yādavas-Ābhīras, had not till then spread far towards Eastern India which was the provenance of Buddhism. On the other hand, it was well known to Pāṇini of Takṣaśilā as also to Megasthenes, and it is also seen to have attracted, in course of time, even foreigners like Heliodoros. It may be further noted that the *Niddesa* works (1st century B.C.), which, though of the nature of commentaries, share the authority of the Pali canon, allude to various religious sects among which are included the worshippers of Vāsudeva and Baladeva. So far as Jainism is concerned, it seems to have been more positively responsive to Vāsudevism. The Vāsudeva-legends have markedly influenced the Jaina hagiology, particularly its concept of *triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣas* who comprise, among others, nine Vāsudevas, nine Baladevas, and nine Prativāsudevas.

Another striking fact regarding the Vāsudeva-religion is that the word *vāsudevaka*, in the sense of a Bhakta of Vāsudeva, is not attested

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30. About Pauṇḍraka Vāsudeva, see *MBh.* II.13.17-19; *Viṣṇu-P.* V.34; *Bhāgavata-P.* X.66.13-14. The name Pauṇḍraka is sometimes connected with *puṇḍra* (head-mark of the Śaivas), and it is suggested that Pauṇḍraka Vāsudeva was the leader of the Śaivas who posed as Bhāgavatas. Pauṇḍraka Vāsudeva is also identified with the Vāsudeva of the Jainas. For Vāsudeva of Karavīrapura (Śṛgāla), see: *Harivaṁśa*, Appendix 18.

31. PTS ed., Vol. III, pp. 276 ff.

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in any available literary work [32]. On the other hand, since a descriptive grammarian like Pāṇini has devoted a separate Sūtra to the morphological explanation of that word, it must have been very much in vogue in his time. We are, therefore, constrained to assume that considerable literature of non-Vedic character [33] existed in Pāṇini's time but that it is now lost to us [34]. Attention may be drawn to still another point which is important for the history of Vaiṣṇavism. Pāṇini impliedly speaks of a religious sect the main feature of which was *bhakti* of Vāsudeva. On the other hand, he does not allude to Vaiṣṇavism either directly or indirectly. It would, therefore, seem that the basic element of what has now come to be known as Vaiṣṇavism was the Vāsudeva-religion. In other words, the starting point of what we today understand by Vaiṣṇavism was not Viṣṇu but Vāsudeva. The term *vāsudevaka* must, accordingly, be regarded as having been much older than the term *vaiṣṇava*.

P. IV.3.98 implies that, besides the Vāsudeva-religion, there also existed, in Pāṇini's time, a religious sect centering round Arjuna. The word for the Bhakta of Arjuna the god was, according to P. IV.3.98, to be derived by affixing the termination *vun* to the word *arjuna* — it was *arjunaka*; the word for the Bhakta of a Kṣatriya called Arjuna was, on the other hand, to be derived by affixing the termination *vuñ* (P. IV.3.99) — it was *ārjunaka*. However, unlike the Vāsudeva-religion, the religious history of India knows hardly anything of the Arjuna-religion. It is suggested that the Ārjunāyanas mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta were the followers of the Arjuna-cult [35]. This cannot be accepted. For one thing, if they were really the devotees of the divine Arjuna, according to P. IV.3.98, they should have been called Arjunakas and not Ārjunāyanas. Secondly, the context in the Allahabad Pillar inscription makes it quite clear that the Ārjunāyanas are represented there essentially as a socio-political entity rather than a religious one. It is more likely that the tribe of the Ārjunāyanas was so called because it claimed descent from the Pāṇḍava hero Arjuna [36]. The grammatical form of the word *ārjunāyana* would also confirm this [37]. Another suggestion is that P. IV.3.98 does not presuppose two independent religious sects — one of the Vāsudevakas and the other of the Arjunakas — but that the Sūtra refers to one single religious sect with Vāsudeva as the supreme god and Arjuna as the special devotee. Obviously, this suggestion runs counter to the essential trend of that Sūtra.

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32. In the few passages where that word occurs, it invariably occurs in grammatical contexts.

33. Most of the pre-Pāṇinian Sanskrit literature, which has come down to us, is Vedic.

34. Much other evidence is available to support this assumption.

35. S. Chattopadhyaya, *Evolution of Hindu Sects*, pp. 30 ff.

36. Cf. the Yaudheyas who must have claimed descent from Yudhiṣṭhira. The Yaudheyas and the Ārjunāyanas were closely related.

37. For details about the Ārjunāyanas mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar inscription, see: Dandekar, *A History of the Guptas*, p. 60.

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We have to acquiesce in the fact that, in Pāṇini's time, there did prevail two independent religious cults, namely, the Vāsudeva-cult and the Arjuna-cult. Further, from the manner in which they have been referred to by Pāṇini, it may be assumed that these two cults were closely allied to each other — the Vāsudeva-cult having been regarded, even at that time, as being superior to the Arjuna-cult [38]. In the Ṛgvedic mythology, Viṣṇu is closely associated with Indra [39]. According to *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* II. 1.2.11 and V. 4.3.7, Arjuna is a secret or mystical (*guhya*) name of Indra, while, in later Vaiṣṇavism, the personality and character of Vedic Viṣṇu have been merged into those of Vāsudeva. Therefore, the alliance between the two independent religious sects, namely, the Vāsudeva-sect and the Arjuna-sect, with which Pāṇini seems to have been familiar, may be said to correspond, in a way, with the alliance between the two independent divinities of the Ṛgvedic mythology, namely, Viṣṇu and Indra. Another prototype of such an alliance between two independent religious cults is to be seen in the religious ideology pertaining to Nara and Nārāyaṇa [40], wherein Nara may be regarded as the *alter ego* of Indra (of the *Ṛgveda*) and Arjuna (of P. IV.3.98) and Nārāyaṇa of Viṣṇu (of the *Ṛgveda*) and Vāsudeva (of P. IV.3.98). It would seem that, out of the two religious sects respectively centering round Vāsudeva and Arjuna, the Vāsudeva-sect, which was already regarded as the more dominant sect [41], soon subdued and submerged within itself the Arjuna-sect. That is why we do not find any traces of this latter sect either in history or in literature.

The classical Vaiṣṇavism, with which one is generally familiar, is a kind of amalgam principally of four, originally independent, religious elements respectively embodied in the personalities of the four divinities, namely, Vāsudeva, Kṛṣṇa [42], Viṣṇu, and Nārāyaṇa. The identification of Kṛṣṇa with Vāsudeva, which constituted perhaps the most vital stage in this process of amalgamation, seems to have already been an accomplished fact — indeed, of long standing — in Patañjali's time. The two names, Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa, occur in the *MB* almost as synonyms. For instance, while Vāsudeva is said to have killed Kaṁsa, *jaghāna kaṁsaṁ kila vāsudevaḥ* (commentary on P. III.2.111), Kṛṣṇa is represented as having a grudge against his maternal uncle (Kaṁsa) — *asādhur mātule Kṛṣṇaḥ* (commentary, some editions, on Vārttika 2 of P. II.3.36). More convincing still is Patañjali's commentary on Vārttika 15 of P. III.1.26, where the words *kṛṣṇa* and *vāsudeva* occur in the same context as the

38. The occurrence in P. IV.3.98 of the word *vāsudeva* before *arjuna* would suggest this.

39. See: DANDEKAR, *Viṣṇu in the Veda*, in *Kane Comm. Vol.*, pp. 95-111.

40. See the Nārāyaṇīya Section in the *Mahābhārata*. The concept of Nara-Nārāyaṇa, in its turn, is related to the concept of Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa of *Śatapatha-Br.* XII.3.4.

41. See *supra*.

42. In a sense, Kṛṣṇa's personality was itself composite. See *infra*.

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names of one and the same divine being: *citreṣu katham / citreṣv apy udgūrṇā nipatitāś ca prahārā dṛśyante kaṁsasya ca kṛṣṇasya ca / ... kecit kaṁsabhaktā bhavanti kecid vāsudevabhaktāh* [43]. Reference has already been made to the close association of Vāsudeva and Saṁkarṣaṇa as evidenced both by literature and inscriptions. While commenting on Vārttika 22 of P. II.2.24, Patañjali quotes, by way of illustration, a verse-half wherein Saṁkarṣaṇa is represented as being associated with Kṛṣṇa in exactly the same manner: *saṁkarṣaṇadvitīyasya balaṁ kṛṣṇasya vardhatām.*

As regards the relationship between Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa, the view is sometimes put forth that Kṛṣṇa was the original god, that Kṛṣṇa and Vāsudeva were not separate divine entities, and that Vāsudeva was just the patronym of Kṛṣṇa derived from his father's name Vasudeva. Several objections can be raised against this view. Firstly, the commentary on Vārttika 7 of P. IV.1.114 indicates that Vāsudeva, and not Vasudeva [44], is the basic (underived) form of the name and that the termination *aṇ* affixed to this original name Vāsudeva also gives the form *vāsudeva.* Secondly, if Vāsudeva was really a patronym, Baladeva or Saṁkarṣaṇa, who is represented as the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa, should have been more aptly called Vāsudeva. But that is hardly ever the case. On the other hand we find Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva being specifically referred to by their matronyms, namely, Devakīputra and Rauhiṇeya respectively. The rivalry among some Kṣatriya princes for the real divine « Vāsudevahood », to which a reference has been made above, also clearly goes against Vāsudeva being regarded as a patronym. *Jacobi* has drawn attention [45] to the following etymology of the word *vāsudeva* given in the *Mahābhārata*: *vasanāt sarvabhūtānāṁ vasutvād devayonitaḥ / vāsudevas tato vedyaḥ* [46]. This would leave no doubt that *MBh.* regarded Vāsudeva as the original name and not a patronym. More pertinent still is Ujjvaladatta's gloss on *Uṇādisūtra* I.1 : *vāsuś ca devaś ce 'ti vāsudevaḥ / tathā ca smṛtiḥ* [47]. *Jacobi* also mentions the fact [48], which is particularly significant in the present context, namely, that the name Vāsubhadra sometimes occurs as an auxiliary of Vāsudeva [49]. Incidentally it may be added here that, just as Vāsudeva was not originally the patronym of Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa also was not originally an additional personal name of Vāsudeva, the god of Vāsudevism.

The main course of events, which eventually culminated in the identification of Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa seems to have been something like this: The religious ideology, with *bhakti* of Vāsudeva — the Vṛṣṇi prince

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43. For a further discussion of this passage, see *infra.*
44. Indeed, Patañjali hardly ever speaks of Vasudeva.
45. H. Jacobi, *Über Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa-Vāsudeva,* in *Streitberg Festgabe,* p. 164.
46. *MBh.* V.68.3.
47. Quoted fully by Jacobi, *op. cit.*
48. *Op. cit.,* p. 163.
49. E.g. in Bhāsa's *Dūtavākya* V.6.

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who had come to be regarded as a god — as its central theme, must have arisen at a fairly early time so as to become thoroughly well established in the days of Pāṇini (5th century B.C.). Perhaps a little later than Vāsudevism, another religious sect grew round the figure of Kṛṣṇa, who had originally been the tribal hero and religious leader of the Yādavas. This Yādava Kṛṣṇa may as well have been the same as Devakīputra Kṛṣṇa who is represented, in the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* III.17.1, as a pupil of Ghora Āṅgirasa [50] and who is said to have learnt from his teacher the doctrine that man's life is a kind of sacrifice. The chronological evidence does not go against such assumption; if at all, it supports it. Be that as it may, Kṛṣṇa must be said to have developed his own special philosophy of life, the main tenets of which were *lokasaṁgraha* and renunciation *in* action rather than *of* action [51]. When, in course of time, the Vṛṣṇis and the Yādavas, who were already related to each other, came closer together, presumably for political reasons, the personalities of Vṛṣṇi Vāsudeva and Yādava Kṛṣṇa were merged into each other so as to give rise to the new supreme god, Bhagavān Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. This must have happened not long after Pāṇini's time. In the new legends, Vāsudeva came to be interpreted as the patronym of Kṛṣṇa. Some Vasudeva came to be regarded as Kṛṣṇa's father [52] and the Vṛṣṇi Saṁkarṣaṇa-Baladeva as his elder brother. In course of time, a third religious ideology, namely, the one which centered round Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa and which was presumably sponsored by the pastoral Ābhīras, came to be engrafted on the organically combined Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa religion. The teachings of Bhagavān Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa were soon consolidated and embodied in a popular religio-philosophical text. This text was later interpolated, obviously after suitable modifications, into the bardic-historical poem, *Jaya*, in the form of the *Bhagavadgītā*, whereby it served as the cornerstone of the superstructure which transformed the *Jaya* into the *Bhārata* [53].

In Patañjali's time, Vāsudeva (or rather Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa) had already become a religio-legendary figure. He had come to be regarded

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50. The name Ghora Āṅgirasa shows that he belonged to the popular — as against the hieratic — tradition of the *Atharvaveda*.

51. See: DANDEKAR, *Hinduism and the Bhagavadgītā: A fresh approach*, in JOIB 12, pp. 232-237.

52. Vasudeva is obviously an artificial back-formation from Vāsudeva. Though JACOBI does not subscribe to the view that Vāsudeva was the patronym of Kṛṣṇa he says that the etymologically correct name sould be Vasudeva (*op. cit.*, p. 165). Sukumar SEN points out (*SP*, 14th AIOC, p. 103) that *vasu* and *vāsu* are respectively the normal and the lengthened grades of IE *wesu*. Therefore, according to him, Vasudeva = Vāsudeva. JACOBI mentions the case of Narasiṁha-Nārasiṁha (*op. cit.*, p. 164). Incidentally, JACOBI suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 163) that the name of Kṛṣṇa's father was Ānakadundubhi (*MBh.* II.30.12; III.21.7; XVI.7.1; *Harivaṁśa* 24.15.16). Another hypothesis may be suggested in connection with this whole problem. If Vṛṣṇi Vāsudeva and Yādava Kṛṣṇa were two distinct personalities, Vasudeva could as well have been the name of Yādava Kṛṣṇa's father. Kṛṣṇa would then be Yādava (tribal name) as well as Vāsudeva (patronym). The merger of Vṛṣṇi Vāsudeva and Yādava Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa might have been facilitated by the common element Vāsudeva.

53. See: DANDEKAR, *The* Mahābhārata: *origin and growth*, in UCR 12, 65-85.

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as having belonged to a remote past. P. III.2.111 — *anadyatane laṅ* — explains the use of the imperfect tense. The second Vārttika of that Sūtra — *parokṣe ca lokavijñāte prayoktur darśanaviṣaye* — prescribes that, with reference to a well-known event which has happened out of one's sight but which one could have seen, one should use the imperfect tense (*laṅ*) and not the perfect (*liṭ*). Here, Patañjali gives the example, *aruṇad yavanaḥ sāketam*[54]. The historically well-known siege of Sāketa by the Yavana was a contemporaneous event in Patañjali's time. Though a person belonging to that period may not have actually seen it, in view of its contemporaneity, he could have witnessed it. Therefore he uses the imperfect tense form, *aruṇat*. As a counter-example, Patañjali mentions: *jaghāna kaṁsaṁ kila vāsudevaḥ*. The killing of Kaṁsa by Vāsudeva was an event which was *parokṣa* (that is, which had happened out of one's sight) and *lokavijñāta* (traditionally well-known), but which was *prayoktuḥ adarśanaviṣaya* (that is, which was so ancient that it was not and could not have been seen by the speaker). Therefore, with reference to that event, the speaker had to use the perfect tense and not the imperfect tense. Thus, in Patañjali's time, the killing of Kaṁsa by Vāsudeva had already become a hoary or legendary event, an event of the remote past[55].

Further evidence in this connection is provided by Patañjali's commentary on P. III.1.26 — *hetumati ca* — and its Vārttikas. The subject discussed therein is the use of the causal. Vārttika 6 of that Sūtra, namely, *ākhyānāt kṛtas tad ācaṣṭa iti kṛllukprakṛtipratyāpattiḥ prakṛtivac ca kārakam*, tells us that *ṇic* (that is, the termination *aya*) should be appended to a verbal noun expressive of an event in the sense of narrating that event. « The derivative suffix is to be dropped, the noun reduced to the form of the original root from which it is derived, and it is to this root that the termination *aya* is to be appended ». By way of illustration, Patañjali says that, according to this Vārttika, the statement *kaṁsaṁ ghātayati* would mean that one narrates the event of the killing of Kaṁsa and the statement *baliṁ bandhayati* would mean that one narrates the event of the confinement of Bali. Then, in his commentary on Vārttika 7 — *ākhyānāc ca pratiṣedhaḥ* — Patañjali poses the question: Is this rule applicable only in respect of the traditionally well-known legends like the Kaṁsa-vadha or is it applicable also in respect of any normal everyday happening whereby *rājānam āgamayati* may be used

54. This is one of the passages which have been pressed into service for determining the date of Patañjali.

55. It is suggested that the story of the enmity between Kaṁsa and Kṛṣṇa may be understood as symbolising « a struggle between the mother-right represented by the maternal uncle Kaṁsa and the father-right by the sister's son Kṛṣṇa, in which the latter, a representative of the younger generation, emerges victorious » (S. Jaiswal, *The Origin and Development of Vaiṣṇavism*, p. 66).

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in the sense of *rājāgamanam ācaṣṭe*[56]. We may not go into the details of this whole discussion. For our present purpose it is enough to note that Patañjali regards the killing of Kaṁsa and the confinement of Bali as traditionally well-established legendary events.

In his commentary on Vārttika 15 — *kurvataḥ prayojaka iti cet tulyam* — Patañjali raises another question which is of great interest from various points of view. The causal forms *ghātayati* and *bandhayati* in the foregoing illustrations are of the present tense, while the events of Kaṁsa-vadha and Bali-bandha belong to a remote past. How can these two things be reconciled? Patañjali explains the propriety of the present tense in this context in the following manner: the statement *kaṁsaṁ ghātayati* means (according to Vārttika 6) that one conveys to others the information regarding the event of the killing of Kaṁsa. This, one can do in three ways — (a) through the presentation of that event on the stage or (b) by depicting the event pictorially or (c) by means of a direct narration. So far as the stage-presentation is concerned, the producers of the play create the illusion, before our very eyes, of the actor playing the role of Kṛṣṇa actually killing the actor playing the role of Kaṁsa[57]. Thus the present tense *ghātayati* is quite appropriate in that context[58]. Even in a picture, the artist depicts the scene of the killing of Kaṁsa, with all the hits and blows of Kaṁsa and Kṛṣṇa, in such a way that one feels as if the whole event is taking place in one's very presence[59]. Then there are the Paurāṇikas — Patañjali uses the word *granthika* which Kaiyaṭa explains as *kathaka* (narrator). Through their remarkable narrative skill they make the episode of Kaṁsa-vadha live before their large audiences. By means of suitable modulation of voice, often accompanied by corresponding gesticulation, they succeed in rousing the dormant emotions of their hearers, some of whom subconsciously sympathise with Kaṁsa and some with Vāsudeva. And these their emotions then become manifest on their faces[60]. So, here too, the present tense is legitimate. Patañjali further adds that, in connection with this last, one actually finds all the three tenses being used. One may say: « Go to the Purāṇa-session; Kaṁsa is being killed (that is, the Paurāṇika is just at the point of narrating the killing of Kaṁsa) ». Or « Go to the Purāṇa-session; Kaṁsa will soon be killed (that is, the Paurāṇika will soon

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56. *kiṁ punar yāny etāni saṁjñābhūtāny ākhyānāni tata utpattyā bhavitavyam āhosvit kriyānvākhyānamātrāt.*

57. Cf. *avasthānukṛtir nāṭyam.*

58. *citreṣu katham | citreṣv apy udgūrṇā nipatitāś ca prahārā dṛśyante kaṁsasya kṣaṁ ca baliṁ bandhayanti.*

59. *citreṣu katham | citreṣu apy udgūrṇā nipatitāś ca prahārā dṛśyante kaṁsasya ca kṛṣṇasya ca* (v.l. *dṛśyante kaṁsakarṣaṇyaś ca*).

60. *granthikeṣu kathaṁ yatra śabdagaḍumātraṁ lakṣyate | te 'pi hi teṣām utpattiprabhṛty ā vināśād ṛddhīr vyācakṣāṇāḥ sato buddhiviṣayān prakāśayanti | ātaś ca sato vyāmiśrā hi dṛśyante | kecit kaṁsabhaktā bhavanti kecid vāsudevabhktāḥ | varṇānyatvaṁ khalv api puṣyanti | kecid raktamukhā bhavanti kecit kālamukhāḥ.*

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commence the narration of the killing of Kaṁsa) ». Or « What is the use of attending the Purāṇa-session now; Kaṁsa is already killed (that is, the Paurāṇika has already finished the narration of the killing of Kaṁsa) » [61].

A reference may be made here to certain incidental points which have emerged from this portion in Patañjali's commentary on Vārttika 15 of P. III.1.26. *Keith* thinks [62] that the passage, *ye tāvad ete śobhanikā nāma...* [63], contains 'the first mention of drama in Indian literature'. The word *śobhanika* does not occur any where else in Sanskrit literature. Its meaning, namely, 'producer of a drama' (see above), is, therefore, more or less conjectural. It is suggested that *śobhanika* may be a misreading for *śaubhika* or *saubhika* [64]. But lexicons explain *śaubhika* or *saubhika* as 'juggler' or 'conjurer' [65]. In that case, the present passage may be understood as alluding to a puppet-show, where the artist has to manipulate or juggle with the puppets, rather than to a dramatic performance. Or does it imply the drama-producer's conjuring up an illusion of reality [66]?

Keith also seems to have misunderstood the passage regarding the *granthikas* [67]. He speaks of them as if they were performers of drama. According to him, 'the *granthikas* divided themselves into two parts, one representing the followers of Kaṁsa with blackened faces, the other those of Kṛṣṇa with red faces, and they expressed the feeling of both parties throughout the struggle from Kṛṣṇa's birth to the death of Kaṁsa' [68]. He further adds: « The mention of the colour of the two parties is most significant: red man slays black man: the spirit of spring and summer prevails over the spirit of the dark winter » [69]. All this is patently farfetched. The word *granthika* clearly denotes a narrator or a Paurāṇika [70]. The words, *śabdagaḍumātram* and *vyācakṣāṇāh*, occurring in this context render this quite certain. Again, the passage, *kecit kaṁsabhaktā bhavanti...*, does not refer to the *granthikas* dividing themselves into two parties. It rather hints at the differing subconscious sympathies (*bhakti*) of the hearers, on account of which they are described as being *vyāmiśra*. The Paurāṇikas, as true artists, rouse the emotions born out of these innate sympathies (*buddhiviṣayān prakāśayanti*) [71]. These emotions then

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61. *traikālyaṁ khalv api loke lakṣyate | gaccha hanyate kaṁsaḥ | gaccha ghāniṣyate kaṁsaḥ | kiṁ gatena hataḥ kaṁsa iti.*
62. JRAS 1911, p. 1008.
63. See foot-note 58.
64. V. P. Limaye, *Critical Studies on the Mahābhāṣya*, p. 168.
65. The other meaning of *śaubhika* is given as 'hunter' or 'fowler'.
66. That is what a drama usually is.
67. See foot-note 60.
68. *Op. cit.*
69. It has been pointed out, in this connection, that Viṣṇu, with whom Kṛṣṇa is identified, is a solar divinity in the *Ṛgveda*.
70. As pointed out above, Kaiyaṭa explains it as *kathaka*.
71. Cf. *Vākyapadīya* III.7.5. It is significant that the *Abhinavabhāratī* (on *NŚ* 37.25) quotes the passage *sato buddhiviṣayān prakāśayanti*.

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become manifest through the colours of the faces of the hearers (cf. *varṇānyatvaṁ khalv api puṣyanti*). It also needs to be emphasised that the words *kaṁsabhaktāḥ* and *vāsudevabhaktāḥ* do not denote two different religious cults [72] — *bhakta* here simply means 'having sympathy for' [73].

One more point. According to *Weber (IS* 13, p. 491), the fact that, in Patañjali's commentary on Vārttika 6 of P. III.1.26, the episodes of Kaṁsa-vadha (of which Kṛṣṇa is the hero) and the Bali-bandha (of which Viṣṇu is the hero) have been mentioned together is significant. Though it may not prove that Kṛṣṇa was identical with Viṣṇu, it does show that Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu stood in close relationship with each other [74]. It would, however, seem that, though there is no clear indication in the *MB* that Kṛṣṇa was identified with Viṣṇu, the identification must have occurred much before Patañjali's time. Apart from the facts that Kṛṣṇa is called Keśava in Patañjali's commentary on P. II.2.34 and that Vāsudeva is referred to as Janārdana in his commentary on P. VI.3.6, in the *Bhagavadgītā*, Kṛṣṇa is directly addressed as Viṣṇu [75]. Incidentally, attention may be drawn to Patañjali's reference to Govinda in his commentary on Vārttika 2 of P. III.1.138: *gavi ca vindeḥ saṁjñāyam* [76]. As has been pointed out above, the religion of the Ābhīra Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa had been grafted on that of the Vṛṣṇi-Yādava Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa at quite an early date [77].

The legends relating to Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa occur in the Buddhist [78], the Jaina [79], and the Hindu literary texts. There is every reason to presume that, apart from the *Mahābhārata*, there existed in Patañjali's time some

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72. It is pointed out that even in the 4th century B.C. both Kaṁsa and Kṛṣṇa were regarded as pastoral deities, as the *Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra* (XIV.3) prescribes their invocation for those engaged in collecting medicinal herbs (S. JAISWAL, *op. cit.*, p. 65).

73. See above the discussion of P. IV.3.95. It may be added that the comments of the *Kāśikāpadamañjarī* on this whole passage confirm what has been said above.

74. KEITH (JRAS 1908, 169-175) derives from this fact the solar character of Kṛṣṇa.

75. *BG* XI.24, 30.

76. The word *govinda* has also been derived from *gopendra*. Recently, S. K. CHATTERJI (*Ruben Fel. Vol.* 1970, pp. 347-52) has connected the word *govinda* with the Old Irish *boand*, so that *govinda* would mean 'fair or beautiful on account of cows'. R. G. BHANDARKAR (*Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 51) rejects the idea that the name Govinda has something to do with cows. At the same time he connects it with Indra's epithet *govid* (=finder of cows) in the *ṚV*. In *Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra* II.5.24, Viṣṇu is called Govinda.

77. The *Bhagavadgītā* uses the word *govinda* with reference to Kṛṣṇa two times (I.32, II.9). Curiously enough, neither the *Bhagavadgītā* nor the *MB* mentions Nārāyaṇa. It is, however, suggested (S. JAISWAL, *op. cit.*, p. 37) that Bhagavat of the *BG* is no other than Nārāyaṇa. This is quite unconvincing. P. IV.1.99 refers to the termination *phak* (in the sense of *gotrāpatya*; e.g. *naḍasya gotrāpatyaṁ nāḍāyanaḥ*). However, it is suggested that *phak* also signifies 'resting place'. *Nāra* means a collection of men; *nārāyaṇa* would then mean « the supreme god who is the resting place of *nāra* ».

78. Cf. the *Ghaṭājātaka*.

79. Cf. the *Aṁtagaḍadasāo*; also see *supra*.

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Kāvyas of the classical type glorifying Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and his exploits. Indeed, Patañjali has derived many of his illustrations from such Kāvyas[80]. In the context of the discussion regarding the Bahuvrīhi compound, Patañjali, in his commentary on Vārttika 22 of P. II.2.24, poses the question as to why, in the verse-half *saṁkarṣaṇadvitīyasya balaṁ kṛṣṇasya vardhatām*, the compound *saṁkarṣaṇadvitīya*, and, in the verse-quarter *asidvitīyo 'nusasāra pāṇḍavam'*, the compound *asidvitīya* should not take the dual number in accordance with the rule *dvayor dvivacanam*, and answers it by pointing out that the second member of those Bahuvrīhi compounds, namely, *dvitīya*, is to be understood in the sense of *sahāya* (companion or helper) so that the question of 'twoness' would not arise at all. Leaving aside the grammatical point which Patañjali has made here, we may only note what is relevant to our present purpose, namely, that Patañjali must have been familiar with a Kāvya (or Kāvyas) — now, unfortunately, not available to us — dealing with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas[81] from which he has quoted, by way of illustration, the verse-half (in the *śloka* metre), *saṁkarṣaṇadvitīyasya balaṁ kṛṣṇasya vardhatām*, and the verse-quarter (in the *upajāti* metre), *asidvitīyo 'nusasāra pāṇḍavam*[82].

P. II.2.34 — *alpāctaram* — lays down the rule that the word which has a smaller number of syllables should be made the first member of a Dvandva compound. In connection with the discussion as to whether this rule is to be made applicable specifically to a Dvandva compound consisting of two members only (as is indicated by *tara*), Patañjali quotes the two verse-quarters in the *pramāṇikā* metre, *mṛdaṅgaśaṅkhatūṇavāḥ pṛthaṅ nadanti saṁsadi*, and one verse-quarter in the *praharṣiṇī* metre, *prāsāde dhanapatirāmakeśavānām* (where the words *rāma* and *keśava* respectively denote Saṁkarṣaṇa-Balarāma and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa), the Dvandva compounds in which, namely, *mṛdaṅgaśaṅkhatūṇavāḥ* and *dhanapatirāmakeśavānām*, apparently show that the rule *alpāctaram* is not applicable to Dvandva compounds having more than two members. Of course, Patañjali has his own explanation of this. Incidentally, it may be pointed out that these verse-quarters are understood by some scholars as belonging to one and the same context, namely, the playing of musical instruments in festivals celebrated in the temple of Dhanapati-Rāma-Keśava[83]. This does not, however, seem to be correct. The words *saṁsadi* and *prāsāde* clearly indicate two different contexts; so

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80. Whether it was one Kāvya or several Kāvyas, it is difficult to determine. The *Kaṁsavadha* was probably a drama known to Patañjali. See *supra*.

81. Even Pāṇini seems to have been familiar with some *Mahābhārata* (cf. P. VI.2.38) characters: Kuntī (P. IV.1.176), Yudhiṣṭhira (P. VIII.3.95), Drauṇi (P. IV.1.103).

82. They do not look as if they have been specially composed by Patañjali to serve as illustrations. Incidentally, it is not clear as to which situation *asidvitīyo* ... refers.

83. Cf. R. G. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 17; S. Jaiswal, *op. cit.*, p. 145; B. N. Puri, *India in the time of Patañjali*, pp. 81, 250; S. Chattopadhyaya, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.

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too perhaps do the two different metres. It may be further added that archaeologists have so far not come across any temple dedicated jointly to Kubera, Balarāma, and Kṛṣṇa. In some editions of the *MB*, *asādhur mātule kṛṣṇaḥ* — a verse-quarter in the *śloka* metre from some Kāvya — is quoted to illustrate Vārttika 2 (*sādhvasādhuprayoge ca*) of P. II.3.36 (*saptamy adhikaraṇe ca*). A reference has already been made to the verse-quarter in the *upendravajrā* metre, *jaghāna kaṁsaṁ kila vāsudevaḥ*, which is quoted by Patañjali as a counter-illustration in his commentary on Vārttika 2 of P. III.2.111 [84].

According to P. VI.3.4 (*manasaḥ saṁjñāyām*), the instrumental form *manasā* remains unchanged if it is the first member of a compound denoting a name: e.g. *manasādattā*. It remains unchanged also if the second member of the compound is *ājñāyin*: *manasājñāyī* (P. VI.3.5: *ājñāyini ca*). Vārttikas 1 (*ātmanaś ca pūraṇe*) [85] and 2 (*anyārthe ca*) of P. VI.3.5 lay down that the same thing happens in respect of the instrumental form *ātmanā* in such compounds as *ātmanāpañcamaḥ*. However, this rule of *aluk* or the non-dropping of the case-termination is applicable only to Tatpuruṣa compounds. As a counter-illustration, Patañjali quotes in his commentary on Vārttika 2 the verse-half in the *upendravajrā* metre, *janārdanas tv ātmacaturtha eva*. The compound *ātmacaturtha* is a Bahuvrīhi compound, and so there is no *aluk*. Apart from the fact that this verse-quarter indicates Patañjali's familiarity with a Kāvya dealing with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, it is significant from another point of view also. Janārdana or Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa here seems to be represented as being identical with a whole of which he himself is a fourth. This is evidently a reference to the doctrine of Vyūhas. It is suggested that Janārdana or Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, while being, in a sense, identical with the totality of the four Vyūhas, is also one of those four Vyūhas [86].

Doubts have been expressed about the genuineness of this verse-quarter quoted by Patañjali on the ground that the doctrine of Vyūhas had not developed in his time. It is pointed out that in the inscriptions of about that period, such as those of Ghosundi and Nanaghat [87], Saṁkarṣaṇa is given precedence over Vāsudeva, while in the Vyūha-doctrine he is represented as being subordinate to Vāsudeva. It is, therefore, presumed that the Vyūha-doctrine must not have been consolidated at the time of those inscriptions as also of Patañjali. It is, however, not improbable

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84. See *supra*.

85. Vārttika 1 of P. VI.3.5 also occurs as P. VI.3.6.

86. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* (IV.36 ff.) describes the supreme god as *catur-vyūhātman*. The word *ātmacaturtha* may also refer to Nārāyaṇa who manifested himself in the four forms, Nara, Nārāyaṇa, Hari, and Kṛṣṇa (*MBh.* XII.321.16). It may be noted that the *Bhagavadgītā* does not refer to the doctrine of Vyūhas, but that Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa is called Janārdana in six passages (I.36; I.39; I.44; III.1; X.18; XI.51). Incidentally, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata, and Śatrughna are regarded as the four forms of the supreme god Rāma.

87. See *supra*.

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that the religious ideology in which Saṁkarṣaṇa was superior to Vāsudeva was quite independent of the Vyūha-doctrine, and that the two ideologies prevailed contemporaneously. The worship of Saṁkarṣaṇa representing an independent religious sect must have been quite popular in early times[88]. Presumably it arose more or less contemporaneously with Vāsudevism, but it seems to have had a restricted sphere of influence. One development in the religious history of that period was that the two independent religions, namely, the Saṁkarṣaṇa-religion and the Vāsudeva-religion , came to be closely allied with each other, the precedence in that alliance having been apparently given to Saṁkarṣaṇa[89]. Actually the two religious sects must have merged together on terms of equality. Saṁkarṣaṇa was mentioned first only formally, and that because he happened to be the elder one of the two Vṛṣṇi princes who had been deified. However, it was the Vāsudeva-religion which became more dominant in course of time[90]. The other development, perhaps independent of the first, was in the direction of the evolution of the doctrine of Vyūhas according to which the four deified Vṛṣṇi heroes stood for the four religio-philosophical concepts — Vāsudeva for the Highest Self, Saṁkarṣaṇa for the individual self, Pradyumna for Manas (mind), and Aniruddha for Ahaṁkāra (egoism). It has also to be emphasised that the quotation, *janārdanas tv ātmacaturtha eva*, occurs in a very natural way and fits in very well in that particular context in Patañjali's commentary on Vārttika 2 of P. VI.3.5. It does not give any occasion whatsoever for the suspicion that it is an interpolation.

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88. The Saṁkarṣaṇa-cult is mentioned for the first time in *Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra* XIII.3.67. Dionysos referred to by Megasthenes may be identified with Saṁkarṣaṇa. See also S. Jaiswal, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-59.

89. R. P. Chanda has suggested (*Archaeology and Vaiṣṇava Tradition*, p. 403) that, in the 2nd century B.C., there were two forms of Vāsudeva-worship — one in which Vāsudeva was worshipped as the supreme god and the other in which he was worshipped as a god second to Saṁkarṣaṇa.

90. One is here reminded of a similar situation in the history of Maratha saints. Though Nivṛttinātha, as the elder brother, was given precedence, it was the younger brother, Jñānadeva, who became more prominent in course of time.

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CARLO DELLA CASA

AHIṂSĀ: SIGNIFICATO E AMBITO ORIGINARI DELLA NON VIOLENZA

L'*ahiṃsā* è precetto comune a tutte le religioni indiane e sebbene nell'India non tutti pratichino o abbiano praticato la non violenza, non si troverebbe chi, almeno a parole, non si vanti di rispettarla o esiti a propugnarla.

Vari sono, nel corso della storia, i contenuti che il vocabolo ha espresso.

Aśoka, per il quale anche dopo la conversione non erano illecite le guerre e le esecuzioni capitali, intese l'*ahiṃsā*, un po' formalmente e superficialmente, come l'impegno di non uccidere animali, dando con ciò un deciso impulso verso il vegetarianismo, che con l'*ahiṃsā* sembra a prima vista legato e che avrà conseguenze economiche importanti [1]; i Giaina sottolineano il rispetto verso ogni forma di vita; spesso si fa distinzione tra violenza e violenza, introducendo pericolose discriminazioni tra guerre giuste e ingiuste; è più che evidente che la propaganda dell'*ahiṃsā* riuscì a scoraggiare la ribellione dei sudditi nei riguardi dei potenti; ma non è certamente mancata l'interpretazione dell'*ahiṃsā* come esortazione all'amore attivo, all'operare con sacrificio e impegno per il bene del prossimo. Infine si giunge a Gandhi, il quale con il termine *ahiṃsā*, indissolubilmente congiunto con *satyāgraha*, « saldezza nella verità », indicava tutta la sua filosofia e la sua prassi politiche e nella « non violenza per convinzione » identificava un metodo estremamente flessibile e adattabile alle circostanze più diverse, ma sostanzialmente ispirato, sia pure con molte limitazioni e precisazioni che hanno causato multiple interpretazioni del suo pensiero, al rispetto integrale

1. La pratica vegetariana implica il reperimento di grandi spazi da destinare alla produzione agricola. Meno decisiva, ma pur essa incidente, è la presenza di masse di bestiame, inutilizzate ai fini dell'alimentazione, che si contendono la scarsa pastura d'una campagna eccessivamente occupata. Cfr. L. ALSDORF, *Beiträge zur Geschichte von Vegetarismus und Rinderverehrung in Indien*, Wiesbaden, 1962, p. 3 sg. (*Akademie d.Wiss.u.d.Lit. in Mainz*).

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della persona dell'avversario. E dicendo rispetto integrale si vuole sottolineare che dovevano essere rispettate sia la persona fisica sia la figura morale, le convinzioni dell'avversario, del quale veniva auspicata, anzi considerata certa, la conversione, una volta che fossero confrontate posizioni, pretese, atteggiamenti contrapposti. In altre parole, secondo Gandhi, la verità ha una sua forza propria, tale da agire infallibilmente di per sé sola e non necessita pertanto dell'appoggio d'un braccio secolare che la imponga dal di fuori, ma deve soltanto essere proposta per avere successo.

Non è il caso di rilevare quanto di dogmatico o per lo meno di poco chiaro ci sia nella convinzione d'essere i depositari della verità o d'insistere sui dolorosi insuccessi della dottrina della non violenza tra plebi impreparate poste di fronte a una violenza ammantata di legalità, e neppure è il caso d'indagare se la scelta del metodo della non violenza sia stata suggerita a Gandhi, nonostante i suoi dinieghi, dalla persuasione che il tempo per la violenza non era ancor giunto. Quel che importa notare è che la non violenza di Gandhi non è certamente un atteggiamento passivo, ma è la scelta del combattente che, convinto dell'assoluta validità della propria posizione, accetta il confronto, affronta rischi e pericoli anche di morte per provocare un mutamento, per modificare la situazione prima nell'animo dell'avversario, poi, per stretta conseguenza, nella realtà circostante. Del resto lo stesso insistere di Gandhi sulla necessità d'impegnarsi nel programma costruttivo, sul coraggio che l'attenersi all'*ahiṃsā* esige, la sua affermazione che in determinate circostanze uccidere può essere un dovere e che l'uso della forza è preferibile alla codarda rassegnazione, la convinzione che il principio dell'*ahiṃsā* è violato dal riservar per sé soli ciò di cui gli altri hanno bisogno, sono fatti estremamente significativi della sua concezione dell'*ahiṃsā*, non mai formale e superficiale, ma sempre intesa a diminuire, a qualsiasi prezzo, la somma di violenza presente nel mondo.

L'*ahiṃsā* è da millenni la pietra angolare dell'etica indiana. Da un lato, a livello popolare, è indissolubilmente congiunta con il più rigoroso vegetarianismo e forse con il culto della vacca, esaltato dallo stesso Gandhi come l'essenza stessa dell'Induismo; dall'altro impone o raccomanda di non nuocere ad alcuna creatura e spesso assume un valore e un significato che non son molto lontani dai nostri termini « compassione, benevolenza, carità ».

È noto che coloro che più hanno esteso l'ambito dell'osservanza e più rigorosamente osservano l'*ahiṃsā* sono i Giaina. Per essi l'*ahiṃsā* è il primo dei voti, è il presupposto di tutti gli altri, i quali non sono altro, dice un dottore del sec. XI, Amṛtacandra, se non una formulazione diversa dello stesso principio, e ancor oggi su ogni opuscolo destinato alla propaganda giainica compare il motto *ahiṃsā paramo dharmaḥ*. Il precetto dell'*ahiṃsā*, oltre al vegetarianismo, ha determinato alcune tra le più curiose costumanze giainiche, quali gli ospedali per animali, la cautela nel sedersi e nel muoversi durante la stagione delle

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piogge, quando la terra brulica d'insetti, l'uso della pezzuola davanti alla bocca per non ledere lo spirito dell'aria, il non mangiare di notte per non ingerire cosa indebita, il rifiuto di certe professioni che potrebbero esporre a offendere esseri animati, l'astinenza dai liquori, poiché (almeno secondo i testi più antichi) nella fermentazione dei succhi c'è distruzione di microbi, la continenza sessuale dovuta allo stesso motivo, la raccomandazione di non consumare cereali affetti da larve d'insetti [2]. Sono stati spesso rimproverati ai Giaina formalismo eccessivo ed esteriorità nell'osservanza dell'*ahiṃsā*: così la prescrizione per il monaco di bere e mangiare cose preparate da altri tende a far ricadere su costoro la colpa d'eventuali trasgressioni; così l'accumulo di capitali e il conseguente esercizio dell'usura non lederanno formalmente il precetto ma sicuramente possono ledere la salute psichica del contraente il prestito [3]; inoltre anche il vegetarianismo comporta offesa alla vita vegetale. A quest'ultima osservazione i Giaina rispondono, secondo quel senso comune che sembra loro tipico, che, un assoluto rispetto della vita essendo impossibile, occorre agire in modo da recare il minimo danno, ciò che si realizza nel caso specifico sacrificando un tipo di vita inferiore a salvaguardia di quello superiore. In ogni modo la propaganda giainica attuale insiste sull'obbligo della solidarietà attiva e del resto la *facies* positiva dell'*ahiṃsā*, la *dayā*, è già presente nel canone (cfr. ad es. *Viyāhapannatti*, 7,6) ed è raccomandata da molti dottori giaina: basti citare per tutti Umāsvāmin, Somadeva ed Hemacandra, per i quali la prontezza nell'aiutare altrui costituisce un merito superiore alla pratica di tutte le cerimonie espiatorie [4].

Per quanto riguarda la concezione che dell'*ahiṃsā* ebbe il Buddhismo antico, mi sembrano significativi sia il rifiuto del Buddha a codificare la proibizione di consumar carni, sia l'affermazione che la base dell'*ahiṃsā* è la *karuṇā*, la compassione che sorge considerando il dolore altrui [5], sia le leggende che ci mostrano il Buddha impegnato a sollevar gli altrui disagi [6]. Non è poi necessario ricordare che nel *Mahāyāna karuṇā* e *maitrī*, compassione e benevolenza, sono le virtù cardinali del Bodhisattva, che per aiutare il prossimo ancor invischiato nel

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2. Cfr. R. Williams, *Jaina Yoga*, London, 1963, p. 70.

3. E' stato pure affermato che il Gianismo è una religione fatta *ad hoc* per mercanti e banchieri: è più probabile che si sia diffusa tra commercianti e banchieri perché le qualità di prudenza, sobrietà, attenzione, controllo di sé richieste al fedele sono le stesse che son tipiche di quelle categorie di persone. Cfr. C. Della Casa, *Jainism*, in C. J. Bleeker-G. Widengren, *Historia Religionum*, vol. II, Leiden, 1971, p. 369.

4. Vedi: Umāsvāmin, *Tattvārthasūtra*, 7,11; Hemacandra, *Yogaśāstra*, 1,47-56 e cfr. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 71, 256 sgg.

5. Cfr. *Dhammapada*, 129 sg., *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*, 43 e vedi *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, s.v. ahiṃsā*, p. 288.

6. Si veda ad es. l'episodio del Buddha che cura il monaco affetto da dissenteria (*Vinaya piṭaka, Mahāvagga*, VIII,26).

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dolore dell'esistenza rinuncia alla propria liberazione: fa cioè in modo che « con il dolore di uno solo il dolore di molti scompare » [7].

Nell'Induismo poi, in armonia con l'estendersi della religione della *bhakti*, la cui essenza è l'intervento della divinità nelle vicende del fedele e la partecipazione all'opera della sua salvezza, si rafforzano, sia pure all'interno delle barriere castali, istituzioni che son simili per qualche aspetto alle nostre strutture mutualistiche e assistenziali.

Varie sono le motivazioni addotte per giustificare la necessità dell'*ahiṃsā*. Per i Giaina il motivo dell'osservanza è che lo spirito della vita pervade ogni cosa, dalla più umile creatura al vento, all'acqua, al fuoco, cosicché neppure gli elementi devono essere offesi: è un ilozoismo che sembra risalire ai tempi più lontani dell'umanità e che esige una ricerca di purificazione paragonabile per molti aspetti alla dottrina di Zarathustra. Per i Buddhisti non esiste un'anima permanente e di conseguenza non ha senso amare un io e considerarlo diverso dal prossimo. Per gli aderenti del monismo panteistico che riconosce in ultima analisi il propagatore più convinto e convincente in Yājñavalkya, la ragione del rispetto della vita altrui consiste appunto nell'unicità dello spirito, in cui tutto si riassume: cosicché ledere altrui significa ledere se stesso. A livello più popolare la prescrizione del non uccidere si traduce in un vegetarianismo che viene osservato per evitare che il rimerito dell'azione compiuta, in base a una sorta di legge del taglione, comporti per chi ha ucciso sorte analoga a quella della vittima. Chi mangia sarà mangiato, poiché il mondo dei morti è il mondo alla rovescia, secondo una concezione che, priva originariamente d'ogni contenuto etico, determina nel rito funebre il rovesciamento delle abitudini solite [8], trova la sua espressione più completa nel resoconto della visita di Bhṛgu nel mondo ultraterreno [9] ed ha un gran numero di paralleli in campo etnografico e folklorico [10].

È stato spesso affermato che l'etica indiana è prevalentemente negativa, chiedendo i precetti piuttosto l'astensione dal compiere il male che

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7. Vedi ŚĀNTIDEVA, *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, 8,105 (trad. G. TUCCI, Torino, 1925), e cfr. O. BOTTO, *Buddha e il Buddhismo*, Fossano, 1974, pp. 138 sgg.

8. Nel culto dei morti, contrariamente alle abitudini solite, la circumambulazione si compie da man destra e resta libero il braccio sinistro, mentre la veste viene raccolta sulla spalla e sull'omero destri.

9. Bhṛgu, recatosi nel regno dei morti, ha tre visioni: un uomo fa a pezzi un altro uomo, un altro mangia un uomo che grida, un terzo uomo infine mangia uno che se ne sta zitto. Il padre suo Varuṇa gli spiega che l'uomo della prima visione era in questo mondo un albero e ora fa a pezzi il boscaiolo che lo tagliò; l'uomo che mangia mentre la sua vittima urla era un animale che ora mangia il suo uccisore; l'uomo della terza visione era una pianta che ora mangia chi la mangiò (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 11,6,1).

10. Cfr. H. LOMMEL, *Bhṛgu im Jenseits*, in *Paideuma*, 4, 1950, pp. 93-109, dove si ricorda che originariamente i morti erano pensati rivolti a testa in giù e si rammenta una saga caucasica secondo la quale nel regno dell'aldilà quando piove c'è polvere e quando c'è siccità s'affonda nel fango.

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non la propensione attiva verso il bene. Per limitarci ai Giaina, è certo che i comandamenti sono espressi quasi sempre in forma negativa: così i cinque grandi voti per il monaco che solo può aspirare alla liberazione sono: non uccidere, non rubare, non dire menzogna, non possedere, non andare contro la castità. A chi ha affermato che l'espressione negativa sembra sottolineare la tendenza alla rinuncia che è propria di tutte le religioni indiane [11], è stato obiettato che anche i comandamenti mosaici e il decalogo cristiano hanno forma spesso negativa, di proibizione, senza che necessariamente si caratterizzino quelle espressioni come soltanto dirette a evitare il male o comunque informate a una valutazione negativa della vita [12]. E certamente nessuno potrebbe negare che il riconoscimento delle esigenze della vita esiste in tutta la tradizione indiana, dalle *Upaniṣad* a Tagore, il quale ultimo proprio ispirandosi a quei testi trova Iddio non nella solitudine dell'ascesi ma tra il clamore e la fatica dei lavoratori dei campi e delle officine, mentre alcuni studiosi indiani scorgono nell'*ahiṃsā* la causa prima della tolleranza, della mancanza di dogmatismo e della « capacità onnivora » dell'Induismo, sempre pronto ad accogliere nel suo seno fermenti estranei e popoli stranieri.

Ma il considerare l'*ahiṃsā* un valore positivo è originario o si tratta d'un'innovazione e d'un completamento d'una nozione al principio eminentemente negativa?

Esaminiamo prima la forma del termine, che è sicuramente privativa. Dall'esame della documentazione [13] non sembra di poter trarre conclusioni definitive circa l'ambito e il significato originari di *ahiṃsā*: esistono infatti elementi per sospettare che la forma negativa non sia necessariamente collegata con un significato negativo. I composti privativi sono frequentissimi in molte lingue e spesso indicano non una condizione mancante di quella caratteristica o qualità la cui esistenza viene negata nell'atto stesso dell'espressione, ma proprio lo stato completamente opposto a essa, indicano cioè uno stato d'assoluto benessere o d'assoluta abiezione, a seconda del senso della parola cui viene aggiunto il prefisso (cfr. scr. *aroga-*, « sano »; lat. *infirmus*, *infamia*, *invictus*, *sedulus* [< *sine dolo*], *securus*, ingl. *disgrace*, ital. *spiacevole*).

Quanto all'origine di tali forme, varie possono essere le cause. Talvolta la forma negativa è dovuta a simulazione di modestia (ad es. *haud ignoro*), talvolta a scaramanzia (così, richiesti dello stato della propria salute, si è riluttanti a rispondere: *bene!*, e si preferisce: *non c'è male*),

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11. Cfr. ad es. DELLA CASA, op. cit., p. 359 e dello stesso, *Il Giainismo*, Torino, 1962, p. 55.

12. Cfr. WILLIAMS, op. cit., p. XIX e *passim*; C. CAILLAT, *L'ascétisme chez les Jaina*, in *Archives de Sociologie des Religions*, 18, 1964, pp. 45-53.

13. Cfr., per quanto segue, J. GONDA, *Why are ahiṃsā and other similar concepts expressed in a negative form?*, in *Four studies in the language of the Veda*, « Disputationes Rheno-Traiectinae », III, 's Gravenhage, 1959, pp. 95-117.

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talvolta si ricercano, più o meno consciamente, determinati effetti stilistici (*non posso non essere d'accordo, non è cattivo*, la quale ultima espressione, almeno in certi ambienti, è la forma più alta d'approvazione). Talvolta il motivo del sorgere o dell'affermarsi della forma negativa può essere che un dato concetto, positivo o negativo non importa, ha assunto una posizione centrale o predominante o è il solo a essere conosciuto. Di conseguenza non ha avuto fortuna o neppure è stato pensato un vocabolo autonomo per indicare la condizione o la cosa contraria a quella predominante o auspicata nel pensiero o unica nell'esperienza. Così *non intervento* e *non belligeranza* indicano, almeno sul piano emotivo, qualche cosa di diverso dalla *neutralità*; *imparzialità* è una meta forse meno irraggiungibile dell'*equità*; la *disunione* all'interno d'una famiglia o d'un gruppo preannuncia danni forse peggiori che non la *divisione* o la *separazione* dei membri; l'*incomunicabilità* sembra più angosciosa dell'*isolamento* o della mancanza di uditori ben disposti; il *non conformista* e l'*indipendente* tengono a sottolineare le presunte difficoltà della loro posizione più che l'*originale* o il *libero*; l'*immortalità* (*amṛta-*) è qualcosa di più preciso della *felicità eterna*, poiché soltanto del mondo soggetto alla morte abbiamo esperienza diretta (e in maniera del tutto analoga si spiegano altre determinazioni sanscrite della meta suprema, come *akṣara-*, *abhaya-*, *avyakta-*).

L'esame puramente linguistico del vocabolo e d'altri similari non consente d'affermare che esso voglia esprimere un concetto puramente negativo. La forma privativa può essere infatti determinata da uno degli infiniti impulsi che provocano la nascita delle parole: uno scopo estetico, l'incapacità di trovare un vocabolo proprio per indicare il contrario di ciò che è tipico dell'esperienza corrente o che prevale in quel momento o abitualmente nella mente o nell'immaginazione del parlante.

Conclusioni forse più probanti possono aversi considerando l'ambiente o gli ambienti in cui s'osservò dapprima l'*ahiṃsā* [14].

Si sa che gli arii vedici consumavano carne e che la religione dei Veda è stata definita religione della *hiṃsā*: essa è incentrata infatti sul sacrificio cruento di animali, e forse anticamente anche di uomini, diretto dapprima a ottenere benefici dagli dei, ma assurgente con il tempo a forza sacro-magica che opera di per sé e che è la sola a conferire agli stessi dei il loro potere. Il sacrificio vedico vuol essere una rappresentazione simbolica della vita, i cui elementi esso riproduce: in particolare il banchetto sacrificale è un'imitazione del banchetto offerto all'ospite. Ora la vita è violenza, violenza di uomo contro uomo, contro animali, contro piante, violenza che appartiene alla natura stessa, in cui tutto è cibo o mangiatore di cibo. Perciò sembra che anche nel sacrificio sia accettata la violenza e come nel banchetto all'ospite s'offre

14. Cfr., per quanto segue, H. P. Schmidt, *The origin of ahiṃsā*, in *Mélanges d'Indianisme a la mémoire de L. Renou*, Paris, 1968, pp. 625-655.

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carne di vitello, così nel sacrificio c'è offerta cruenta d'animali e il consumo della loro carne. Ma questa violenza è riservata al *ṛtvij*, il sacerdote sacrificatore, il quale assume su di sé il carico dell'uccisione per permettere ai partecipanti al banchetto di gustare la carne dell'animale immolato. Il *ṛtvij* poi si purificherà, poiché egli conosce il segreto dei riti e delle formule purificatorie, cosicché non sarà colpito da alcuna colpa. È chiaro a questo punto che l'uccisione rituale è considerata sempre un male, dal cui cattivo effetto occorre detergersi con apposita procedura, e chi non conosce formule e riti dovrà astenersi dalla pratica dell'uccisione e non soltanto da essa, ma da ogni attività nella quale si verifichi una possibilità d'offendere elementi, piante, oggetti. I mezzi per evitare l'effetto dell'azione peccaminosa sono quelli conosciuti in campo magico: identificazioni arbitrarie, ricorso esasperato alla forma, ritenuta capace d'eludere la sostanza del problema, assiomi sull'impossibilità che si verifichi una cosa se essa va contro la parola d'una verità acquisita. Alcuni esempi varranno a mettere nella giusta luce questa concezione del mondo, che è assai vicina alla concezione giainica che vede dotato d'anima ogni fenomeno e che parte dal presupposto che fili sottili e misteriosi colleghino tra loro le più varie apparenze. Quando si scava una fossa per depositarvi la caldaia in cui è stato preparato il liquore sacrificale, per evitare d'offendere la terra occorre attribuire l'azione dello scavo ad Aditi: « *Aditi è infatti questa* [*terra*]*; con essa in verità* [*il sacrificatore*] *ha scavato in terra per non arrecare danno* [*alla terra*]*: infatti uno non fa mai male a se stesso* » (*Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, 3,1,8). Quando si deve abbattere l'albero che servirà da palo per legare l'animale del sacrificio, s'interpone tra la scure e l'albero una foglia d'erba *darbha*, cosicché la violenza s'immagina diretta e scaricata sulla foglia, non sulla pianta (*Maitr. S.*, 3,9,3). Perché la fiamma non offenda la caldaia del sacrificio, si fumiga la caldaia stessa ponendo sul fuoco sterco di cavallo, « *perché il cavallo appartiene a Prajāpati, Prajāpati è il fuoco e uno non fa male a se stesso* » (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 6,5,3,9), ossia la caldaia, protetta dal fumo prodotto da cosa che appartiene al fuoco, ossia protetta dal fuoco stesso, non è lesa dal fuoco [15]. In realtà l'uomo vedico si sente circondato e dominato da forze d'ogni genere, ignote nella loro essenza ma capaci d'influire, più spesso in senso ostile, sul suo destino e sul suo comportamento. Ed è per questo che tutta la religione vedica è occupata e preoccupata dal pensiero che occorre evitare il contagio ed esorcizzarlo quando si sia realizzato, con tutta quella somma di cerimonie di purificazione, che derivano in ultima analisi dalla convinzione che la vita sia dominata dal *tremendum*, che si cerca di non irritare usando apotropaici ed eufemismi.

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15. Vedi SCHMIDT, op. cit., pp. 647 sg. Da notare la frase che chiude l'ultimo esempio (*tad vai śaknaiva tad dhi jagdhaṃ yātayāma*: « *questo* [*si fa*] *con lo sterco: esso invero è cosa mangiata, ha esaurito il suo corso* »), che sembra qui posta per giustificare l'uso dello sterco, privo, per così dire, d'ogni parvenza di vita.

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Da un lato dunque c'è la convinzione che la vita è violenza; dall'altro la violenza, che è sempre un male, può essere accettata nel sacrificio, in vista dell'ottenimento d'uno scopo più alto (ad es. gratificare gli dei), soltanto quando si conosca il mezzo adatto di purificazione. E' evidente che mutando le aspirazioni e cambiando le convinzioni sull'efficacia di formule e procedimenti, si verificherà un mutato atteggiamento circa le conseguenze dell'azione violenta compiuta. Ed è proprio questo che succede nell'ultima fase della civiltà vedica, nel periodo delle *Upaniṣad* più antiche. E' infatti in esse che s'assiste alla rovina del sacrificio vedico, alla diminuzione e poi all'annullamento della fede nella potenza dello scongiuro e delle formule magiche di purificazione, a un allargamento degli orizzonti, per cui, pur riconoscendosi l'inevitabilità della vita e delle sue esigenze, s'aspira a qualche cosa di superiore alla vita, a qualche cosa che non deve necessariamente identificarsi in una ripetizione di essa. Il sacrificio vedico, tutto incentrato sulla materialità del rito, non è più considerato valido. « *Simili a instabili barche sono le diciotto forme di sacrificio nelle quali s'esprime l'opera inferiore. Gli sciocchi che considerano questa come il sommo bene, ricadono nella vecchiezza e nella morte* » (*Muṇḍ. Up.*, 1,2,7). La meditazione sugli effetti dell'azione porta ad ammettere un rinnovarsi della vita nell'ambiente stesso in cui l'azione è stata compiuta e s'afferma perciò la legge del *karman* e del *saṃsāra*; l'iterazione delle molte vite, nelle quali l'unica certezza è la morte, porta ad auspicare la liberazione dall'indefinito succedersi d'esistenze, ad augurare una situazione staccata da ciò che condiziona la serie delle esistenze, cioè dall'azione. Quindi l'unica via di scampo è la rinuncia, l'elezione cioè d'una norma straordinaria, l'abbandono del mondo e delle sue abitudini.

Ecco quindi due motivi per giungere all'*ahiṃsā*. Da un lato il superamento della vita, che è *hiṃsā*; dall'altro la convinzione che non esista il sistema per non pagare il prezzo d'ogni colpa, in particolare della colpa d'aver ucciso. Diffondendosi come ideale la via della rinuncia, del *saṃnyāsin*, va da sé che il connesso ideale dell'*ahiṃsā* si generalizzi, con quelle caratteristiche astensionistiche che sono insite in altre prescrizioni, come il digiuno, il non mentire [16], il non rubare, e che sembrano confermate dalla prescrizione, viva nei canoni buddhistico e giainico, secondo cui la sacertà della vita viene rispettata quando non si prenda parte all'uccisione di animali, mentre è lecito cibarsi di carni provenienti da animali uccisi da bestie da preda [17].

Ma nel carattere della società la cui vita e i cui ideali ci sono rappresentati dalle *Upaniṣad* esiste, a parer nostro, il seme per cui può dirsi che l'*ahiṃsā*, proprio al suo stesso affermarsi come aspirazione di tutti,

16. SCHMIDT, op. cit., p. 653, sottolinea che caratteristica dell'uomo è dire la menzogna: il dire la verità è dunque una sorta di mortificazione.

17. Anche nei codici di leggi si trova tale prescrizione. Anzi in *Pāraskara-Gṛhyasūtra*, 2,5,9, si raccomanda allo studente brahmanico di non ledere gli alberi, ma di servirsi soltanto di legna caduta spontaneamente dalle piante (cfr. SCHMIDT, op. cit., p. 639).

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contiene già in sé un valore positivo. E' ormai risaputo che nelle *Upaniṣad* l'aspirazione al trascendente non induce a rifiutare la vita, che la realizzazione dell'infinito avviene attraverso la sublimazione del finito e in questo tentativo di conciliazione di esigenze diverse a noi è parso di vedere l'umanità delle *Upaniṣad* [18].

E proprio in questa *via media* delle *Upaniṣad* ci sembra di vedere il principio di quell'evoluzione del concetto di *ahiṃsā*, per cui s'accentuerà sempre più la sua *facies* positiva, il suo significato d'impegno consapevole e attivo a operare il bene. In quel periodo veramente centrale della storia spirituale dell'India che vede l'affermarsi delle dottrine upaniṣadiche e il sorgere o il ristabilirsi dei movimenti del Buddhismo e del Giainismo, sale in primo piano l'uomo e tutta l'attenzione è rivolta alla sua natura, al suo destino dopo la morte. Rifiutato il ritualismo, l'uomo scorge in sé la scintilla del divino e, praticamente solo di fronte al destino, sa d'essere l'arbitro della propria felicità o del proprio sconforto futuri. Ma spingere alla ribalta l'uomo vuol dire valutare positivamente tutto quanto lo concerne e quanto lo concerne è la vita associata, nella quale l'interesse comune impone non soltanto di non fare il male ma di operare per il bene comune. Proprio allora si ha la fioritura dei codici di leggi, che stabiliscono doveri e diritti di ciascuno in una società ordinata. Ma particolarmente significativa è l'importanza che vien data all'istruzione e alla presenza del maestro, che è indispensabile per raggiungere la verità e godrà d'un rispetto che rimarrà una costante indistruttibile nella tradizione indiana. Il ruolo del maestro è impegnativo e in certo modo anche spiacevole: e la convinzione che soltanto un grande senso di responsabilità verso il prossimo bisognoso d'aiuto riesca a vincere l'umano egoismo di tener per sé la rivelazione raggiunta sembra trovare espressione nelle esitazioni di Yājñavalkya, nelle tentazioni cui è esposto il Buddha. Alla fine tuttavia Yājñavalkya esce allo scoperto, il Buddha vince le tentazioni, così come Mahāvīra, nonostante l'aristocratica freddezza con cui la tradizione ce lo dipinge, aveva acconsentito a rivelare la sua illuminazione. A me questa accettazione del fardello del maestro sembra emblematica d'un atteggiamento e d'una mentalità rivolti alla vita, soprattutto del riconoscimento dell'esigenza primaria della solidarietà sociale. Questa necessità è considerata un dato di fatto, ché i tentativi di darne giustificazione razionale sembrano appunto tentativi a posteriori. Tipica a questo proposito è la posizione dei Giaina, che pure considerano essenziale per la liberazione la separazione tra spirito e materia e quindi sono condotti a raccomandare il logoramento della materia, ossia la mortificazione del corpo e l'ascesi: ma proprio per i Giaina la moralità sociale è dogmaticamente considerata propedeutica all'ultima fase della vita.

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18. Vedi il mio articolo *Di alcune caratteristiche delle Upaniṣad più antiche* in *Indologica Taurinensia*, I, 1973, pp. 33-46.

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E' ben vero che in tempi diversi ci sarà un'accentuazione più o meno occasionale delle vie di rinuncia, e ciò massime nei secoli bui, a detrimento dell'impegno esplicito nell'affrontare i problemi della vita. Questo ondeggiamento tra affermazione e svalutazione della vita è certamente tipico dell'India e la stessa frequenza della ricerca d'un *quid medium*, d'un compromesso tra esigenze diverse testimonia dell'importanza del contrasto tra tendenze opposte. Ma all'epoca delle *Upaniṣad* la realtà del mondo è ben presente e della dignità dell'uomo e delle sue esigenze si tiene ben conto: già da allora, a nostro parere, il superstizioso terrore di ledere comunque la vita s'avvia a trasformarsi in norma etica e dal suddito impotente di forze tremende e cieche si prepara a sorgere il cittadino.

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YĀMUNA'S CATUSŚLOKĪ: AN ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Among the theologians of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism Yāmunācārya holds an important place, not only because he was Rāmānuja's predecessor and teacher's teacher, but also because his works, especially his *Siddhitraya*, has contributed much to the history of the Vedānta as a whole. He has been hailed as the most inspired singer and the learned doctor of Vaiṣṇava *bhakti* religion; Rudolf Otto calls him *doctor subtilis* in the East. The shortest of all the extant works of Yāmuna is the *Catuśślokī* or *Śrīstuti*, which happens to be the first of its kind in the Vaiṣṇava Stuti literature of South India after the Āḻvārs. Its theological importance consists in the fact that it explains the significant position of Lakṣmī as the Consort of the Lord Nārāyaṇa and as the Mediator of divine grace between God and his devotees. Although it has been commented upon by at least three later theologians such as Veṅkaṭanātha (Vedānta Deśika), Krishṇapada-lokaguru and Periya Vāccān Pillai, the sectarian interest is obvious in their commentaries. In this paper we intend to give the romanized Sanskrit text[1] of *Catuśślokī*, its translation into English, and an analysis and interpretation of the doctrine it contains on Śrī in the light of the literature of Āḻvārs, especially Nammāḻvār, and the Pāñcarātra, on which Yāmuna depends. Yāmuna's indebtedness to Nammāḻvār is very great and he expresses it thus in the *Stotra-Ratna* (stanza 5):

mātāpitā yuvatayas tanayā vibhūtis
sarvaṁ yadeva niyamena madanvayānām
ādhyasya naḥ kulapater bahulābhirāmaṁ
śrīmat tadaṅghri yugalaṁ praṇamāmi mūrdhnā.

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1. The edition used here has been prepared by the Viśishtadvaita Pracharini Sabha of Madras and has been published in the series of Ubhaya Vedanta Granthamala, 1969.

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I bow my head reverently before the blessed feet of the foremost lord of our family [i.e., Parāṅkuśa alias Nammāḷvār], delightful with bahula flowers [offered in worship], which alone are eternally mother, father, wives, sons and wealth to every one of my race.

I. THE SANSKRIT TEXT AND TRANSLATION

1. *kāntaste puruṣottamaḥ phaṇipatiśśayyāsanaṁ vāhanaṁ*
vedātmā vihageśvaro yavanikā māyā jaganmohinī
brahmeśādisuravrajassadayitastvaddāsadāsīgaṇaḥ
śrīrityeva ca nāma te bhagavatī brūmaḥ kathaṁ tvāṁ vayaṁ.

The Supreme Person is your husband; your seat and bed is the Serpent-Lord; your seat and vehicle is the Lord of birds, the soul of the *Veda*; your veil is *Māyā*, the enticer of the world; the host of Brahmā, Īśa and other gods and their divine spouses are your troop of servants and maids. Your name too is Śrī, O Lakṣmī! How can we designate you?

Note: The word *āsanam* is referred to both what precedes and what follows in keeping with *kākākṣi-nyāya*, i.e., after the manner of the crow's eye (said of a word in such a way as to belong both to the preceding and subsequent).

2. *yasyāste mahimānamātmana iva tvadvallabhop prabhur*
nālammātumiyattayā niravadhiṁ nityānukūlaṁ svataḥ
tāṁ tvāṁ dāsa iti prapanna iti ca stoṣyāmyahaṁ nirbhayo
lokaikeśvari lokanāthadayite dānte dayāṁ te vidan.

Although your omnipotent husband cannot measure [and know] your unlimited and naturally ever blissful greatness, even as he cannot his own [greatness], I praise you fearlessly as your servant, as one surrendered to you, O Sovereign of the universe, the Beloved of the Lord of the universe, knowing your mercy towards the self-controlled [or « restrained »].

Note: *Lokaikeśvarī* is analysed as *Loka-eka-īśvarī*, « the spouse of the only Lord of the universe »; but the following phrase, *lokanātha-dayite* also means « the beloved of the Lord of the universe ». Hence, in order to avoid repetition, *lokaikeśvarī* is rendered simply as « Sovereign (or « queen ») of the universe.

Dānta is sometimes taken in the sense of « donor or giver », and in the vocative is applicable to Lakṣmī as bestower of gifts.

3. *īṣattvatkaruṇānirīkṣaṇasudhāsandhukṣaṇād rakṣyate*
naṣṭaṁ prāk tadalābhataḥ tribhuvanam saṁpratyanantodayam

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śreyo nahyaravindalocanamanaḥkāntāprasādādṛte
saṁsṛtyakṣaravaiṣṇavādhvasu nṛṇāṁ saṁbhāvyate karhicit.

By the kindling of a particle of the nectar of your merciful glances the three worlds are saved: before [that] because of not gaining it they vanished, and now they come to limitless prosperity. Without the grace of the bevoled of the lotus-eyed, never will salvation be realized for mankind, whether in works of the cycle of rebirths or in the [yogic] concentration or in the Vaiṣṇava path.

Note: *Saṁsṛiti* is the same as *saṁsāra*, i.e., passage through successive states of existence or the cycle of rebirths. We here take it in the sense of the fruit of the cycle of rebirths, comprising the first three goals of life (*puruṣārtha*); namely, *artha*, *kāma* and *dharma*, the aggregate of three values (*trivarga*).

4. *śāntānantamahāvibhūti paramaṁ yadbrahma rūpaṁ hareḥ*
mūrtaṁ brahma tatopi tat priyataraṁ rūpaṁ yadatyadbhutaṁ
yānyanyāni yathāsukhaṁ viharato rūpāṇi sarvāṇi
tānyāhussvairanurūparūpavibhavair gāḍhopagūḍhāni te.

That supreme form of unending peace and great power, known as Brahman, that form which is the bodily manifestation of Hari, called Brahman, extremely dear to him and most wonderful, and the other forms which he assumes [at his will] for delight: all these forms, they (Scriptures) declare, are inseparably united with your own form and manifestations, suited to his own.

Note: *Śāntānanda* is another reading, in which case the meaning will be: « That Supreme form of... *bliss* ».

II. ANALYSIS AND EXPLANATION OF THE FOUR STANZAS

Stanza 1:

In the first stanza Yāmuna explains the two aspects of Śrī: the transcendent (*nitya-vibhūti*) and the immanent (*līlā-vibhūti*). The transcendent aspect brings out the nature of Śrī as abiding in the Lord and sharing all his qualities, and the immanent aspect manifests her nature as active in the evolution of the world through the working of *māyā*. All conscious beings, also gods, come under her endless manifestations and are subject to her as her servants. As she is the source of all creation, her glory is boundless and beyond description and she is the exemplary model of the beauty of all creation.

In the *Ahirbudhnya-saṁhitā* Viṣṇu's power is regarded as that by which he has originated the world (*jagat-prakṛti-bhāvo yaḥ sā śaktiḥ*

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parikīrtita, III.2.57). The meaning of Śakti is explained as the subtle condition (*śūkṣmāvasthā*) or thing-in-itself (*idantā*) of any existence (*bhāva*), recognizable only by its effects (ibid. 2.3.). The Śakti of God exists as undifferentiated from him, as the moon-beam from the moon. The universe is but a manifestation of this Śakti. This Śakti of God is bliss (*ānanda*) as it does not depend on anything (*nirapekṣatayānanda*); eternal (*nitya*), for it is not limited in time; complete (*pūrṇa*), for it is not limited by any form; it manifests itself as the world; hence it is called Lakṣmī (*jagattayā lakṣyaamāṇā sā lakṣmīr iti gīyate*, III,9). Lakṣmī is the Lord's « vibration in the form of the world » (*prasphuratā jaganmayī*). With this power God is ever engaged in an eternal creation, unfatigued and unaided by any other agent (*satataṁ kurvato jagat*) (II.59). The Śakti of God as activity (*kriyā*) is free (spontaneous), and of the nature of will and thought resulting in action (*svātantrya-mūla icchātmā prekṣā-rūpaḥ kriyā-phalaḥ*, III.30). It is Lakṣmī who impels the unmanifest (*avyakta*) into the course of evolution and the confrontation of *puruṣa* with the products of *prakṛti*, with the result of running through experience. When Lakṣmī withdraws this function, dissolution follows. Lakṣmī is different from the Lord only as an attribute (*dharma*) differs from its bearer (*dharmin*) or existence (*bhāva*) from him who exists (*bhavat*). The Lord in the highest form is always united with his consort, Lakṣmī (VI.25). His Śakti is of two kinds; namely, as dynamic activity (*kriyākhya*) and as determining being (*bhūti*), the latter being the result of the former (*kriyākhyo yo'yam unmeṣaḥ sa bhūti-parivartakaḥ*, VI.29).

Lakṣmī is the ultimate supreme power in which all other powers are contained. Also the liberated man enters into this Lakṣmī which is the highest abode of Viṣṇu (*paraṁ dhāma* or *paramaṁ padam*). This Śakti fulfills the five functions (*pañca-kṛtya-karī*) of creation, conservation, dissolution, grace and disfavour. This Śakti, always in a state of internal agitation, though apparently peaceful like an ocean, is called the *māyā* of Viṣṇu (*māyā's carya-karatvena pañca-kṛtya-karī sadā*, LI.58).

The *Ahirbudhnya-saṁhitā* favours the view that Viṣṇu's consort is Śrī only, whereas the *Uttaranārāyaṇa* credits him with two consorts Śrī and Bhūmi, and the *Sītā Upaniṣad* and the *Vihagendra-saṁhitā* consider the three consorts of Viṣṇu, Śrī, Bhūmi, Nīlā as identical with the three forms, *icchā* (will), *kriyā* (action) and the direct manifesting power (*sākṣāt-śakti*). The Viśiṣṭādvaita tradition admits the three Consorts of Viṣṇu and we cannot agree with Otto Schrader when he says that this tradition lacks any Scriptural evidence [2]. *Nālāyirap Pirapantam* of the Āḻvārs is sufficient authority for this since it is held as one of the sources of Scriptural authority, and is considered as the Tamil *Veda* by the Vaiṣṇavas.

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2. *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*, Adyar, 1916, p. 54.

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Now let us turn to Nammāḷvār. Lakṣmī is represented as the spouse of Viṣṇu and accepted as such by him.

Aḷaikkum karuṅkaṭal veṇṭiraikkaikkoṇṭupōy alarvāy
maḷaikkaṇmaṭantaiyaravaṇaiyēṟa...

Tiruviruttam 52

The Mother (Lakṣmī) whose eyes are like rain, born of the lotus when she mounted the serpent-bed was accepted (by her Lord) on the white waves of the blue Ocean...

The two following verses portray the status of Śrī Lakṣmī in relation to Viṣṇu and to devotees and the world:

arukalilāyaperuñcīr amararkaḻātimutalvaṉ
karukiyanīlanaṉmēṉivaṇṇaṉ centāmaraikkaṇṇaṉ
poruciraippuḷḷuvantēṟum pūmakaḻārtaṉikkēḻvaṉ
orukatiyiṉcuvaitantiṭṭu oḷivilaṉeṉṉōṭuṭanē.

Deathless, endless, measureless, greatly auspicious, primal being of gods, the beautiful with dark blue body and red lotus eyes, riding on the beautiful (celestial) bird, unique husband of the daughter of the lotus, granting me bliss of unique goal, unites with me.

Tiruvāymoḷi 1.9.3

uṭaṉamarkātalmakaḻir tirumakaḷ maṇmakaḻāyar
maṭamakaḷ eṉṟivarmūvarāḻum ulakamummūṉṟē
uṭaṉavaiyokkaviḻuṅki ālilaiccērntavaṉemmāṉ
kaṭalmalimāyapperumāṉ kaṇṇaṉeṉṉokkalaiyāṉē.

There are three worlds which your three beloved spouses Śrī, Bhū and the well-plaited Nīlā rule (or « protect »). My Lord, greater than the ocean, O Kaṇṇā! who had simultaneously eaten up these (worlds) and lay down on the fig-leaf, resides in my breast (or « heart »).

Ibid. 1.9.4

We also know that in the *Lakṣmītantra*[3] Māyā Śakti, Niyati, and Kāla, the three powers of limitation (*saṁkoca*) appear as « the three mothers and creators of the world », called Mahālakṣmī, Mahāvidyā, and Mahākālī, representing respectively the rājastic, sāttvic, and tāmasic aspect of the Goddess. Whether the three *guṇas* of primal matter (*prakṛti*) are the three worlds mentioned by Nammāḷvār is open to question. The Vaiṣṇava tradition does not appear to identify them with the three worlds. But one thing is certain; namely, that the three divine powers are ultimately united with Śrī, the Supreme Power (Śakti) of God. Śrī is said to be « one » with Viṣṇu. « I will not be parted (from thee) even for a moment, says Śrī, and abide in thy chest » (*akalakillē-*

3. VII.13; IV.67; VI.18-19.

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ṉiṟaiyumeṉṟu alarmēlmaṅkaiyuṟaimārpā, *Tiruvāymoḷi*, 6.10.10) says Nammāḷvār. In fact, Bhagavān is said to be Lakṣmī herself who abides in the lotus (*pūvilvāḷmakaḷāy*, *Tiruvāymoḷi*, 6.3.6).

As Viṣṇu is carried on a serpent which forms the couch and canopy of the God, so also is it the seat and bed of Lakṣmī. Viṣṇu and Śrī are carried on the coils of Śeṣa or Ananta, the serpent without end, the symbol of eternity. Vedātman, « the soul of the Veda », is an attribute of Garuḍa. It is recorded in the *Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā* that fire is looked upon as a bird (*garutmat*) embodying the three *Vedas* (12.4). Garuḍa is presented in the Vedic tradition either as fire or as the three *Vedas*. The pouring of oblations on fire is supposed to satisfy Viṣṇu who grants the sacrificer the attainment of the three worlds. It is small wonder then that Viṣṇu as Yajña-puruṣa has fire as vehicle by which he protects the three worlds where his devotees live. Viṣṇu also rides on the three *Vedas* as their only purport (*tātparya*) and spreads himself out in the three worlds. Hence Garuḍa serves him as vehicle in his movement in the three worlds. Garuḍa, the Lord of birds, is a mythical bird or vulture, half-man and half-bird, on which Viṣṇu rides.

In the mythology the serpents are the sons of Kadru, the tawny, a personification of darkness. Their enemy is Garuḍa, the solar bird, whose lustre is brilliant [4]. The pair of opposites in the two figures is clear enough. Serpents mostly inhabit the depths of the ocean and the bottom of the lakes and rivers, and especially the subterranean region called *pātāla* [5]. Their chieftain is Śeṣa or Ananta who supports the universe and forms the couch of Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu as the cosmic ocean spreads everywhere before the creation of the universe. As Nārāyaṇa (« moving in the waters ») he is represented sleeping on the coiled serpent Śeṣa after the destruction of the universe, and appears at the beginning of things floating on the primordeal waters. According as he sits awake, or sinks back into mystic slumber, he gives birth to creation or draws it back to himself. On the other hand Garuḍa is the king of birds and dominates the sky. His golden body is bright as the sun. He serves Viṣṇu as his steed. Garuḍa is noted for his relentless hatred of snakes, which he inherited from his mother, who was at odds with Kasyapa's principal wife, Kadru, the mother of serpents.

Māyā is the primal matter (*prakṛti*), consisting of the three *guṇas*; it becomes the cause of the obscuration of the true nature of both the individual soul and of the highest self. Owing to its influence man begins to identify himself with his body. Therefore it is called the veil which entices the world. Since *māyā* operates through the power of Śrī, it is called her veil. In the *Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā* it is said that *māyā* or *avidyā* veils the true nature of the *jīva* (individual soul) and the *para* (God) (14.45.3-4; 38.13).

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4. *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* 6.1.6.2; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 3.6.2.2.
5. *Mahābhārata* 1.1284 and 5018.

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Again in the mythology of Vaiṣṇavism Brahmā is said to arise from a lotus which springs from the navel of Viṣṇu as he reposes on a serpent on the primeval waters. Brahmā creates the world by generating the androgyne Rudra-Śiva and the six Prajāpatis, from whom descend all beings. As the Supreme Being is related to the universe through his Śakti, i.e., Lakṣmī, Śrī is invoked as the mother of all beings (the creative principle of all beings) and as the bestower of the fruit of emancipation, i.e., as the intermediary in the work of salvation of souls.

In their totality the six attributes (*guṇas*) such as knowledge or omniscience (*jñāna*), lordship (*aiśvarya*), power (*śakti*), strength (*bala*), virility or unaffectedness (*vīrya*), and splendour (*tejas*) make up what is called the « body » of Vāsudeva, the highest personal God, as well as that of his consort, Lakṣmī. Śrī means « prosperity, welfare, good fortune, success, auspiciousness, wealth, power, might »; it is used in the Vaiṣṇava context as the name of Lakṣmī as Goddess of beauty and prosperity. Being the source of creation and belonging to the transcendent aspect of the Godhead, Śrī is indefinable and indescribable. No wonder then that Yāmuna exclaims: « How can I designate you? ».

Stanza 2:

In Lakṣmī are combined the qualities of unlimited greatness and easy accessibility. Although Lakṣmī's greatness is so unlimited as not to be adequately comprehended even by her omnipotent Lord who is himself unlimited, her devotees can approach her easily as her servants and take refuge in her. The statement that Viṣṇu himself cannot comprehend her greatness does not imply that he lacks omniscience. Indeed, his very nature is omniscience. Omniscience is both the essence and an attribute of Viṣṇu. The greatness of the Lord and his consort being unlimited, when it is said that it could not be known, it only can mean that to know it as an object would imply a limitation, involving a distinction between the known and knower, and that all such objective knowledge is to be denied in the Divinity even with regard to his own greatness. It does not in any way deny omniscience of the Lord, consciousness of his own being, as unlimited as his greatness. Brahman is by essence pure consciousness which can neither be described nor defined by language as « this » or as « such ».

If the greatness of Śrī and her sovereignty impels the devotee to conduct himself as her servant, her mercy shown to those who approach her attracts him to surrender himself entirely to her as protection. The goodness of Śrī is the motive for all fearlessness in the approach to her. Lakṣmī is the spouse of the Supreme Sovereign and this creates in the devotee the sentiments of respect, awe and service. At the same time she is goodness and mercy and this creates in the servant the

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sentiments of nearness, approachability, love and surrender to the Supreme.

The transcendent Lord who is also the inner controller of all beings, eternal and non-eternal, has manifested himself in many ways to men to lead them to bliss and truth. Nammāḷvār speaks of the accessibility of God thus:

yārumōr nilaimaiyaṉeṉa aṟivariyavemperumāṉ
yārumōr nilaimaiyaṉeṉa aṟiveḷiyavemperumāṉ
pērumōrāyiram piṟapalavuṭaiyavemperumāṉ
pērumōruruvamum uḷatillaiyilatillai piṇakkē.

Tiruvāymoḷi 1.3.4

No one (who is not a devotee) can know my Lord as having any one nature. It is easy (for the devotee) to know my Lord as having any one nature. Having thousand names and innumerable forms, my Lord has neither one name nor one form. But to say that he has them not, would lead to controversy.

Similarly Śrī is transcendent and hence cannot be known; but can be known by her devotees who approach her in love and surrender. What Nammāḷvār says of the Lord is true also of his spouse: *Pattuṭaiyaṭiyavarkkeḷiyavaṉ piṟarkaḷukkariya vittakaṉ* (easily accessible to the devotees, difficult for others), ibid. 1.3.1.

Śrī for the religious soul is the embodiment of mercy (*dayā*). Viṣṇu is the dispenser of justice according to each one's merit (*karma-phala-dātā*) and is also the saviour of mankind. But if the reign of righteousness and the reign of redemptive mercy are combined in him, it is thanks to Śrī who is credited with the function of transforming retribution into forgiving love. It is due to Śrī's power that the law is pervaded by love and overwhelmed by tenderness. Śrī mediates between the all-just and omnipotent Lord and the sinful and imperfect man. Viṣṇu is not only the source and centre of the universe (*jagatpati*) but also the Lord of love or *Śrīyaḥpati*. Śrī resides in the heart of Viṣṇu and mediates between him and man in order to redeem the erring man from his sinfulness. The dual conception of the Deity typifies the Fatherhood and the Motherhood of God and inspires the hope of universal salvation.

Prapatti is an act of surrender of man to God which consists in emptying oneself of egoism, a sense of responsibility, and responsiveness to the action of grace. The *prapanna* realizes that his sense of self is washed away by the descent of mercy of Lakṣmī, and he leads a divine life, dedicating himself entirely to the service of God. Nammāḷvār beautifully expresses this attitude of self-surrender thus: *pukaloṉṟillāvaṭiyēṉ uṉṉaṭikkīḻamarntu pukuntēṉē* (I as a servant without any other refuge took to residing under your feet). *Tiruvāymoḷi* 6.10.10. *Prapatti* is not an arduous task but requires a change of heart and a living faith in the saving power of Lakṣmī's *dayā*. As the *prapanna* casts himself on the *dayā* of Śrī, the weight of worldly life is removed, and he becomes fearless (*nirbhaya*).

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Stanza 3:

In the third stanza Yāmuna praises Śrī as the saviour of the world in its existence and manifestation and as the saviour of men in as far as she helps them by her grace to attain salvation by the practice of the different ways of salvation. Śrī is presented as instrumental in working out both cosmic salvation and individual attainment to liberation (*mukti*).

Creation is an expression of the divine mercy (*dayā*). According to the *Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*, it is with the power of his that Viṣṇu is engaged in the ever recurring act of creation. This power in its passive aspect manifests itself as *avyakta*, *kāla* and *puruṣa* (III.30,31); in its active aspect (*kriyā*) it produces material and spiritual beings. Lakṣmī as Viṣṇu-śakti impels the unmanifest to evolve itself into the manifest and makes the *puruṣa* join the products of *prakṛti* and undergo the experiences of human life. When Śrī withdraws these functions there follows dissolution (*pralaya*). At the end of the process of the involution Viṣṇu's Śakti returns to the condition of *Brahman* (*brahma-bhāvaṁ vrajati*), just like a conflagration, at the lack of combustible matter, returns to the latent condition of fire (*vahni-bhāvam*) (Ibid. ch.4).

The cosmic salvation means not only the reactivation of the universe into new life and prosperity and the reparation of the unlawful and unrighteous but also the re-establishment of the right order and its maintenance. Further, even the period of dissolution is not without its salvific connotation, for during this period of dissolution souls are supposed to rest for a while before entering into the period of activity and effort. Thus Śrī is the agent of all newness in creation, prosperity in life and rich abundance and beauty in cosmic and human life.

Still more important is the role of Śrī as the grace-giving Goddess who undertakes to help religious aspirants to achieve salvation from the cycle of rebirths and the effects of sin in all their efforts, especially the three great religious paths to reach God and realize him. The fruit which accrues to one in the state of *saṃsāra*, such as *artha*, *kāma*, and *dharma* is the result of Śrī's grace. This is not surprising, given that Śrī is the Goddess of good fortune, wealth and prosperity in the temporal and moral order, in as far as one performs one's duty (*svadharma*) in a religious spirit to please God. Also the yogic concentration which is practised for the achievement of self-realization is due to the grace of Śrī. This is understandable because Śrī is the Goddess of splendour and light of knowledge. *A fortiori*, the typical Vaiṣṇava path of salvation which consists in *prapatti* is possible only by the help of Śrī's grace.

Nammāḻvār states that Śrī destroys the evil of *karma*. Lakṣmī who resides in the ever fragrant lotus destroys (the evil of) *karma* (*vērimāṟā-tapūmēliruppāḷ viṉaitīrkkumē*). *Tiruvāymoḷi* 4.5.11. Again, « Having thy grace and the grace of thy consort who abides in the lotus I will sweep the floor of thy temple... » (*niṉ tiruvaruḷum paṅkayattāḷ tiruvaruḷum koṇṭu niṉ kōyil cīyttuppalpaṭikāl...*) (Ibid. 9.2.1).

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In brief, the grace of Śrī is at the root of all prosperity, material, moral, spiritual, and without it no man can attain the feet of the Lord who ever lives in the company of Śrī.

Stanza 4:

In this final verse Yāmuna states that Śrī is associated intimately with all the manifestations of Viṣṇu. It is well known that in the Pāñcarātra literature Nārāyaṇa is interpreted as the five-fold self-manifestation of God by means of his *Para, Vyūha, Vibhava, Antaryāmin,* and *Arcā* forms.

Para Brahma is the Absolute, immutable, infinite and most powerful. This Absolute possesses all power, and the six attributes, and transcends all forms and names and beyond the reach of mind or speech. This is the absolute form of God.

Viṣṇu's Will-to-be (*syām iti saṁkalpaḥ*) is called Sudarśana which transcends time and space; everything in the world is dependent on and pervaded by Sudarśana. He is called Nārāyaṇa in as far as he is the ultimate refuge of all beings; Paramātma, in as far as he is the inner controller; Vāsudeva in as far as he pervades all beings; Avyakta, for he is the unmanifest source of all manifest beings; Prakṛti, for he is the source of all that originates; Pradhāna because he is the primary and ultimate cause of all effects; called also Brahma because of his greatness and sustaining power. This can be called the defined form of God.

Vyūhas are his manifestations and *Vibhavas* are his incarnations; *arcā* forms are the images of the deity; and the aspect of indwelling of God is called *Antaryāmin.*

Now Lakṣmī corresponds to all these forms of Viṣṇu; in the Absolute form she is Viṣṇu's Śakti (power), one of the six attributes of the Absolute. As Sudarśana implies will, knowledge and activity, this triple power is attributed to Śrī also. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* narrates under various names the appearance of Śrī in the diverse incarnations of Viṣṇu thus:

> « As the Lord of the world, the God of gods, Janārddana descends amongst mankind [in various shapes], so does his coadjutor Śrī. Thus when Hari was born a dwarf, the son of Āditi, Lakṣmī appeared from the lotus as Padmā, or Kamalā; when he was born as Rāma (Parasurāma) of the race of Bṛigu, she was Dharanī; when he was Rāghava (Rāma), she was Sītā; and when he was Krishṇa, she was Rukminī. In the other descents of Viṣṇu she was his associate. If he takes a celestial form, she appears as divine; if a mortal, she becomes a mortal too, transforming her own person agreably to whatever character it pleases Vishṇu to assume » [6].

6. *The Viṣṇu Purāṇa,* Translation by H. Wilson, p. 69. (Calcutta Reprint, 1961).

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All these forms of God are closely united with the forms of Śrī. Śakti is a subtle state of God himself, indescribable, inseparably united with God, as the moon beam with the moon. It cannot exist separately (*apṛthak-sthita*) from him. The universe is the spontaneous manifestation of this power. It is called bliss (*ānanda*) as it does not depend on anything; eternal (*nitya*) for it is not limited in time; complete (*pūrṇa*), as it is unlimited by any form; it manifests itself as the world and hence is called Lakṣmī.

III. - TOWARDS A THEOLOGY OF ŚRĪ

The Supreme God in Hinduism possesses a double nature: one quiescent, the other active. The active is called the power of God (Śakti) and is personified as his consort or the female half of his essence, and the quiescent is called his male half. In Śaivism Śiva is the reconciliation of all opposites; therefore he is both creator and destroyer, terrible and mild, male and female, eternal rest and endless activity. Pārvati is the power by which he creates, sustains, and destroys the world. This divine androgeny is also found in Vaiṣṇavism. God is called « Father and Mother », « Husband and Wife », to allude to their completeness and their creative power. Androgeny is the distinguishing mark of an original totality in which all opposites are reconciled and all possibilities are found united.

But the specific contribution of the Vaiṣṇavite androgeny consists in conceiving the Godhead as a unity of righteousness (*dharma*) and mercy (*dayā*), of retribution of action (*karma*) and pity or compassion (*kṛpā*). The Lord rules by justice and Śrī by love; the Lord governs the world by his relentless law of *karma* and Śrī by her mercy and pitiful love. These two aspects of law and love are intertwined in the divine nature. Thus Viṣṇu and Śrī are functionally distinguishable but theologically they form the pair of opposites but united inseparably to point to a higher unity of the Absolute God. In other words the sublime mystery of the Godhead is and can be undestood only by means of the opposites and expressed only by the pair of contraries. The unutterable divine mystery of the God of justice and mercy is expressed and experienced by man by means of what is accessible to him, namely the symbolism of what belongs to the cosmos and man.

What is extremely deep in the Vaiṣṇava theology is the conception of Śrī as mediator (*puruṣa-kāra*) of grace between God and man. Śrī mediates on behalf of the sinner in so far as she is the link of mercy, tansforming the Lord into the Saviour and the man into the penitent seeker after pardon and salvation. This concept of mediation is something unique in Hinduism, for though the incarnations of Viṣṇu (*ava-*

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tāra) mediate between man and God in the sense of showing the true moral and spiritual path to be followed in order to attain liberation, the conception of Śrī as mediator is much deeper and shows that salvation is not merely man-making but God-given as pure gift of mercy and love.

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R. E. EMMERICK

RAVIGUPTA'S PLACE IN INDIAN MEDICAL TRADITION

The importance of Indian medicine in the history of Indian culture in general and of Indian and world medicine in particular has long been recognised in European scholarly circles. One of the most useful surveys of Indian medicine, especially of Indian medical literature was Julius Jolly's contribution *Medicin* to the *Grundiss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde.* This work was published in Strassburg in 1901, but it has in many respects not been replaced and is still constantly quoted. A volume on the history of Indian medicine that may be expected to replace Jolly's work has been announced for publication in the *Handbuch der Orientalistik.* This contribution is being prepared by a practising psychiatrist in Holland, who has only recently set before the public his first work on Indian medicine. I am, of course, referring to G. J. Meulenbeld's book pubished in Leiden in 1974 as vol. XIX of the series « Orientalia Rheno-Traiectina » entitled *The Mādhavanidāna and its chief commentary, chapters 1-10, Introduction, translation and notes.*

Another European medical practitioner who turned to the study of Indian medicine is the well-known French Indologist Jean Filliozat, whose most widely known work in this field in his *La doctrine classique de la médecine indienne* (Paris, 1949). This book has been unobtainable for very many years and is now mainly referred to in the form of Dev Raj Chanana's English translation *The classical doctrine of Indian medicine* (Delhi, 1964). One of Filliozat's interests for many years has been the *Hārītasaṃhitā,* on which his pupil Alix Raison has also been working. Her edition and translation of the first section of the *Hārītasaṃhitā* was published in Pondicherry in 1974: *La Hārītasaṃhitā, texte médical sanskrit avec un index de nomenclature âyurvédique.*

It is not my intention to survey here the entire European literature on the subject of Indian medicine, and one could hardly begin to enumerate the vast body of literature produced on the subject in India. The above remarks are intended merely to indicate that the subject is

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still being pursued in Europe, although it has always been regarded, and still is, as on the fringes of Indology.

Of more interest, perhaps, is the question of what the most outstanding desiderata are. In my opinion, there can be no doubt that the most urgently required item is the detailed critical edition of the major texts. In Europe nothing at all has been done in this respect in the last sixty odd years, indeed since A. F. R. Hoernle's famous edition of *The Bower manuscript* (Calcutta, 1908). Alix Raison's edition of the *Hārītasaṃhitā* is in fact only a collation of Indian editions with occasional reference to two modern copies of the text found in the Cordier collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

In India the situation is rather different. A very considerable number of medical texts has been edited and published, often together with valuable commentaries. Nevertheless, even so the process of textual transmission has not received adequate attention. Before a proper critical edition can be produced, it is necessary that all known MSS. of a given text be listed, described, and as far as possible dated. Where possible it should be established which MSS were copied from which, but even so the readings of the copies should still be collated since the copyist may have had other materials at his disposal that enabled him to improve upon the text before him. When the readings of all the MSS have been collated carefully, the choice has to be made as to which reading is to be placed in the text and which readings are to be relegated to the critical apparatus. Additional readings may be deducible from translations of early date, for example, into Tibetan or Khotanese. But it is possible that the correct text has not been transmitted in any extant MS. There are various criteria for determining whether the MS tradition is corrupt. The grammar, the metre, and the sense provided by the MS readings can all be used to this end.

The last of these items, the sense provided, is particularly important in the case of editing medical texts and that not only from the point of view of practical medical treatment. Indian medical tradition is relatively uniform. The basic principles were established at an early date that is not exactly determinable and the main line of development over the centuries lay in reorganising the material and adding details especially recipes.

The reorganisation of the traditional material took two main forms. In some cases it was merely a matter of expressing in verse what was elsewhere known in prose form, in other cases, of transferring the material from one metre to another. Thematic reorganisation also played an important role. It is well known that the later Indian medical writers arranged their material in a number of chapters each dealing with a specific topic such as fever, whereas the earlier authors Caraka, Suśruta, and Vāgbhaṭa arranged their material according to different principles. The order according to which the diseases were to be described seems to have been standardised by Mādhava.

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One consequence of this basic uniformity of Indian medical tradition is that the correct interpretation and reading of a passage in one medical author can in many cases be determined only after consideration of parallel passages in other medical works. This proposition I have demonstrated in some detail in my article « On Ravigupta's *gaṇas* » in BSOAS, XXXIV.3, 1971, 363-375. In that article I attempted to show, among other things, how the groups of medicaments (Sanskrit *gaṇa-* or *varga-*), as traditionally handed down in Suśruta, Vāgbhaṭa, and Ravigupta, consist basically of the same medicaments although referred to by various synonyms for metrical or stylistic reasons. The correct rendering of an ambiguous plant name in such cases can be determined only by reference to the corresponding term in another source.

Thus it would be impossible to know how to translate Skt. *śyāmā-* correctly in Siddhasāra 2.16 if one did not consult the parallels in Suśruta and Vāgbhaṭa. A glance at the index (p. 144) to the *Dhanvantarinighaṇṭu* edited by V. G. Āpṭe shows that *śyāmā-* has at least nineteen equivalents. When the *gaṇa-* is compared with the corresponding ones in Suśruta (*Sū.* 38.20) and Vāgbhaṭa (*Sū.* 15.14), by a process of elimination *śyāmā-* can be equated with Suśruta's *priyaṅgu-* and Vāgbhaṭa's *phalinī-*. The latter is correctly glossed *priyaṅgu-* by the commentator Aruṇadatta. *śyāmā-* is listed as one of the synonyms of *priyaṅgu-* in the *Dhanvantarinighaṇṭu* (*varga* 3.4). As pointed out by me in the abovementioned article (pp. 370-1), the Tibetan translator of Ravigupta merely transcribed *śyāmā-* as *śyama* adding mechanically the word *rća* (grass) in front of it, whereas the Khotanese translator correctly rendered *priyaṃgä*.

The revised third edition of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* with Dalhaṇa's commentary published by the Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay, 1938, gives for the *vacādi-gaṇa* (*Sū.* 38.26) the following reading without variants:

vacā-mustātiviṣābhayā-bhadra-dārūṇi nāga-keśaraṃ ceti.

When this *gaṇa-* is compared with the corresponding statements in Ravigupta (2.17) and Vāgbhaṭa (*Sū.* 15.35), it is apparent that *nāga-keśaraṃ* here is represented by *nāgara-* in Ravigupta and Vāgbhaṭa and this *nāgara-* is required by the metre in those two authors. But *nāga-keśara-* and *nāgara-* cannot be equated.

In an edition of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* without Dalhaṇa's commentary, prepared by the same editor and published by the same press in 1945, the same text is provided for this *gaṇa-* but the variant reading *nāgaraṃ* is found in the apparatus. The variant was ignored by K. K. Bhishagratna in his translation of *The Sushruta Samhita*, vol. 1, p. 347. He renders the word in question by « Nágakeshara » without comment. But the evidence of Ravigupta and Vāgbhaṭa shows clearly that the discrepancy in the text of Suśruta should be ascribed merely to the inadequately critical editions of Suśruta.

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Even from the above scanty remarks it will be clear that the study of Indian medical literature has not yet proceeded, despite the remarkably extensive secondary literature, beyond a rather elementary philological level. It will not be easy to achieve better results since the necessary critical editions cannot yet be adequately prepared because they can only be made satisfactorily by making full use of parallels in other medical texts and those other texts are also in the same state. A beginning can only be made by collecting and describing all the MSS of each text and carefully collating all the significant readings contained in those MSS.

Because of the so-called « floating traditions » whereby verses were current in various parts of India at various times among various schools, many verses conveying medical lore are found to be common to more than one medical author. In addition, we have to reckon in later times with the technique of compilation, which in the case of a practically orientated subject like medicine may date from a very early period. The compilation may take several forms. In the case of Mādhava's *Mādhavanidāna*, the author seems to have decided upon a framework according to which the corpus of medical knowledge was to be described in thirty-two chapters each dealing with a separate topic. Such an arrangement, in thirty-one chapters, had already been introduced by Ravigupta, but the order adopted by Mādhava prevailed among subsequent writers. Within this framework, Mādhava selected verses from earlier writers that he thought best suited to the particular topic.

Another method of compilation can be seen in MS A of the *Siddhasāra*. There the copyist, while copying the text of the *Siddhasāra*, added from other sources, as yet not always identifiable, in between verses of the *Siddhasāra* other verses relevant to the subject being discussed.

Yet another method of compilation is anthological in type. This type is represented, for example, by what I have called « The Paris Siddhasāra » (see (BSOAS, XXXVII.3, 1974, 636). The original of this type of anthology was probably the jottings of a practising physician who from time to time noted down verses or prose passages that he considered it worth collecting. This differs from a compilatory work such as Mādhava's inasmuch as Mādhava's verses are not selected at random but deliberately to accord with his framework.

It has, of course, long been known that identical verses occur in more than one medical work and in some cases, such as Sudarśanaśāstrī's edition of the *Mādhavanidāna* (Kāśī Sanskrit Series 158, ed. 2, Benares 1960), the attempt has been made systematically to track down the sources of all the verses.

The question of identical verses leads on to what I consider to be an important desideratum for the philological advance of Indian medical literature. That is a *pratīka* index to the whole of medical literature along the lines of the splendid index to the whole of the *Mahābhārata* edited by P. L. Vaidya, of which I have five volumes published in Poona

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from 1967 to 1971. Vaidya's exemplary index is to verse quarters, which is, of course, ideal, but in the case of the medical literature it would be adequate to have an alphabetical index to each line. In this way various metres could be accommodated and even the beginnings of prose sections. The task of preparing such an index is not as formidable as might at first appear. The index I made to the *Siddhasāra* was the work of two days. Nearly a thousand of the 2, 636 verse-lines of that text recur in other medical texts and the total number of *different* verses in Cakrapāṇidatta, Vaṅgasena, and Vṛnda cannot be all that large. Such an index could no doubt most easily be made in India since it is difficult to get access to many medical texts in Europe, and there is no centre here with a significant collection of medical texts.

At first sight, it might seem unnecessary to have such an index because the later texts are arranged by topics into chapters. But a little time spent in systematically tracking down identical verses shows that they are not infrequently to be found in different chapters in different medical works.

A verse that has been taken by a compilator from another work may not be so readily translatable as when the verse is in its fuller context. Thus, the verse:

deśaṃ kālaṃ vayo vahniṃ sātmya-prakṛti-bheṣajam
dehaṃ sattvaṃ balaṃ vyādher dṛṣṭvā karma samācaret

occurs in *Hārītasaṃhitā* 1.3.3 and is translated by Alix Raison: « Ayant vu la région, le temps, l'âge, le feu, le médicament de nature idoine, le corps, l'être psychique, la force de la maladie, il doit agir ».

The variant reading *sātmyaṃ prakṛti-bheṣaje*, listed by her on p. 216, is in itself an indication that three separate items are involved here rather than the improbable compound *sātmya-prakṛti-bheṣaja-* meaning « le médicament de nature idoine » (« medicine of suitable nature »).

In fact, this verse[1] has been taken from Ravigupta's *Siddhasāra* (1.33) and should be read:

deśa-kāla-vayo-vahni-sātmya-prakṛti-bhaiṣajyam
deha-sattva-bala-vyādhīn dṛṣṭvā karma samārabhet.

« (In making use of the administration of drugs) one should begin the treatment having had regard (to these): region, time, age, digestive fire, habit, character, drug, body, courage, strength, and illness ».

The translation given follows the Tibetan rendering, the accuracy of which is apparent from the subsequent verses, which expound in more detail the eleven items (not eight as in Alix Raison's translation) listed in this verse. Thus, *prakṛti-* does not refer to the nature of the drug but to the character of the patient, in particular whether he has a

1. First published by H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese texts I*, Cambridge, 1945, p. 107.

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character dominated by wind (*vāta-prakṛtiko naraḥ* 1.44), bile (*pitta-prakṛtir* 1.45), or phlegm (*śleṣma-prakṛtiko naraḥ* 1.46) or by various combinations of those humours (1.47). Similarly, *bala-* does not refer to the strength of the disease but to the strength of the patient, who must be examined to see whether he is capable of endurance (*sthairya-*), enjoys exercise (*vyāyāma-*), and is hardy[2] (*sāratva-*) (1.41).

The use of a line-index would make it relatively easy to compile a list of the sources of a work such as Mādhava's *Mādhavanidāna*. For this work we have in the case of the first ten chapters the exemplary concordance provided by Meulenbeld (op. cit. 351-4). It can readily be seen from such a concordance that most chapters of Mādhava consist in selected verses from Caraka, Suśruta, and Vāgbhaṭa plus the occasional unidentified verse. Such a chapter is chapter five on haemorrhoids. Of the total of 44 verses Meulenbeld has traced to Caraka, Suśruta, and Vāgbhaṭa all except 5.1 and 5.24ab. These verses occur in Ravigupta's chapter on haemorrhoids (Siddhasāra 13.1 and 13.5).

It is true that the verses in question occur also in Bhāvamiśra (*Ci.* 5.1 and 5.34) and Vaṅgasena (*Arśas* 1 and 29), but both these authors are later in date than Mādhava and like Mādhava are compilators with many verses taken from the classical medical writers. In their case the source is likely to have been Mādhava. In Ravigupta, on the other hand, the situation is quite different since the verses in question belong to a chapter containing no verses at all from the classical medical writers. In fact, the only places where I have been able to find any of these verses again are the works of later writers: Bhāvamiśra, Cakrapāṇidatta, Vṛnda, and Vaṅgasena. What is true of this chapter is almost universally true of the *Siddhasāra*. Scarcely any of its verses can be traced in Caraka, Suśruta, or Vāgbhaṭa, although some verses are so similar that it is hard to believe that they are entirely independent.

Thus, consider a verse such as 5.68:

doṣasyaikasya saṃvṛddhyā śamanenocchritasya vā
śleṣma-sthānānuvṛttyā vā jvaraṃ hanyāt tri-doṣa-jam.

« By increase of a single humour or by pacification of a dominant one or by successively treating the spheres of phlegm (bile, and wind, in that order) one would remove fever that has arisen due to the three humours (combined) ».

It is difficult to believe that this verse arose independently of Caraka, *Ci.* 3.286-7:

vardhanenaika-doṣasya kṣapaṇenocchritasya vā
kapha-sthānānupūrvyā sannipatā-jvaraṃ jayet.

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2. Tib. *sra-ba* but *sāra* refers more to strength of character according to Suśruta, *Sū*, 35.16.

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« By increase of a single humour or by diminution of a dominant one or by (treating in) succession the spheres of phlegm (etc.), one would overcome fever due to tridiscordance ». This *śloka* is found also in Vāgbhaṭa, *Ci.* 1.148, with a stylistic variation in the final *pāda*: *tulya-kakṣān jayen malān* « would overcome humours of equal strength ».

Yet the relationship is not clear apart from the underlying uniformity of the medical tradition involved. The reading *anupūrvyā* is assumed by the commentators, Ḍalhaṇa in the case of Caraka, and Aruṇadatta and Hemādri in the case of Vāgbhaṭa. Whether *anupūrvī-* in the sense of *anukrama-* as explained by Ḍalhaṇa is an ad hoc explanation for a corrupt reading or whether *anupūrvī-* is in fact an attested technical term that has not yet found its way into the dictionaries cannot at present be decided. At any rate, the reading *anuvṛttyā* provided by the Nepalese MSS for the Siddhasāra is worth serious consideration.

Meulenbeld examines the evidence concerning the date of Mādhava (pp. 16-21) and decides in favour of about AD 700. The *Mādhavanidāna* is referred to by Vṛnda in his *Siddhayoga* and Vṛnda lived about AD 800-900. In addition, it is probable that the *Mādhavanidāna* is referred to in the *Firdaws al-ḥikma* of the Arabic writer ᶜAlī b. Sahl al-Ṭabarī. This work was written in AD 849-850, and some time must have elapsed after the composition of the *Mādhavanidāna* for it to have become famous enough to be used as an important source by an Arabic author in Persia.

Ravigupta's *Siddhasāra* was translated into Tibetan early in the ninth century and into Khotanese in the ninth or tenth century. The Tibetan translators append their names to the Tibetan version: Ādityavarman, Candra, and Jinamitra. This Jinamitra must certainly be the Jinamitra who took part in the compilation of the *Mahāvyutpatti* in the first quarter of the ninth century. He is mentioned in the Chronicles of Ladakh as having been invited to Tibet as a translator by the Tibetan king Ral-pa-can [3]. That he was a pundit living under Ral-pa-can is attested also by the Chang-so chih-lun [4]. Ral-pa-can's reign has been given as AD 841-836 by Roerich [5].

At the beginning of the ninth century, the *Siddhasāra* was sufficiently famous for it to have been translated into Tibetan and admitted to the Tibetan canon. At the same time or later it was extensively quoted by Vṛnda. But it is clearly likely to have been written considerably earlier and if Mādhava is correctly assigned to AD 700, a date of about AD 600 seems likely for Ravigupta. This would make Ravigupta contemporary with Vāgbhaṭa and may well account for the absence of identical verses in Ravigupta and Vāgbhaṭa.

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3. A. H. Francke and F. W. Thomas, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Part II, *The Chronicles of Ladakh and minor chronicles*, Calcutta, 1926, p. 89.
4. See E. Haarh, *The Yar-luṅ dynasty*, København, 1969, pp. 81-2.
5. G. N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, part I, Calcutta, 1949, p. XIX.

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A further point of contact between Vāgbhaṭa and Ravigupta may be mentioned in passing although it is difficult to see what, if anything may be inferred from it: Vāgbhaṭa was the son of Siṃhagupta as mentioned at the end of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā*.

A further link between Vāgbhaṭa and Ravigupta is the fact that they are placed side by side in a list of medical authorities cited by Niścala probably in chronological order[6]. Here Vāgbhaṭa precedes, but he belongs on stylistic grounds in any case to the writers of *saṃhitās* on the model of Suśruta and Caraka whereas Ravigupta is the earliest author from whom we have a compendium in the later style, in which the material is arranged in 31 chapters[7] each treating a different topic. It is possible that Ravigupta introduced this new arrangement and that that is the reason why Mādhava quotes him as an authority equal to that of the three classical authors. The new arrangement clearly had great practical advantages and became an accepted feature of later medical literature. Although the new arrangement was adopted by Mādhava, his order of chapters differs from that of Ravigupta and it was Mādhava's order that became standard.

Ravigupta's *Siddhasāra* has still to be edited. The Khotanese version insofar as it is extant has been published in an excellent facsimile edition[8] and in transcription[9]. Bailey's *Khotanese texts I* contains also provisional transcriptions[10] of those parts of the Sanskrit text and its Tibetan version that correspond to the Khotanese remains. Some of the problems involved in editing the Sanskrit text have been discussed in a series of articles by myself[11]. My edition of the Sanskrit text should have acquired publishable form within about eighteen months.

In my article called *New light on the Siddhasāra* published in *BSOAS*, XXXVII. 3, 1974, 628-654, I pointed out there are five MSS of Ravigupta's *Siddhasāra* contained on the microfilms belonging to the library of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft and forming part of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project. These MSS I have assigned the sigla ABCDE, retaining A and B for the two MSS long known from the collection of photographs in Oxford. Of these MSS, the first four are complete or virtually complete. MS E survives only in incomplete form. There are 17 folios representing seven sequences of the text of the *Siddhasāra* and two folios forming a single sequence of the *Siddhasāra-nighaṇṭu*. The latter short text is an extremely useful guide to the plant names occurring in the *Siddhasāra*. The

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6. See D. N. Bhattacharyya, *New light on Vaidyaka Literature*, in *IHQ*, 1947, p. 139.
7. Listed by me in BSOAS, XXXIV.1, 1971, pp. 637-643.
8. H. W. Bailey, *Codices khotanenses*, Copenhagen, 1938.
9. H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese texts I*, Cambridge, 1945 (2nd ed., Cambridge, 1969).
10. See my review in *Asia Major*, XV.1, 1969, pp. 115-7.
11. TPS, 1970, pp. 115-20; BSOAS, XXXIV.1, 1971, pp. 91-112; XXXIV.2, 1971, pp. 363-75; XXXVII.3, 1974, pp. 628-654.

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Siddhasāra-nighaṇṭu contains 193 verses in *śloka* metre. It is found complete, though with some broken folio edges, in MSS B and C. Verses 3 - 7 are missing in the case of MS D because of the loss of folios 71 - 2. These folios may, of course, not actually be lost: possibly the photographer has simply overlooked them. MS E contains verses 90 - 192 of the *Siddhasāra-nighaṇṭu*.

In addition to the above palm-leaf MSS of the *Siddhasāra*, a MS in *devanāgarī* characters entitled *Siddhasārasaṃhitā* is known to be in the Palmyr Cordier Collection at the Bibliothèque Nationale. I have called it « The Paris Siddhasāra ». It is in fact a medley of verses from the *Siddhasāra* and other medical texts, arranged seemingly at random. It is a modern copy bearing the siglum « Madras no. 123 » and was copied by K. Sampath Kumarachakravarthi between 15.11.1901 and 10.7.1902 at the « G.O.M.S.S. Library, Madras ». It is, of course, quite probable that the original MS from which this copy was made is still in existence and may turn up in Madras at any time.

Even if this « Madras Siddhasāra » should be found, it is unlikely that the history of the textual transmission of the *Siddhasāra* would prove traceable as far back in time as the Nepalese MSS. The most securely dateable of the five known Nepalese MSS of the *Siddhasāra* is MS C. Its colophon states that it was written at Patan on Wednesday, September 9th, AD 1114. MS A may date to AD 1374 and MS B to AD 1443. I have found no indication of date in the case of MSS D and E.

Complete evaluation of the relationship between the known MSS must await the completion of a study of their variant readings. Nevertheless, the broad lines can already be sketched. The close relationship between B and C is the first feature that strikes one. Their readings agree very closely and they agree in inserting here and there additional verses that are not found in the other MSS and are not reflected in the Khotanese and Tibetan versions. Additional verses are also numerous in MS A but these tend not to be found in the other MSS. MS E has not yet received sufficient attention to be considered in this connection. The insertion of additional verses is rarer in D.

The close relationship generally observable between B and C is simply to be ascribed to the fact that B was copied from C. This can be established from the following consideration. After 3.22.2 seven verses are inserted by B and C that are not found in AD and are not reflected in the Khotanese or Tibetan. Between 3.22.2 + 2 and 3, B inserts 3.24.4 — 5, which, like 3.22.2 + 1 — 2, having at first been forgotten and omitted by C, was added at the bottom of folio 7r. Evidently B overlooked the caret marking the correct position of 3.24.4 — 5. Moreover, when B repeats 3.24.4 — 5 at B 11 v 3 — 4, it is still not in the correct position between 3.24.3 and 6 but between 3.22.14 — 5 and 3.23.1. C has carets in both positions, having apparently first inserted the caret in the wrong place between 3.22.14 — 5 and 3.23.1 but not erased it.

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The importance of D's independent tradition can be seen from the fact that D sometimes preserves the correct reading where ABC do not. Thus, at 3.21.12 the parallels from Suśruta and Vaṅgasena confirm D's reading *sāmitā*, whereas the readings of ABC indicate *sāmiṣā*, which is also implied by the Tibetan. Similarly, at 23.26 where ABC have *kṛcchraṃ*, I proposed reading *kṛtsnaṃ* on the strength of the Khotanese and Tibetan and this reading is now attested by D.

It is not uncommon that both A and D have the correct reading against BC. Thus, at 3.26.3 — 4 AD indicate the reading *śoṣa-* as do the Khotanese and Tibetan, while BC have *śvāsa-*. Similarly, at 3.32.6 AD indicate *bhāṣyoṣṇa-* in agreement with the Tibetan while BC have *kārśyoṣṇa-*.

Finally, there are indications that E is related to A. Thus, at 5.14 AE have *kṣaya-* while BCD have *kṣata-*. At 5.65 AE indicate *śoṣa-* as do the Tibetan and Cakrapāṇidatta, whereas BC have *śvāsa-* like Vaṅgasena and D indicates *śopha-*. At 26.42 AE have *stimirāṇi* and BC *stimitāni* while D has the correct reading *timirāṇi*.

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APPENDIX

The name Ravigupta is known apart from the *Siddhasāra.* J. Naudou[1] is inclined to the view that there were three Raviguptas, of whose works we have translations in the Tibetan canon. Several works he ascribes to the Ravigupta who is said to have founded a cult of Tārā in Kashmir. These works pertain to that cult. This Ravigupta he dates (op. cit. pp. 65, 68) to the eighth century on the strength of a statement by Tāranātha. The *Siddhasāra* he attributes to « un Ravigupta indéterminé qui n'est peut-être ni le logicien, ni l'adorateur de la Tārā ». The third Ravigupta is the logician, dated by Naudou to the tenth century (op. cit. p. 105).

The Blue Annals[2] give an account of the transmission of Ravigupta's teachings down to Dānaśīla, who was probably the Dānaśīla who collaborated with Jinamitra, one of the translators of the Siddhasāra into Tibetan at the beginning of the ninth century. At any rate, Dānaśīla transmitted the doctrine to Mal-gyo, who preached it to Sa-chen, whom Roerich dated to AD 1092-1158. There may, of course, be gaps in these lists and the Blue Annals do not mention among Ravigupta's pupils Sarvajñamtira, yet according to Tāranātha[3] Sarvajñamitra was a pupil of Ravigupta. This Sarvajñamitra worked with Jinamitra and others on the translation of the Vinaya into Tibetan at the beginning of the ninth century, and it is for this reason that Naudou dates his teacher Ravigupta to the eighth century. This reasoning is not convincing. Sarvajñamitra is no more likely to have been a direct

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1. J. NAUDOU, *Les bouddhistes kaśmīriens au moyen age*, Paris, 1968, p. 66 n. 2.
2. English translation by G. ROERICH, *The Blue Annals*, Part Two Calcutta: 1953, p. 1051. Tibetan text ed. LOKESH CHANDRA, *The Blue Annals*, New Delhi, 1974 (Śata-piṭaka Series Indo-Asian Literatures, vol. 212), pp. 932-3.
3. German translation by A. SCHIEFNER, *Târanâtha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, St Petersburg, 1869, p. 170. Tibetan text ed. A. SCHIEFNER, *Târanâthae de doctrinae buddhicae in India propagatione narratio*, St Petersburg, 1868, p. 130 (last line): *hdi ñi-ma sbas-pahi slob-ma yin-no.*

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pupil of Ravigupta than is Dānaśīla, and if the account of the Blue Annals proves anything, it proves that according to tradition there was a long line of succession between Ravigupta and the translators of the Tibetan canon. There is no reason therefore to assume for the Ravigupta associated with the cult of Tārā a date later than the seventh century.

Since this Ravigupta may well have lived at the same time as the Ravigupta who composed the *Siddhasāra*, the question arises whether we have to do with one and the same person or not. The author of the *Siddhasāra* tells[4] us that he was the « son of the veterinary doctor Durgagupta from the West » and that he composed this work « on the insistence of his elder brother Devagupta, having regard to his (brother's) yellow disease (*pāṇḍu-nāgaṃ*) ». Now this sparse piece of information is particularly interesting in the light of the story found in the *Blue Annals*, according to which Ravigupta received the *sādhana* (*sgrub-thabs*) from Tārā when he had been cured by Tārā of leprosy (*kluhi gnod-pa*) after praying for three months in a hut he had built west of the *vihāra* of Tārā in Kashmir.

According to Naudou (op. cit. p. 65 n. 5) *kluhi gnod-pa* is not leprosy but *visarpa*, a kind of erysipelas, but he gives no evidence for this interpretation and the regular rendering of Sanskrit *visarpa-* in medical texts is *me-dbal. kluhi gnod-pa* « *nāga*-disease » is not a term I have met with in medical texts providing a Sanskrit equivalent, but Chos-kyi grags-pa's *Tibetan dictionary* explains *klu-gnod* (=*klu-nad*) by *mje-nad*, which is the usual equivalent for Sanskrit *kuṣṭha-*, a kind of skin disease traditionally rendered by « leprosy ». This would tend to confirm Roerich's rendering aaginst Naudou's « improvement ». *pāṇḍu-nāga-* in the last verse of the *Siddhasāra* was understood — and perhaps read — by the translators into Tibetan as meaning the same as *pāṇḍu-roga-* since it was rendered *skya-rbab-kyi nad*. The text is known, however, from three MSS, all of which have here quite clearly the reading *pāṇḍu-nāgaṃ* (B 82 v 4, C 48 r 5, D 70 v 4).

Whatever the correct reading may be and whatever the precise disease involved, it is clear that we are dealing here with varieties of skin diseases. It is not inconceivable that the legend recorded in the *Blue Annals* concerning Ravigupta's being healed of a skin disease reflects an imperfect recollection of the healing of his elder brother Devagupta likewise of a skin disease.

A further argument in favour of the identity of the Siddhasāra Ravigupta and the Tārā Ravigupta is the fact that one of the translators

4. On the colophon and concluding verses of the *Siddhasāra* see my article in BSOAS, XXXVII.3, 1974, p. 635.

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of the *Siddhasāra* into Tibetan, Jinamitra, is known to have collaborated in such translation work with Dānaśīla, who is mentioned as in the line of succession of Ravigupta's Tārā doctrine. If Ravigupta's *Siddhasāra* were associated with the Kashmirian Tārā cult, we would have an explanation for the decision taken by the Kashmirian translators to translate the *Siddhasāra* rather than, for example, Suśruta.

If one identifies these two Raviguptas, a provisional chronology may be suggested as a working hypothesis: Vāgbhaṭa ca. AD 600, Ravigupta ca. AD 650, and Mādhava ca. AD 700.

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A. M. ESNOUL

PADMATANTRA

Il apparaît de plus en plus que les textes dits « classiques » nous renseignent insuffisamment sur la langue sanskrite et la pensée exprimée en sanskrit. Toute la littérature désignée sous l'étiquette « tantrique » offre un champ d'exploration qui est loin d'avoir été entièrement exploité.

Si l'on veut avoir un panorama du sanskrit, il convient donc de s'y référer au même titre qu'aux textes épiques ou aux traités plus spécialisés, philosophiques, médicaux, juridiques etc.

Qu'ils soient śivaïtes ou viṣṇouites, avec des passages souvent assez proches du style et des conceptions purāṇiques, ils présentent toutefois une originalité foncière et ont le mérite d'avoir conservé jusqu'à nous des rites remontant à un très lointain passé. Le dépouillement de ces textes, longtemps négligé, se poursuit maintenant de façon systématique. Depuis déjà des décennies les éditions des *Āgama* śivaïtes se sont multipliées; la confrontation des manuscrits a permis des éditions critiques. Un énorme travail avait été accompli dans le Nord avec les Kaśmir Sanskrit Series. Sur les textes du Sud, l'Institut français d'Indologie de Pondichéry, entre autres, se livre à un travail de même ordre.

Les *Saṃhitā* viṣṇouites n'ont pas connu la même faveur, quoique nombre des traités principaux ait paru et que quelques uns aient été traduits. Les collections d'Adyar et les Gaekwad Oriental Series ont fait paraître plusieurs *Saṃhitā* et le très important *Lakṣmītantra* est sorti chez Brill dans la traduction anglaise de Sanjukta Gupta. Toutefois de ce côte la tâche reste immense et bien des éditions indiennes du Sud sont depuis longtemps épuisées.

Le *Padmatantra* est l'un de ces textes. Il ya quatre ans, à Pondichéry, M. N. R. Bhatt me signala et me fit copier en nagarī un texte qui, à proprement parler, n'était pas inédit. Otto Schraeder en donne d'ailleurs la référence dans son « *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā* » mais il n'en existe qu'une édition en caractères telugu difficile à se procurer actuellement.

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Ce *Padmatantra* appartient à la tradition Pāñcarātra. Ce n'est pas l'un des plus anciens traités mais il est considéré comme le prolongement de l'une des trois principales *Saṃhitā*, la *Jaya*; celle-ci elle-même l'affirme dans son chapitre d'introduction. Les deux textes sont donc contemporains, même si l'on doit considérer cette introduction comme légèrement plus récente que le corps de l'ouvrage.

On connaît la division traditionnelle des *Tantra* en quatre *pāda*; le *jñānapāda*, la partie doctrinale est généralement la moins importante des quatre; les parties rituelles, chargées de conserver et d'expliquer l'usage et le sens des rites et des *mantra* — comme les brāhmaṇa l'avaient fait pour les rites védiques — se présentent sous une forme beaucoup plus étendue.

Dans la *Jaya*, la section doctrinale est brève, encore qu'il s'y insère un long passage d'une tout autre inspiration, que l'on pourrait plutôt comprendre comme un *māhātmya*, une « exaltation » de l'Hastinagiri, au coeur de Kañcīpuram. Par contre, le *jñānapāda* du *Padmatantra* comporte douze chapitres où se trouvent exposé un certain nombre de vues du Pāñcarātra.

Ces douze chapitres sont d'une longueur et d'un intérêt inégaux; les *adhyāya* IX, X, XI et le commencement du XII sont d'ordre cosmographique... une cosmographie qui ne diffère guère de celle des *Purāṇa*. En tant que telle, elle ne demande pas qu'on s'y arrête si ce n'est à titre de témoignage: il s'agit, une fois de plus, d'intégrer les vues particulières d'un système dans le courant des croyances généralement admises.

Les adeptes du *Pāñcarātra* se donnent continuellement comme les héritiers de toute la tradition brahmanique; ils ne manquent pas une occasion de se référer au *Veda*, aux coutumes habituelles, aux notions les plus courantes, leur spécificité consistant surtout dans leur consécration à l'Unique, consécration rendue par le terme d'*Ekānta* par lequel ils désignent fréquemment leur système.

Il peut ainsi être intéressant de voir, à propos d'un texte donné, de quelle manière le *Pāñcarātra* a assimilé bon nombre des opinions d'autres systèmes et ce qu'il présente de fondamentalement distinct.

Ses adeptes considèrent que leurs textes sont, naturellement, une révélation, qui remonte à l'origine des temps, *agre*, mais ne cherche pas à contredire la Révélation védique: elle en est une forme qui doit sa supériorité au fait qu'elle a été donnée par le Seigneur en personne « Il n'est rien au delà de l'enseignement du Veda; nul dieu n'est supérieur à Keśava » (*Vedaśāstrāt paraṃ nāsti na daivaṃ keśavāt param*) 1.93. La vénération du *Veda* et celle du Bhagavant sont donc mises sur le même plan.

Suivant l'usage, le traité se présente comme une cascade d'enseignements: les *ṛṣi* s'adressant au sage Kaṇva lui expliquent qu'ils ont tout étudié du Veda et de ses annexes mais qu'ils n'ont pas trouvé « la Voie » qui conduit à la libération: donc, toujours, respect de la tradition mais nécessité de la compléter.

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Kaṇva leur répond qu'il a jadis connu pareil souci. Il s'en est allé alors vers un autre sage, Saṃvarta; celui-ci, à son tour en a référé à Brahmā. En effet, au commencement du *kalpa* le dieu créateur a reçu cet enseignement du Bhagavant même; toutefois ce n'est pas lui qui le conférera directement: il l'a déjà confié à Kapila, le fondateur mythique du Sāṃkhya. On sait la place que la création selon le Sāṃkhya tient dans le *Pāñcarātra*. Kapila est une manifestation du Seigneur, installée dans le Pātāla, le monde souterrain. Kapila, pour sa part, va charger Padma, un chef serpent, d'exposer la doctrine à Saṃvarta: d'où le nom de *Padmatantra*. Cependant, on nous le répète, tous ces initiateurs successifs ne sont que des messagers, « le seul proclamateur du Pāñcarātra tout entier, c'est Nārāyaṇa en personne » (*tantrāṇāṃ caiva sarveṣāṃ vaktrā nārāyaṇaḥ svayam*, 1.86). A chaque nouveau *kalpa*, Brahmā, législateur autant que créateur de l'univers, est chargé de le diffuser à bon escient.

La raison donnée dans le *Padmatantra* à la diffusion de la doctrine est à retenir: on est à l'âge *kṛta*, tout est parfait; les hommes vont, nombreux, au royaume de Viṣṇu, au *Viṣṇupada* qui, bien entendu, est tout autre chose qu'une désignation d'ordre local. Ils ne désinteressent donc de la vie terrestre et n'exécutent plus les sacrifices, uniquement préoccupés qu'il sont de Nārāyaṇa.

Or, et cela vaut la peine d'être noté au passage, un tel comportement n'est pas conforme au dharma. Si l'on ne sacrifie plus, comment les dieux prospéreront-ils? Comment l'ordre du monde sera-t-il préservé? C'est la question essentielle de la nécessité du sacrifice qui se pose ici implicitement; la manière même dont se présente l'intervention de Brahmā l'indique clairement.

Donc, alors même qu'il exalte la religion de *nivṛtti*, du Non-Agir, le Pāñcarātra rappelle qu'au niveau de la vie d'ici bas la *pravṛtti* s'impose, indispensable au bon ordre universel. Il demande, comme le faisait la *Gītā*, le détachement du fruit des actes mais, en aucun cas, le renoncement aux actes religieux. D'où l'importance des parties rituelles dans les *Saṃhitā*, comme dans les *Āgama* śivaïtes, d'ailleurs. Le P.T. 1.64 dit expressément: « accompagnées des *mantra* viṣṇouites, les oblations offertes aux dieux et aux ancêtres sont indestructibles; par elles ancêtres et dieux sont comblés ». Et les termes qui désignent ces oblations sont les termes traditionnels, *havya*, *kavya* (*mantraiś ca vaiṣṇavair dattaṃ havyaṃ vā kavyaṃ vā / tad akṣayaṃ bhavet tena tṛpyanti pitṛdevatāḥ //*).

Dans le *P.T.* quel va être le moyen choisi par le Bhagavant pour rétablir le *Dharma*? Il va faire répandre dans le monde, concurremment au Pāñcarātra, seul véridique, cinq autres enseignements « qui se contredisent mutuellement » et qui, par leurs qualités mêmes contribueront à égarer les hommes. Ce sont le Yoga, le Sāṃkhya, le Bouddhisme, le Jinisme et le Śivaïsme, ce dernier cité sous trois formes: *kāpāla śuddhaśaiva* et *pāśupata*. Toutes ces doctrines seront diffusées à égalité avec le Pāñcarātra sans rencontrer d'obstacles. Par la magie de Viṣṇu,

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bien que le Pāñcarātra soit d'essence inaltérable, elles l'altéreront cependant dans la mesure même où elles détiennent une part de vérité.

Le *Padmatantra* continue, se référant encore à la tradition: « De même que le *Veda* se divise en quatre sous les noms de *Ṛc* etc., de la même manière, du fait de différences mineures dans les doctrines, le Pāñcarātra est quadruple (I.73-74) ». Ainsi préserve-t-on l'unité de la révélation viṣṇouite à travers les divergences qui pourraient apparaître dans les textes... notamment sur les opinions touchant les formes divines.

On connaît la théorie spécifique du Pāñcarātra: les *vyūha* sont des manifestations divines, différentes des *avatāra*; l'apparition de ces derniers est occasionnelle tandis que les *vyūha* sont des *expansions* divines inséparables du dieu lui-même: ce sont des activités fonctionnelles concernant la création et la protection de l'univers; aussi réapparaissent-elles régulièrement à chaque *kalpa*, lors de la premìère création, la creation pure.

En fait, la théorie des *vyūha* se comprend en liaison avec une difficulté permanente au sujet de l'essence divine: comment concilier l'immutabilité, du dieu avec l'activité exercée par lui dans le monde?

Les *avatāra*, révérés par tout le viṣṇouisme n'apportent que des solutions ponctuelles. En ce qui concerne la création, Brahmā assure l'inactivité de Viṣṇu. En milieu śivaïte, la *śakti* est l'agent d'exécution. Les *vyūha* sont la réponse spécifique du Pāñcarātra à ce problème.

Mais la difficulté n'est que partiellement résolue; ou, plutôt, elle est repoussée. La question de la nature et des rapports des *vyūha* est complexe. Ils sont quatre — dont les noms Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna et Aniruddha nous remettent en pleine atmosphère kṛṣṇaïte; les textes nous les disent issus les uns des autres. Le chapitre II du *P.T.* leur est en grande partie consacré et il témoigne de nombreux flottements.

Dans tous les textes Pāñcarātra, le premier cité, Vāsudeva, est dit posséder en plénitude les six qualités (*guṇa*) qui forment l'essence divine. Bien entendu, en dépit de l'identité d'appellation, ces guṇa n'ont rien à voir avec les trois guṇa du relatif qui constituent la création grossière.

Les six *guṇa* divins se répartissent en trois paires, chacune atteignant son excellence dans l'un des trois *vyūha* restants. Il ya donc tendance, de ce fait, à considérer le premier comme la forme suprême. Ce à quoi inclinerait, par ailleurs l'assimilation faite par la *Parameśvara-Saṃhitā* (I.98-99) des quatre *vyūha* aux quatre états traités dans la *Māṇḍukya-Upaniṣad*, Vāsudeva étant *turīya*. D'autre part, le P.T. II.16-17 nous dit que « le Bienheureux Vāsudeva qui assure la création, le maintien, la fin et la délivrance, pour une raison qui lui est propre se scinde encore en deux.

L'un des deux, Vāsudeva, a l'éclat pur du cristal; mais le second a l'aspect d'un nuage sombre » (*sa Vāsudevo bhagavān sṛṣṭisthityatyantamuktidaḥ / ātmanaṃ sa dvidhā cakre punaḥ kenāpi hetunā // tayor eko vāsudevaś śuddhas sphoṭikasaṃnibhaḥ / nārāyaṇo dvitīyas tu nīlāmbudasamaprabhaḥ //*).

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La confusion ne s'arrête pas là, car ce bienheureux Vāsudeva qui s'est partagé en deux, n'était pas le premier, pas la forme suprême, d'après notre texte même. Le début du chapitre avait, en effet, décrit le Seigneur « sa forme bienveillante, originelle, éternelle qu'on doit doit connaître en tant que Vāsudeva » (*saumyaṃ rūpam adyaṃ sanātanam sa Vāsudevo vijñeyaḥ*) II.11 et il poursuivait à la stance 13: « De ce Vāsudeva un autre est né, appelé aussi Vāsudeva » (*vāsudevāt tato jāto vāsudevāhuyo 'paraḥ*). Cela fait un Vāsudeva I et un Vāsudeva II, lequel, en se scindant à son tour, produit un Vāsudeva III.

Finalement, pour compliquer encore les choses, le *P.T.*, de ces quatre formes principales, en fait surgir vingt quatre autres; mais celles-ci sont plutôt des *avatāra* qui se placent dans une perspective tout à fait différente.

Par ailleurs, au chapitre I, stance 81, on nous dit que l'adoration ne s'adresse pas seulement aux quatre *vyūha*, mais qu'il faut aussi rendre hommage à cinq autres manifestations répondant aux noms de Nārayaṇa, Hayagrīva — dit Hayaśiras en d'autres textes, notamment le *Nārāyaṇīya-Parvan* du *Mahābhārata* — Viṣṇu, Nṛhari et Sukara. C'est cette particularité qui servait de prétexte, comme on l'a déjà signalé, à declarer que chaque traité du Pāñcarātra transmet son interprétation particulière de la Réalité, que chacun dispense tous les fruits — c'est à dire *bhukti* et *mukti*, les fruits pour ce monde et pour l'autre, mais, tout en faisant ces concessions, le système des *mantra*, tel qu'il est exposé dans le *Padmatantra*, est celui que l'on conseille. Donc, le système est préférentiel, non exclusif, du moment que l'on observe la ligne générale de l'enseignement pāñcarātra.

La multiplication des *vyūha* s'explique dans une perspective qui n'est plus doctrinale mais rituelle. Toutes ces formes du Seigneur sont des supports d'adoration. Lorsque le fidèle s'absorbe en méditation, il visualise intérieurement ces « *mūrti* » du dieu. Voilà pourquoi on rencontre dans ces textes des descriptions détaillées des différents *vyūha*, de leur couleur, de leurs emblèmes. A ce moment, la question se ne pose plus de semblable manière; elle a complètement changé de plan, mais la continuité demeure; les rites d'hommage intériorisés, se conforment encore à la tradition.

Nous n'en avons pas fini avec le problème des *vyūha*. Il existe une autre interprétation d'ordre spéculatif et qui se retrouve *grosso modo* à travers tout le système, telle qu'elle est donnée dans le plus ancien texte connu du Pāñcarātra, le *Nārāyaṇīya-Parvan*, au chapitre VI, qui correspond au chapitre XII.326 de l'édition critique: Vāsudeva est l'assimilé au *paramātman*, Saṃkarṣaṇa est le *jīva*, Pradyumna le *manas* et Aniruddha l'*ahaṃkāra* à partir duquel va se déclancher toute la création grossière (39-42).

Ainsi se produit une nouvelle réinsertion dans la spéculation traditionnelle toute imprégnée de Sāṃkhya et de Vedānta. En dépit des affirmations d'originalité de l'école en tant que seule vraie Révélation, les croyances continuent, pour la plupart, de s'inscrire dans la ligne

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directe de la tradition. Parce que Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa est l'Omniperméant, qu'il est le Tout, de nombreux textes se plaisent à faire intervenir sa forme universelle, celle-là même qu'avait vue Arjuna dans la *Gītā* et dont le *Nārāyaṇīya-Parvan* donne une description assez semblable. Plusieurs, analogues, ont place dans le *Harivaṃśa*, notamment dans les légendes concernant les *avatāra* du nain et du sanglier où s'affirme également son identité au sacrifice, proclamée dès le *Ś. Br.* XII.3.4.1.

A partir du II.40, le *P.T.*, à son tour, nous propose sa propre version; et, puisque Viṣṇu est la Totalité, ce passage n'est, en fait, que l'interprétation pāñcarātrique du *Puruṣasūkta.*

Les quatre premières stances font surgir la création du corps d'Aniruddha:

(41) du corps d'Aniruddha, forme merveilleuse aux mille têtes, aux mille pieds, mains, yeux, naquirent respectivement;

(42) de sa bouche Indra, puis le feu, les mètres (védiques) et les six membres (du *Veda*); de sa tête vient le ciel, de son oeil le soleil, de son esprit (*manas*) la lune vint à son tour (on sait que cette association du manas et de la lune est constante, attestée dès le *B.A.U.* I.13.15);

(43) de ses oreilles (vinrent) les régions de l'espace, de son nombril l'espace intermédiaire, des ses deux pieds la terre, du souffle inhalé le vent et du souffle exhalé la mort; de sa chevelure la nuée;

(44) les parties du temps, *truṭi* etc. et le temps lui-même viennent de sa pensée; les arbres et les plantes ont surgi des pores de sa peau (*sahasraśīrṣacaraṇahastanetrādbhūtākṛteḥ / anirusdhāj jagaj jajñe svāṅgād eva yathākramam // mukhād indraś ca vahniś ca chandāmsy aṅgāniṣaṭ tathā / dyaur mūrdhno nayanāt sūryo manasaś candramā api // śrotrād dviśo nabho nābheḥ padbhyāṃ bhūmir ajāyat / prāṇād vāyus tathāpānān mṛtyuḥ keśāt tathāmbudaḥ // truṭyādikālabhedaś ca kālaś cābhūt tathā dhiyaḥ / vanaspataya oṣadhyo romakūpād vinissṛtāḥ //*). Et la stance 45 ajoute: « De lui nacquirent les nombreux sacrifices; et le riches honoraires des sacrifice; la quadruplicité des classes sociales a pour origine sa bouche, ses bras, ses cuisses et ses pieds » (*yajñāś ca jajñire tasmād bahavo bahudakṣiṇāḥ / caturvarṇyaṃ kramād vaktrabāhūrucaraṇodbhavam //*).

D'après ce fragment c'est donc Aniruddha, la forme la plus engagée dans le relatif, celle que le *N.P.* assimile à l'*ahaṃkāra* qui exprime de façon visible la création. Cette création grossière ne présente pas, en soi, un intérêt particulier: dès que l'on entre dans ce monde matériel, on se trouve, à de légères modifications près, en présence d'un mécanisme emprunté au Sāṃkhya. Cela prouve seulement, une fois de plus, combien le Pāñcarātra, comme les autres systèmes analogues est imbriqué dans l'ensemble des positions panindiennes.

C'est ainsi que le chapitre VII du *P.T.* parle du rôle des trois guṇa en des termes qui rappellent ceux des chapitres XIV, XVII et XVIII de la *Gītā.* Toutefois, un passage assez long rend un son original: celui où l'on considère l'influence des *guṇa* sur les rêves, influence colorée

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différemment par la liaison aux divers éléments. Le VII.17, 18 et 19 dit, par exemple: « L'esprit, en liaison avec le sattva et les autres constituants et en accord avec les cinq éléments, modifié, se partageant, de cinq façons différentes produit des actions multiples » — On le répète, il s'agit de l'esprit en état de sommeil; le verset 16 l'indique expressément (*nidrā*) — (*satvādiguṇasaṃyuktaṇ mano bhūteṣu pañcasu // pravṛttaṃ pañcadhā bhinnaṃ prasūte bahudhā kriyāḥ.*

« Lorsque l'esprit, en condition sattvique se fixe sur la terre, l'homme accomplit des actions telles que labourage de la terre etc. il vénère une image ou protège la terre » (*manas satvaguṇopetaṃ pṛthivīsthaṃ yadā bhavet // tadā karoti pṛthivīravananādi kriyāṃ naraḥ / ārādhayet praticchāyāṃ pālanaṃ vā tathā. //*

« Lorsque l'esprit est en condition rājasique, pour ceux qui désirent nuire aux êtres vivants, c'est une intention de chasse... Mais lorsque l'esprit est en condition tāmasique, il y a blessure, discorde, envoûtements, dépendance, prise du bien d'autrui, etc... » (*rajasi sthe prānihiṃsāṃ mṛgayābuddhim eva ca / tamasi sthe tu hṛdaye chedanaṃ tathā // abhicāravaśīkāraparasvaharaṇādikam /*).

L'énumeration se poursuit en détail par rapport aux deux autres *guṇa* et aux divers éléments. Il s'agit seulement de la nature des rêves d'après l'inclination du *manas*, pas du tout d'une interprétation à fins de diagnostic, telle qu'on la trouve dans les traités médicaux. Toutefois, quoique dans un contexte différent, on pourrait se demander s'il n'y a pas là un écho du 68e *Pariśiṣṭa* de l'*Atharvaveda* où une sorte de clé des songes introduit une théorie reliant les rêves aux trois tempéraments reconnus par l'Inde ancienne, chacun sous le signe d'un élément: le bilieux étant sous celui du feu, le phlegmatique sous celui de l'eau et l'aérien sous celui de l'air.

Toujours dans la perspective des *guṇa*, le *P.T.* envisage les trois destinées, les trois voies qui échoient à l'homme pieux après la mort. Il ne s'agit pas là que de la libération; celle-ci est présentée plus loin, elle-même sous un triple aspect.

Au VIII 51-52, on nous dit que l'adoration, *arcanā* — c'est à dire s'adressant à un support d'adoration, *arcā* — abonde en sattva et satisfait pleinement le Seigneur; ainsi l'homme, pour fruit, obtient à son choix (*phalaṃ ipsitam*) les jouissances (*bhoga*) ou la libération. Or, ici, le terme employé n'est pas celui usité ordinairement dans ces textes (*mukti*) mais *apavarga*, simplement l'exemption du *saṃsāra.*

Quand le *rajas* l'emporte, ceux qui rendent le culte (*yajante*) se trouvent placés à un niveau différent. Ici domine la racine *YAJ*; il ne s'agit plus d'*arcanā.* Yaj implique, semble-t-il des rites d'offrade, des oblations mais non l'adoration en forme de service (*kaiṅkarya*) de l'image. On tient compte de ce qui, justement, avait été négligé au début de l'âge *kṛta* et la conclusion est la conclusion naturelle: par le *yajña* entendu traditionnellement, on va séjourner au *triviṣṭapa*, au ciel d'Indra d'où l'on reviendra sur terre.

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Cependant la force du *yajña* est elle que même ceux en qui le *tamas* l'emporte et qui seront reversés dans le *saṃsāra* connaissent un temps de répit; ils demeurent alors, non pas au ciel ni dans les mondes souterrains, encore bien moins dans le *naraka*, on dit qu'ils se tiennent dans l'espace intermdiaire (*bhuvasthāla*).

On serait tenté de penser que le terme *apavarga* porte une coloration négative, ou du moins limitative comme le *kaivalya* du Sāṃkhya; or, en ce qui concerne la libération, c'est dans un sens positif que va tendre tout l'effort du Pāñcarātra et des groupes religieux analogues. Mais, sur ce point encore, la tradition est assez riche pur qu'on puisse aisément trouver les antécédents d'une telle attitude, même dans les *Upaniṣad* les plus anciennes... la diversité d'opinion des commentaires vedāntins en fait foi.

On a souvent tendance, en effet, à estimer que la délivrance recherchée par les milieux upaniṣadiques qui se réclament de l'enseignement de Yājñavalkya, est une sorte de certitude intuitive de nature intellectuelle touchant l'identité du *jīva* et de l'*ātman*, du *jīvātman* et du *paramātman* — ou du *brahman* puisque *ātman* et *brahman* sont identiques. Mais, et la *B.A.U.* le proclame déjà en plusieurs passages, le *brahman* est *ānanda* (félicité) (IV.1.6 par ex.) et au III.9.28, passage versifié, donc probablement repris d'un texte anterieur, on trouve une amorce de ce qui sera la célèbre definition vedāntine du *brahman* (*saccidānanda*) sous la forme « *vijñānam ānandaṃ brahma* ».

Cette félicité, à laquelle implicitement on s'identifie, ne peut être le résultat d'une simple opération intellectuelle; la fusion — fusion qui demeure consciente — concerne l'être tout entier. Ce ne sera pas en d'autres termes que le *P.T.* va définir le but suprême.

On a dit précedemment que la libération revêtait un aspect triple c'est à dire, différenciation, indifférenciation ou un cas mixte (*bheda, abheda, miśra*). Le chapitre VIII l'enseigne en quelques stances, 27 à 34.

« Dans la différenciation,la libération se caractérise par le service (*kaiṅkarya*). Dans les mondes d'ici bas, les hommes sont tout occupés à prendre soin du dieu » (je pense qu'il faut ici entendre « prendre soin de l'*arcā* »). « De même font-ils dans le Vaikuṇṭha à l'égard du Soi Suprême. En ce monde du Vaikuṇṭha, les âmes délivrées, complètement recueillies, se tenant près du dieu, tojours occupées de sa grâce, demeurent comme ses serviteurs » (*bhede kaiṅkaryalakṣaṇa / muktir yatheha lokeṣu paricaryāparā narāḥ // devasya tadvad vaikuṇṭha paramātmanaḥ / loke tasya samīpasthā muktātmanas samāhitāḥ // vasanti kiṅkarās santas tatprasādaparās sadā*).

« La libération dans l'indifférenciation est l'union définitive de l'Âme suprême et de l'âme individuelle. Dans ce cas (l'unicité) l'attitude mentale consiste à dire: « Lui c'est moi » et cela réintroduit l'unité de l'Âme suprême avec l'âme individuelle » (*abhedamuktir atyantam aikyaṃ syāt parajīvayoh // ātmano bhāvanā caikye so'ham ity evam ātmikā / yasya tasyaikatāpattir jīvātmaparamātmanoh //*).

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« Mais, dans le forme mixte, on se place dans la différenciation et, par les adorations qu'on lui adresse, on satisfait le Soi Suprême; alors, complètement recueilli, l'équilibre intérieur parfaitement atteint, l'esprit fixé sur Lui, grâce à la connaissance suprême on parvient à l'unification faite de conscience à l'intérieur du Suprême » (*miśrarūpe tu bhede sthitvārcanādibhiḥ / toṣayitvā paraṃ devaṃ tato yuktas samāhitaḥ // vijñānenaikatānena param ātmani cidghane / aikyaṃ prāpnoti...*). Et le texte ajoute « Voilà la libération dont la marque est l'*union intime* » (*sāyujya*).

Dans ce contexte, la Connaissance Suprême, c'est *vijñāna*, connaissance directe qui discrimine parfaitement mais qui n'a plus rien à voir avec ce qu'on a appris, qui est beaucoup plus proche semble-t-il du sens fort de VID, de *vidyā*, cette vision immédiate par lesquelles les *ṛṣi* ont *vu* le Veda.

Lors de cette troisime forme de libération, qui apparaît comme bien supérieure aux deux autres, car elle comble à la fois l'intelligence et l'affectivité, on est réabsorbé par Dieu, comme il réabsorbe la totalité du monde au moment du *pralaya*, mais c'est une absorption qui est conscience et félicité, puisqu'il y a identité de nature avec Celui qui est, par nature *cit* et *ānanda*.

Ainsi la dévotion, la consécration à un Absolu personnifié reste dans la ligne de la tradition; c'est l'une des interprétations possibles, c'est l'angle sous lequel les Pāñcarātra, entre autres, ont choisi d'appréhender le Suprême; mais c'est une interprétation qu'on peut tirer des textes upaniṣadiques.

Tout cela pour souligner, une fois de plus, en s'appuyant sur un exemple précis, combien grande est la continuité de la spéculation indienne. Ce sont surtout de simple questions de détail qui donnent au Pāñcarātra sa coloration particulière. Pour la plupart des notions qu'il adopte il se réclame, à juste titre de la tradition courante.

La théorie des *vyūha* lui est propre, c'est certain mais, on le répète, ce n'est pas une innovation, seulement l'interprétation spécifique d'un problème métaphysique qui s'est posé à l'Inde... pas seulement à l'Inde brahmanique et pas seulement à l'Inde.

Déjà dans la tradition brahmanique la plus ancienne, on avait senti la nécessité de faire surgir le *Brahman* masculin du *brahman* neutre, puis d'assigner à chaque personne de la triade divine une activité particulière. Cette dernière considération demeure d'ailleurs présente dans toute la pensée ultérieure puisque certains traités Pāñcarātra ont tenté d'assimiler les trois dernires *vyūha* aux trois personnes de la triade. Mais s'ils sont d'accord pour identifier Saṃkarṣaṇa à Rudra — ce qui rejoint d'autres considérations et peut avoir contribué à l'établissement de listes parallèles — les textes se contredisent en ce qui concerne Pradyumna et Aniruddha.

En tous cas, l'étude de ce problème: passage de l'Un au multiple, de l'inexprimé à l'exprimé, qui est un problème ancien, revêt une importance considérable dans les textes dits « tantriques » et, sur le plan doctrinal, c'est très nettement le problème majeur.

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G. FERRARI

COMPUTER-AIDED LEXICOGRAPHY AND SANSKRIT LANGUAGE

1. The use of mechanical techniques in lexicography is, now, widespread throughout the world and a large experience has also been acquired in the domain of historical languages.

1.1 In order to begin, it is perhaps worthwhile clarifying, to some extent, the terminology used in this field by recalling the most important phases of a standard lexicographic procedure [1]:

a) the text is prepared, according to chosen standards, and translated into machine-readable form. The choice and the application of these standards (pre-edition of the texts) is a particularly important step as it determines the following developments and results;

b) the text is printed out and corrected as many times as is necessary in order to eliminate all mistakes;

c) the, then corrected, text is processed by a series of programs in order to obtain certain results, among which the most classical are lexica and concordances. These are not different from those produced in a traditional way. The concordances, that is the list of forms occurring in a text, each of them associated with the list of the contexts in which these occur, are very similar to the card-archive used by the traditional lexicographer and have the same importance, being an obligatory step in computerized lexicography.

1.2 In spite of the similarity in results, computer-aided lexicography, compared with traditional methods, offers some practical advantages. The most obvious of these is the possibility of processing a large quantity of data in a short time, thus enabling the researcher to collect much more information in a much shorter period of time than would be possible without the assistance of the computer.

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1. An almost complete review of methods and possibilities with discussions, may be found in *Linguistica Matematica e Calcolatori - Atti del Convegno e della Prima Scuola Estiva Internazionale, Pisa 16/VIII-6/IX 1970* (ed. Zampolli) sections « Lexicologie-Lexicographie » and « Statistique-Stilistique ».

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Another, less evident but more relevant, advantage is the capability of the computer to perform every given series of operations, such as contextualization and word extraction, without introducing any clerical error, so that, once phase *b*) is executed, all the following operations require no other proof-corrections [2].

The high level of precision is guaranteed also in the sense that certain given criteria are uniformly applied throughout the whole procedure of text processing and operations on the text are performed without deviations. In this sense, every intervention or inspection on the text has the character of exhaustiveness as it will affect all involved cases [3], without any exceptions. This special characteristic has attracted attention to the expediency of choosing the most general and rigid standards; this is also in view of a recursive use of lexicographic materials. This implies that every individual research gives the opportunity of creating an instrument which may then be used for other researches [4], yet without compromising the original one.

2. The creation and improvement of such standards is only partly a technical matter as some general linguistic concepts are directly involved and a theoretical position may easily affect a practical solution. Thus, the definition of linguistic unit, of lexical unit, and of morphological paradigm is the turning point both in the creation of the input standards and in the operation of lemmatization [5]. In this way, and largely owing to the pressure of computer techniques [6], applied lexicology has acquired its own independence, developed its own methods and has given back to general linguistics some basic ideas.

The concept of dictionary itself has been somewhat modified. Traditional dictionaries of historical languages such as Latin, Greek or Sanskrit are generally conceived as instruments for the interpretation of texts. Thus, a word is normally defined by its translations, most of

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2. This peculiarity acquires vital importance in contextualization, which consists in dividing the given text in as many contexts (phrases, verses or simply fixed sets of words) as it has words (occurrences). This operation, if done by hand, would mean the copying of the text at least three or four times, with the possibility of introducing a large number of clerical errors.

3. i.e. all the cases that formally correspond to the parameters given for the research as no substantial comparison is possible by machine.

4. The researcher, who works by hand, generally copies on cards only those passages of a text which are relevant to his own research. Working with the computer, complete concordances will be always produced and these become useful instruments for many other researches. By a second step, those particular passages required will be selected.

5. For a definition of the concept of lemmatization see below 4.2.

6. The development of lexicology as an independent science is certainly not due to the use of computers in linguistics; it is perhaps a case of parallelism in which, nevertheless, the demands of computer-aided lexicography accelerated the process and directed it to the identification of certain well-defined problems. It is in this sense that this section of the paper must be understood.

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which are obtained with the aid of etymology, and its special uses are described only in so far as they occur in the grammar. Dictionaries and grammars of these historical languages were produced, more or less, with an identical purpose in mind, i.e. of saving the language and of demonstrating its correct use[7]. This characteristic of the first studies was inherited by the modern ones up until the first decades of this century.

But dictionaries have also proved to be the basic instrument in the scientific knowledge of the lexicon of a language, or of subsets of it. Therefore, the lexical index of a single work, or author or period, which was once limited to those sets in which special linguistic uses were expected *a priori*[8], became the most important way of gaining knowledge in syntactic and stylistic uses or linguistic structures of a given age, literary school or literary genre.

Linguistic statistics, for their part, assert that every given text is a sample of a linguistic universe, an infinite which can be known only by approximation and accumulation of samples[9]. So, the fundamental dictionary of a modern language is meant to show no more than the most representative model of that language[10].

But, in the domain of historical languages, the reality is somewhat different. In fact, although the theoretical concept does not change, there is no real infinite as enrichment is only possible when new manuscripts are found. The idea of *thesaurus* is a development of this concept, i.e. the complete archive of the texts of a language; an idea which becomes realizable only with the employment of mechanical techniques. It is self-evident that once this archive has been accomplished, the knowledge of the given language will overlap with the linguistic material; so, while it is impossible to say that we know the universe, it is true that we have the best approximation ever possible.

Once a historical language is known to this extent, a very general knowledge of the system is possible and every change and development may be differently appreciated if seen from within this system. In other words, after a *thesaurus* is accumulated, the history of a language and of each single phenomenon of it can be traced in a definitive way without

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7. The Sanskrit dictionary of Böthlingk is, perhaps, slightly different as traditional Indian grammars seem to be mixed with new methods for the collection of materials (« *Unsere Wörterbuch besteht aus zwei nicht vollständig in einander aufzulösenden Elementen...* », *Sanskrit Wörterbuch, Vörwort I,I.*).

8. As, for instance, Milligan's *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament.*

9. The idea, borrowed from statistics, applies to linguistics, both as a mathematical model and as a general non-mathematical concept. See the works of G. Herdan, P. Guiraud and Ch. Muller.

10. In this domain, the correctness of the model has not only a quantitive aspect, but is also a problem of choice of the appropriate samples, see the introduction to all the frequency dictionaries of A. Juilland, in comparison with the *Lessico di frequenza della lingua italiana contemporanea* by N. Bortolini, C. Tagliavini A. Zampolli.

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any risk of fragmentation. Thus, historical linguistics is not merely limited to the history of a few isolated phonetical changes but may really deserve its name.

3. These general remarks are also easily applied to the Sanskrit language. Moreover, the artificial character of Sanskrit makes the use of fixed schemata and formulas more relevant than in other languages; thus, the observation of even the most trivial regularities and irregularities in these formulas acquires a special importance. What we mean is that hardly any expressions or uses are arbitrary or casual; they are the product of choices which conceal religious, philosophical and historical facts. Thus, in tracing back the history of a formula, every slight variant is greatly relevant. In other words, for Sanskrit, more than for other languages, the accumulation of a large or complete archive of texts is an important realization. On the other hand, Sanskrit was used in some special fields such as logic or grammar, which are either ignored or insufficiently described by traditional dictionaries.

4. However, the mechanical treatment of Sanskrit poses some difficulties.

4.1 A first problem is in the choice between the *saṃdhi* or the *padapāṭha* as the standard input form of a text.

In a traditional *saṃdhi* text, in which words are physically joined together, automatic identification of the words is impossible [11]. Thus, v. Nooten, in his attempt to work out the *Mahābhārata* concordances, transcribed the text in *padapāṭha* [12]. Special linguistic reasons led Bernhard to choose a hybrid form of input, in which certain *saṃdhi* phenomena were separated and others were left as they were [13].

On one hand, it seems to be scientifically more correct to keep the text in its original form as the tradition is to quote examples, i.e. contexts, in *saṃdhi*. If one has to study *saṃdhi* and *in-pausā* phenomena then both forms must be recorded [14].

On the other hand, the identification of words in the text may take place only in a *padapāṭha* version or in hybrid transcriptions such as that adpoted by Bernhard, or by Aufrecht, in his edition of *Ṛgveda* [15],

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11. This would be possible only with the aid of a morphological parser; see M. Kay, *Automatic morphological and syntactic analysis*, in A. Zampolli (ed.), *Texts, linguistic structures, and computers*, Amsterdam (in preparation).

12. See B. A. van Nooten, *A mechanical concordance for a Sanskrit work*, in JAOS, LXXXIV, 1964, pp. 56-58.

13. F. Bernhard, H. Reul, F. Schulte-Tigges, H. Sunkel, *Erstellung von Konkordanzen zu Sanskrit-Texten durch elektronische Rechenanlagen, Linguistics*, 22 (1966), pp. 5-23.

14. Statistics on phonemes of Sanskrit cannot be complete without a comparison between *saṃdhi* and *padapāṭha* figures.

15. In which, nevertheless, junctions of the type *nāsti* are not and cannot be solved without making a plain *padapāṭha* transcription.

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in which words are physically separated, yet, still maintain their *saṃdhi* form. However, this choice does not satisfy the condition of keeping the original *saṃdhi*, while the use of *saṃdhi* or semi-*saṃdhi* units makes lemmatization particularly heavy as it should be preceded by a normalization of *saṃdhi* forms [16].

Therefore, the most appropriate solution would be to give as input a strictly *saṃdhi* text, provided with the information necessary in order to obtain a *padapāṭha*; this solution would have some additional advantages.

For some passages there is more than one traditional *padapāṭha* transcription; these may be assumed to be variants of a special tpye [17]. Now, although it is possible to record these using also a *padapāṭha* input, it is certainly easier to distinguish this type from normal variants if they refer to a single, basic text. Moreover, if new traditional readings are found or modern interpretations are given, the recording of them will be no more than a simple up-dating of a single archive. However, this alternative does not necessitate any additional work as, in all cases, one or more specialists are needed in order to prepare the text for input.

A system has been studied at CNUCE, Pisa, wich will provide the above-mentioned solution. It consists of providing each *saṃdhi* junction with an index by which the solution may be found in a matrix [18].

4.2 Another linguistically interesting phase of the lexicographic procedure is lemmatization. This consists in the reduction of all forms to a canonical one. This clearly implies a precise definition of that canonical form.

With reference to this subject, western and eastern lexicographic and grammatic schools have different traditions. In fact, the dictionaries of western languages tend to assume a form of the paradigm as lexical unit (lemma). So, for example, for Latin and Greek nouns, the singular nominative is assumed as the dictionary entry, while for Italian or French adjectives the masculine singular is the basic form.

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16. If the three forms *devebhyaḥ*, *devebhyo* and *devebhyas*° are found in a text, they must be reduced to one canonical form before lemmatizing them to *deva-* (or *devaḥ* or *devas*, see below 4.2.). In fact, they are three realizations of a form that, under a morphological or statistical view-point is only one.

17. In fact, traditional *padapāṭha* transcriptions sometimes represent not only a plain interpretation of a passage given by a grammarian, but also the position of the philosophical school, to which that grammarian belongs.

18. This system was discovered by Dr. Michela Ott, who published, on this subject, a preliminary working paper, *Criteri preliminari di concordanza del vedico*, CNUCE, Pisa, 1976. We are now testing this technique in a project of automatic vedic concordances carried on by a cooperation between CUNCE-Divisione Linguistica and the Istituto di Glottologia of the University of Pisa, under the direction of Prof. R. Lazzeroni.

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Sanskrit dictionaries, on the contrary, inheriting the long Indian tradition, assume as entries only stems or verbal roots; derived words are introduced in the course of the word description.

Some modern language dictionaries offer a third, intermediate alternative; that of recording the canonical form, and not a stem, only for primary words, showing derived ones as sub-entries.

Two choices, at two different levels, are identified here. The first one involves derivation; a morpho-semantic way of enriching the lexical wealth of a language. At this level, derived words may be considered either as morphologically produced and part of a single paradigm, or as new semantically autonomous units.

The second level involves flexion, i.e. the paradigm of each lexical unit, which may be represented either by a privileged form of the paradigm itself, or by a neutral element, i.e. the stem.

This latter alternative can be easily chosen without serious complications. On the contrary, choosing the former alternative at the first level, i.e. lemmatizing in the traditional Indian way would, sometimes, demand an interpretation or a comparison between traditional interpretations given by grammarians [19]. Moreover, a series of difficulties, such as how to treat compounds, arises. These considerations lead us to consider this choice as inopportune. In particular, this is because we are trying to furnish an instrument and we are not supposed to give preliminary interpretations to materials.

5. I have tried, here, to give a brief sketch of the advantages offered by the use of mechanical techniques in the field of Sanskrit lexicography. I have, also, tried to discuss some problems peculiar to the treatment of Sanskrit.

My purpose was to attract attention to the necessity of using the most rapid techniques in order to produce basic lexicographic works out of large quantities of linguistic material such as the Sanskrit corpus. To attain this, it is opportune to improve standard procedures so that they become suitable to the peculiarities of Sanskrit and its tradition.

It is self-evident, that no institution is so rich and so strong as to be able to carry on alone the project of a general « Sanskrit Thesaurus »; cooperation must be stimulated in order to achieve, as soon as possible, the following:

a) coordination of all lexicographic projects so as to avoid repetition;

b) a world standard procedure so as to allow the collection and exchange of materials, at any phase, without technical complications.

19. Interpretations, which otherwise could be comparatively assigned to each word assumed as a documentary instrument.

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GIAN GIUSEPPE FILIPPI

LA NOZIONE DI LĪLĀ NEL MEDIOEVO INDIANO [1]

La parola sanscrita *līlā* offre un punto di vista da cui considerare l'attività divina, e particolarmente l'atto della manifestazione dei mondi. All'uomo comune la divina volontà rimane imperscrutabile nei suoi scopi, ragion per cui l'attività che se ne dispiega appare ai suoi occhi sotto la forma di un giuoco misterioso. Il significato primo della parola *līlā* è « giuoco » appunto, « divertimento », « passatempo », da cui derivano secondariamente i sensi di « azione gratuita », scherzo », « giuoco illusionistico », « frode »; si potrà facilmente notare che *līlā* è il preciso corrispettivo sanscrito del latino *ludus*, del quale è stata invano cercata una comune etimologia. Taluni infatti avanzano l'ipotesi che la parola *līlā* non sia che una tarda deformazione dell'altro vocabolo sanscrito *krīḍā*, di identico significato [2], che mantiene nel corpo della parola la dentale, come il latino *ludus* [3].

Nei testi più antichi dell'Induismo ricorre spesso la parola *krīḍā*: nel solo *Ṛg-Veda* ricorre assieme ai suoi derivati ventotto volte con sensi diversi. Ma pure nella diversità dei contesti, la *krīḍā* mantiene il suo significato di azione pura, distaccata dalle conseguenze. Nei *Veda* quindi troviamo già i primi spunti di questa dottrina, coi nomi di *Agni-krīḍā* (*R.V.*, IX-86, 44), *Soma-krīḍā* (*R.V.*, X-3, 5) ed altri. Nello *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (III.4) si afferma che Agni, il fuoco, è un giocatore *(krīḍan)*, in quanto « avvampa e si spegne », il che si riferisce alla sua capacità di distruggere e manifestare i mondi. Ci avviciniamo sempre più al significato di *līlā* che troveremo nel medioevo. Nella *Chandogya Up.* (VIII-12, 3) si descrive *Puruṣottama* come colui che « travestito da uomo, ride, gioca e gode delle donne ». Qui il senso è leggermente di-

1. Si fa solitamente corrispondere il medioevo indiano al periodo di sviluppo del movimento bhaktico. Noi ci atterremo in particolare agli autori di lingua hindī per la loro diretta ascendenza sanscrita.

2. Cfr. le due voci sul *St. Petersburg Dictionary*.

3. A. K. Coomaraswamy (*Līlā*, in JAOS, vol. LXI, 1931), formula l'ipotesi che *līlā* derivi da *lelāy*, fiammeggiare, da cui il traslato « infiammarsi » in senso erotico, ed infine giocare.

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verso in quanto il giuoco non è inteso nel suo significato di « arte manifestante », ma in quel senso traslato che vuole la divinità quale fruitrice della sua stessa manifestazione. Nella *Maitry Up.* (V-1) invece ritorna sempre più preciso il giuoco quale attività creatrice: « Tu sei lo Spirito Universale, il Creatore Universale, il Fruitore Universale, Universale Signore di giuoco e godimento ». *(viśvakrīḍāratiprabhu).*

Nella *Bhagavad Gītā,* pur non trovandosi le parole *krīḍā* e *līlā,* si riscontrano gli sviluppi speculativi di tale dottrina:

« Tutti gli esseri, o figli di Kuntī, alla fine di un *kalpa* ritornano a *prakṛti* e al principio del *kalpa* successivo io di nuovo li rimanifesto... e queste azioni non mi legano, o Dhanaṇjaya, rimanendo io distaccato da queste azioni ». *(Bh.G.* IX-7, 9) [4]. La produzione e la distruzione dei mondi lasciano la divinità distaccata dalle conseguenze, come il giuoco è agito senza uno scopo contingente. Nel *Mānava Dharma Śāstra* si ritrova il seguente passaggio: « I *Manvaṇtara* sono innumerevoli come le manifestazioni e le dissoluzioni del mondo, e la Suprema Persona li rinnova invariabilmente come per giuoco ». (I, 80). Ma l'affermazione più completa della dottrina della *līlā* si riscontra appena nei *Brahma Sūtra:* « L'attività creatrice di Brahma non è provocata da una qualche necessità, ma semplicemente per *līlā,* nel senso più comune del termine ». (II. 1-32, 33). Proprio a causa di questa affermazione pregna di significato, Śaṅkarācārya e Rāmānuja, più tardi prenderanno posizione a proposito di tale argomento [5]. Per quanto riguarda invece l'applicazione

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4. Nel *Mahābhārata* la figura di Kṛṣṇa, a cui solitamente è demandata la *līlā* nella mitologia, appare quasi esclusivamente quella di un eroe impegnato in gesta mirabolanti. Perciò in questo testo non si rinvengono temi utili per il presente soggetto. Nell'*Harivaṃśa,* appendice apocrifa del Mahābhārata, si trova una minuziosa biografia di Kṛṣṇa con la descrizione della *rās-līlā* (II.20,21), ma che si dilunga più sui particolari amorosi che non sul contenuto di questa *līlā.*

5. Śaṅkara sviluppa il tema della *līlā* in un senso che tende ad avvicinarla al concetto śaiva della Māyā. La *līlā* diventa sinonimo di Māyā nella misura in cui Māyā assume il significato di « potere (*śakti*) manifestante della natura divina »; « Come nel mondo ordinario, i divertimenti di un Re, pago dei suoi desideri e libero dai suoi compiti, sono della natura del giuoco, cioè non sono compiuti per qualche scopo della mente; oppure come l'inspirazione e l'espirazione si svolgono naturalmente, senza uno scopo esterno, così in vero il Signore si impegna nella *līlā* senza uno scopo esterno, per puro risultato della sua natura » (*B. S. Śaṅkarabhāṣya, ibid.*). Rāmānuja nello *Śrī Bhāṣya* concorda pienamente con Śaṅkara, al punto da usare le stesse parole e argomentazioni del suo grande rivale. Più interessante è il commento allo stesso passo dei *B.S.* che Rāmānuja espone nel trattatello *Vedāntasāra:* « Sebbene Egli sia pago da desideri, si può dire che il giuoco può essere il motivo della creazione del mondo. Perciò si può dire che Egli non si aspetta nulla dalla creazione del mondo. Nella vita quotidiana, palle ecc. sono usate per puro giuoco. Per Lui che è autosoddisfatto, (l'attributo) " pago " significa *facilità di tutte le cose necessarie, essenziali per godere di tutti i piaceri in ogni tempo.* La soddisfazione prodotta dal godimento dei piaceri è differente dell'autosoddisfazione. E il gusto del giuoco è distinto da ambo le soddisfazioni menzionate. *Pradhāna* e l'io individuale sono necessari per il suo giuoco ». La tendenza Viśiṣṭādvaita porta ad una visione analitica che distingue nella *līlā* il Giocatore (*Brahman*), il mezzo per svolgere il giuoco (*Pradhāna*) e il *partner* o giocattolo (l'uomo). Da ciò deriva la giustificazione dottrinale per la descrizione dettagliata della *līlā* mitica.

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mitologica della *līlā*, dobbiamo riferirci alla letteratura puranica. I *Purāṇa* elaborano una descrizione minuziosa della *līlā* per mezzo di immagini che evidenziano di volta in volta i particolari più precisi. In particolare il *Padma Purāṇa*[6], il *Viṣṇu P.*, il *Brahmavaivarta P.*[7] e il *Bhāgavata* P. intessono il mito di Kṛṣṇa in modo che questo diventa una dimensione analogica della Suprema Realtà nel piano umano. Le azioni degli *avatāra* e di Kṛṣṇa in particolare non sono soltanto dettate da una missione provvidenziale, ma sono soprattutto la ripetizione nel dominio temporale di ciò che Viṣṇu compie *in divinis*. Ogni atto di un *avatāra* è pregnante di significato, cioè è un simbolo; per cui il giuoco dell'*avatāra* (*līlāvatāran*) corrisponde esattamente alla *līlā* suprema. E il fedele, meditando sul mito, trova la chiave per penetrare il significato della *līlā* divina. Nel *V.P.* viene per la prima volta descritta la *līlā* sotto la sua forma mitologica. Dopo una breve scorsa sui giuochi infantili (*V.P.*, V-,6 9), il testo descrive i giuochi amorosi di Kṛṣṇa. L'adolescente *avatāra* fa il pastore (*Gopāl*) nei prati di Vrindāvan. Durante una splendida notte d'autunno, il *Gopāl* si libra in un canto dolcissimo che attira le pastorelle (*Gopī*) fuori dalle loro case. Dopo un lungo peregrinare nella foresta, le *Gopī* raggiungono Kṣṛṇa sulle rive della Yamunā, ove danzando e cantando fanno cerchio attorno a lui. Anche se ogni *Gopī* recepisce gli effetti della *līlā* in diversa misura, tutte sono penetrate dalla divina essenza (*rās*), essendo egli « pervadente come il vento ». *Rās-līlā* è quindi quel gioco che sotto la forma della danza e del canto dà la realtà agli esseri. È necessario notare che la *rās-līlā* descritta nel *V.P.* non assume toni erotici, se non in forma allusiva.

Il *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (X.29, 33), pur descrivendo la *rās-līlā* in termini assai simili a quelli del *V.P.*, aggiunge una spiccata tonalità erotica. La *rās-līlā* si svolge al suono del flauto del *Gopāl* e al canto delle *Gopī* e della danza. Ma alcune *Gopī* godono anche delle lascive carezze del dio, altre di baci, e una sola della completa unione fisica con Kṛṣṇa[8]. Ma il *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* enumera ancora altri tipi di *līlā*; la *līlā* di Kṛṣṇa bambino, che consiste in ischerzi e monellerie infantili (X.8,21,52 e X.13,1,14). La *līlā* di Brahmā, per mezzo della quale il dio creatore apprende che tutti gli esseri e le cose del mondo altro non sono che una scomposizione dell'unico Kṛṣṇa. Il meravigliato dio vede moltitudini di Kṛṣṇa che giuocano tra di loro, ovvero con se stesso (X.13,15-14,41). La

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6. Nel *Padma P.* si trovano accenni riguardanti i giuochi infantili, ma si ignora quasi del tutto la *līlā* con le *Gopī*. Invece è molto sviluppata la *līlā* di Dvārkā (*P.P.* IV) con le mogli, di cui la prediletta è Rādhā.

7. Il *Brahmavaivarta P.* tuttavia si discosta notevolmente dal classico mito kṛṣṇaita: in esso i giuochi giovanili sono frettolosamente descritti; Rādhā appare subito nel racconto come la legittima moglie del *Gopāl*; infine la *rās-līlā* si trasforma letteralmente in un'orgia. È per questi motivi che non ci siamo basati su questo *Purāṇa* per svolgere questo studio.

8. Rādhā non è menzionata nel *Bh.P.* In base a ciò si è sostenuto che sia un personaggio di recente comparsa. Ma B. Upadhyaya nel *Bhārativa Vāṇmaya meṇ Śrī Rādhā*, pagg. 30-31, dimostra l'origine vedica della dea.

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līlā del flauto, suonando il quale il dio dà esistenza a tutti gli esseri (X.35). La *dāna-līlā*, che descrive un Kṛṣṇa malizioso ladro di vesti delle *Gopī* intente al bagno; questa impresa significa che il dono dei propri peccati alla divinità fa sì che Kṛṣṇa di rimando sottragga i veli dell'ignoranza (X.22). Tutte queste *līlā* sono comprese nel nome di *Vrindāvan-līlā*. Infine esiste una *Dvārkā-līlā* che altro non è se non la ripetizione della *rās-līlā* che Kṛṣṇa compie, questa volta nell'età matura, con le sue mogli (X.90). Come *trait-d'union* tra l'evo antico e il medioevo della Bhakti indiana non si possono tacere i dodici Ālvār del Sud, che cantarono la *līlā* allo scadere del primo millennio della nostra era. La loro caratteristica fu quella di identificarsi alle *Gopī* e di proporre in versi nuove situazioni della *rās-līlā* [9]. La novità da essi portata, e che influenzò notevolmente tutti i poeti di *Bhakti* successivi, consiste nel fatto che per essi la partecipazione alla *līlā* divina diventa una via yogica interiore e personale (Namālvār, 19-96,98; Tirumaṅgai 6; Kulaśekhara, IX-1 ecc.). Gli Ālvār inoltre cantano la *līlā* anche degli altri *avatāra* di Viṣṇu, frenando così la tendenza Bhāgavata di considerare esclusivamente la *Kṛṣṇa-līlā*. Il periodo immediatamente successivo a Rāmānuja segna l'inizio dell'epoca *bhaktica* medievale.

Vallabhācārya [10] (1479-1531) fu anche letterato e i suoi insegnamenti in hindī ci sono pervenuti tramite i rimaneggiamenti del figlio Viṭhal Nāth. Egli diede molto spazio alla *līlā* infantile. Per Vallabha la *Bhakti* consiste nell'amorosa e materna contemplazione della *līlā* di Bālakṣṛṇa. Naturalmente così il fedele si trova in uno stato di non-partecipazione. Perciò l'amore materno non sarebbe che un primo stadio esteriore sulla via di liberazione. Procedendo in questo modo si passa attraverso diverse tappe che corrispondono alle diverse fasi della *rās-līlā*. In questo modo il *bhakta* si identifica prima alle *Gopī* che stanno nel cerchio esterno della danza, poi a quello che possono abbracciarlo e baciarlo, infine all'unica *Gopī* (*Rādhā*) che può ottenere l'unione fisica con il dio. Così si stabiliscono quattro categorie di *Gopī*: (1) *Gopī Sāmānyā*, che, come Yaṣoda, godono di un amore materno nella *līlā* infantile; (2) *Gopī Svakiyā*, che godono della *līlā* del flauto, della danza e del canto; (3) *Gopī Parākiyā*, che godono degli sguardi amorosi e delle carezze erotiche del dio; (4) infine Rādhā che ottiene l'unione completa (*maithuna*) nella *vihāra-līlā* e che corrisponde allo Yoga. Questa gerarchizzazione corrisponde dunque a quattro livelli nella via della *Bhakti* [11]. Il più importante discepolo di Vallabha, Sūrdās (1483-1563), espose poeticamente questa dottrina, acquistando la fama di divino poeta (*mahākavi*). Egli

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9. VARADACARY, *Ālvārs of South India*, Bombay, 1966.

10. Al fine di evidenziare la differenziazione dell'uso della parola *līlā* che si produsse nella poetica bhaktica medievale, abbiamo diviso le correnti di pensiero dal punto di vista dell'affinità contenutistica, anche se tale divisione non segue un ordine cronoolgico. Per ovviare a tale inconveniente, abbiamo sempre sottolineato le date di nascita e di morte degli autori citati.

11. D. PARIKHA AUR P. MITAL, *Sūra Nirṇaya*, Mathura, 2006.

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soprattutto illustrò il sovrumano amore della madre adottiva verso il piccolo *Gopāl*, identificando se stesso con Yaṣoda:

« Anche i signori Śiva e Brahmā
sono meravigliati
dell'immensa gioia di Jasoda.
Io ho danzato, o Gopāl, a lungo
e a lungo ancora ».

E l'identificazione di Sūrdās con Yaṣoda nella contemplazione della *līlā* di Bālakṛṣṇa si trasforma in una ricerca della verità, in una tensione verso la conoscenza suprema (*prajña*):

« Sūrdās prega:
liberami, o figlio di Nanda
da questo velo d'ignoranza ».

Nel *Sūrsagar* e nella *Sarāvalī* la *līlā* di Kṛṣṇa bambino occupa il posto d'onore sia per la purezza del canto che per l'ampiezza delle descrizioni. Ma seppure poeticamente in tono minore, Sūrdās canta anche la *rās-līlā* secondo le categorie di *Gopī* stabilite da Vallabha. Anche in questo caso il poeta si identifica a queste Gopī. A proposito della categoria *Svakiyā* Sūrdās afferma:

« Io danzo la danza perenne
senza averne coscienza;
o figlio di Jasoda,
libera Sūrdās dall'ignoranza ».

Dalla danza inebriante si passa alla categoria *Parākiyā*, godendo delle carezze e dei baci di Kṛṣṇa:

« ... il suo sapor dolcissimo
è sopra le mie labbra;
per me tutto il restante
è amaro come il fiele ».

Descrivendo la *vihāra-līlā* la vena poetica di Sūrdās si esaurisce in uno stile freddo e speculativo; nondimeno il contenuto è interessante:

« L'uno è la causa, l'altro l'effetto
che ritorna alla causa ».

Contemporaneamente il giovane Tulsīdās (1532-1623), compilava il suo famoso Rāmcaritmanas, versione hindī del classico *Rāmāyaṇa*. Discepolo di Rāmānanda, egli cantò le imprese di Rāma con rinnovata ispirazione:

« (Sītā) guardò verso Rāma e quindi giù la terra,
movendo i suoi occhi giovani e spendenti qua e là;
sembrava che nel rotondo del suo volto simile alla luna
muovessero due pesci amorosi intenti nella *līlā* ».

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Ma la *līlā* secondo Tulsīdās diventa un tema letterario per descrivere la leggiadrìa e l'armonia della coppia divina. L'ascetismo ramaita infatti rifugge dalla complessità delle situazioni della *līlā* di Kṛṣṇa, accettando tale tema solo nella misura in cui è compatibile con il proprio spirito austero [12].

Vidyāpati [13] (1350-1450), nella sua *Padāvali* offre una completa descrizione delle fasi del giuoco amoroso:

« Il migliore poeta dell'amore
narra i piaceri silvestri
dei divini amanti Kānhā (Kṛṣṇa) e Rādhā ».

Così dice di sé: ed infatti certamente Vidyāpati non conosce altri temi diversi dall'amore. In lui anche la *līlā* tende a diventare un pretesto letterario per descrivere i piaceri dei sensi. Per esempio questa descrizione che riguarda la *vihāra-līlā*:

« Ripeteva al mio orecchio le più dolci lascivie
e tutta la mia dovizia gli sfuggiva dalle mani
quando le giungeva in preghiera
per implorarmi d'essere più ardente ».

D'altra parte, anche quando raramente Vidyāpati descrive i giuochi amorosi con le *Gopī*, egli sempre mantiene l'immagine della lussuria nella descrizione:

« L'ape bruna sa come inebriarsi
delle corolle profumate che rallegrano la jungla.
Le pastorelle serbano l'ambrosia a labbra chiuse
ma Kānhā sa ugualmente godere di quel miele segreto ».

In molte poesie di Vidyāpati l'aderenza al mito puranico è sopraffatta dall'irruenza della vena. Ma in altri casi l'interpretazione è originale, come in questo, in cui Rādhā si dirige verso il convegno d'amore della *vihāra-līlā*: la descrizione procede con l'intento di disegnare le diverse tappe del *Bhakti-yoga*:

« La Yamunā rigonfia
urla nella sua corsa torrenziale,
ma la fanciulla impavida
l'ha varcata arditamente a nuoto,
tale è l'amore che ti porta, o Kānhā!
Sorridi adesso e guardala negli occhi

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12. Lo stesso può esser detto per la *līlā* nell'insegnamento di Guru Nānak. Cfr. S. Piano, *Guru Nānak*, Fossano, 1971, pagg. 115, 125.

13. Richiamandoci alla nota 10, è consuetudine raffrontare Vidyāpati con Kabīr, poiché questi due poeti sintetizzano due tendenze della *Bhakti* medievale, lirica l'uno, gnomica l'altro. Così anche L. P. Mishra in *Mistici indiani medievali*, Torino, 1971.

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in modo che la luna si levi
dispensando la sua assidua dolcezza ad entrambi.
Quanti malvagi, protetti dalle tenebre
s'appostavano lungo la strada impervia!
Ma la giovinetta non vi ha badato
né si è curata del buio minaccioso della selva.
Come puoi non premiare l'ardimento? ».

In questo caso la *līlā* è il premio finale (*samadhī*) che si raggiunge dopo una via perigliosa (*Bhakti-mārga*).

Molto più complesso è il tema della *līlā* in Kabīrdās (1398-1518). A causa della sua composita formazione, riemerge nei versi del grande *bhakta* un ricordo spesso preciso del suo passato *śaiva*[14]. La *līlā* in questo caso è il potere onnubilante della Māyā, e il senso di giuoco diventa sinonimo di inganno:

« Dice Kabīr: il mondo non è che un giuoco di abilità
di un prestigiatore ».
Oppure di scherzo:
« Per Te il mondo non è che un giuoco
ma per me, anima in pena,
il *saṃsāra* è un potente nemico da battere ».

La *līlā*, trasformandosi da inganno in ischerzo, e da scherzo in giuoco perde le sue caratteristiche *śaiva* e si avvicina alla *Bhakti*. Tuttavia la *Bhakti* di Kabīr, che è di tendenza *nirguṇa*, è svincolata dalle tematiche mitologiche, e prescinde dal culto ad una divinità particolare. Paradossalmente la poesia di Kabīr, così irruente e personale, si avvicina più alle argomentazioni dottrinali di Rāmānuja che non ai temi puranici o di altri poeti della *Bhakti*. Ritorna in Kabīr l'astratta affermazione che già abbiamo trovato nei *Brahma-Sūtra*:

« Dice Kabīr: il cosmo intero è la sua scacchiera,
ma nessuno ne conosce il giocatore ».

Ci si allontana così bruscamente dalla compiaciuta sensualità di Vidyāpati, che nella *līlā* trova spunto per una poetica delle emozioni. La divinità priva d'attributi manifesta i mondi in vista di un piano che gli esseri contingenti non abbracciano nella loro comprensione. Come il gioco, nemmeno il Giocatore è alla portata della ragione umana limitata:

« Io sono Colui che comprende i tre mondi
e questo mio andare e venire è il mio giuoco ».

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14. Prima di incontrare Rāmānanda, Kabīr fece parte dei Nāth; da tale esperienza trasse il metodo del *Kundalini-yoga*, che usò anche più tardi. Quando sviluppò il suo punto di vista *nirguṇa*, egli non perse completamente le prospettive della sua formazione spirituale, che rimasero quali echi nella sua opera, come ad esempio il suo concetto di *līlā*.

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Lo scopo del gioco divino è insito al giuoco stesso: nella limitatezza del cosmo la divinità gode dell'esperienza del mondo: egli si diverte per mezzo di giocattoli, cioè gli esseri, che altro non sono se non i *partners* incoscienti della *līlā* cosmica:

« Egli è il migliore degli attori che sfida noi tutti
a batterlo al Suo giuoco » [15].

Questo richiama, seppur non sotto la forma mitologica, la *Brahmā-līlā* del *Bh.P.* già ricordata, in cui si vedeva che tutti gli esseri che giocavano tra di loro non sono che una frantumazione dell'unico Kṛṣṇa. In definitiva Kabīr segna una battuta d'arresto nei confronti del processo estetizzante dei temi classici, che si produsse nuovamente poi, al termine del periodo medievale. Il vigore popolaresco e il rigore speculativo di Kabīr ridona alla dottrina della *līlā* (e non solo ad essa) la trasparenza simbolica originaria.

Mīrābāī (1504-1563?) [16] riprende i temi caratteristici dei precedenti poeti, armonizzando le diverse tendenze con la sua sottile sensibilità. Come gli Ālvār e i seguaci di Vallabha, anche ella si identifica ad una *Gopī*, per la precisione con Rādhā, rivivendo interiormente l'esperienza della *rās-līlā* narrata dal *Bh.P.* Mīrā non solo rivive l'esperienza nell'immaginazione, ma anche la rende ritualmente ripetibile nelle comuni condizioni di vita. La danza che ella intesse attorno all'idolo di Kṛṣṇa quotidianamente, diventa la vivente esperienza della *rās-līlā* nelle foreste di Vrindāvan:

« Sempre vado al tempio dove è eretta
la statua del Signore Hari, e danzo ».

Sempre come i seguaci di Vallabha, pur ignorando la *dāna-līlā*, Mīrā tende a gerarchizzare i diversi tipi di *līlā*. Come la *rās-līlā* è subordinata alla *vihāra-līlā*, così per Mīrābāī l'adorazione dei piedi dell'avatāra come strumenti di danza, rappresenta una prima tappa in vista dell'unione fisica completa con Kṛṣṇa:

« O mente! riverisci i piedi di Hari...
... (che) fecero la *rās-līlā* con le *Gopī* ».

Vuole la leggenda che la *vihāra-līlā* fu compiuta da Mīrābāī al momento della morte. Recatasi al tempio per la consueta danza che ripeteva la *rās-līlā*, ella fu abbracciata in un amplesso dalla statua del dio, durante il quale venne assorbita nella pietra dell'idolo. Alla *vihāra-līlā* sono dedicati i seguenti versi:

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15. Kabīr fu certo molto influenzato dal sufismo islamico. Ma in questo argomento egli sviluppò un tema caratteristico dell'induismo, e che è quanto di più lontano ci sia dalla teologia islamica, in base alla affermazione coranica: « Non è per giuoco che abbiamo creato il cielo e la terra e ciò che sta di mezzo » (*Cor.* XX.16).

16. Ci atteniamo alle date proposte da H. Goetz, *Mira Bai*, Bombay, 1966.

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« Vestita del mio corpo trepidante
mi reco nella jungla ad incontrarlo.
Stilla dolcezza ogni foglia
al mio silvestre convegno con lui:
ed ora, corpo a corpo, labbro a labbro
Egli mi ha fatto sua ».

A differenza di Vidyāpati, Mīrābāī non si sofferma ad evidenziare gli atteggiamenti psicologici e la sensualità raffinata della *līlā*, e seppure la sua descrizione sia suggestiva, essa rimane solo un mezzo di espressione per la suprema realtà della *līlā*. In un certo senso si può affermare che Mīrā riesce anche a far concordare la *līlā* com'è intesa da Vidyāpati con quella di Kabīr:

« Questo *saṃsāra* è il giuoco illusorio
delle nascite che finisce con la sera (*pralaya*) ».

Questa affermazione dottrinale però non rimane staccata ed assiomatica, perché Mīrā vede nella partecipazione al giuoco il modo per liberarsi: da giocattolo passivo, trasformarsi in partner attivo:

« E come se la vita fosse una partita a scacchi
gioca bene le pedine e non perdere l'occasione ».
In tal modo Mīrā risponde a Kabīr, quand'egli afferma:
« Il cosmo intero è la Sua scacchiera,
ma nessuno conosce i Giocatore ».

Ma, accanto a questi temi già più consueti, Mīrā si impegna nella descrizione della *līlā* del flauto, che fu in parte celebrata precedentemente solo da Sūrdās. La *līlā* del flauto, secondo il *Bh.P.*, è la rievocazione della *rās-līlā* nei periodi di lontananza. Quando il *Gopāl* si recava a far pascolare le vacche sui prati di Vrindāvan, egli suonava delle note dolcissime col suo flauto, che giungevano fino alle lontane *Gopī*, consolandole della separazione dall'amato. Le *Gopī* allora, incantate da quell'armonia, ritrovavano misteriosamente la sua presenza nei loro cuori. E' in questo senso che si deve intendere il seguente passaggio di Mīrābāī:

« Al tempo egli danzava al suono del flauto,
suonato allo stesso ritmo
degli strumenti dei compagni.
Come appariva dolce!
Vorrei che la mia mente si potesse fissare
eternamente sulla sua bellezza ».

Questo flauto, come ogni *līlā*, ha il duplice effetto di incantare e ingannare con la sua armonia da una parte, ma anche quello di liberare dall'ignoranza coloro che partecipano alla *līlā* impadronendosi del suo mistero. Perciò il *bhakta* che diventa partner del giuoco divino, si impossessa del flauto, dello strumento di *līlā*:

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« Oh regina Śrī Rādhā dammi il flauto
in cui risiede il mio soffio vitale
e che tu mi hai rubato ».

Questo lamento di Kṛṣṇa sottolinea tutta la prospettiva gnostica che caratterizzò la *Bhakti* di Mīrābāī. In questa troppo trascurata poetessa rajastani [17] la vena poetica è sempre continuamente rinverdita da una cultura tradizionale che, nel caso della dottrina di *līlā* sembra raggiungere le vette dei poeti più noti.

Nel periodo successivo, che è denominato *Rītikāl*, manierismo, la dottrina di *līlā* diventerà il tema pressoché esclusivo di tutta la poesia. Ma la tendenza estetizzante, la compiaciuta raffinatezza dell'eloquio e la licenziosità gratuita, snaturarono il significato della *līlā*, che il movimento della *Bhakti* aveva tratto dai *Purāṇa*, e sviluppato per tutta la durata del medioevo indiano. Il *rītikāl* fu un periodo crepuscolare, raffinatissimo, in cui si manifestarono le più degenerate tendenze del tantrismo [18], sotto forma di artifizio intellettualistico. La *līlā* non fu più nemmeno agita, nelle poesie *rīti*, da esseri divini, ma da protagonisti meramente umani, intenti in passatempi sensuali e profani, in un preziosismo formale decadente, teso allo sviluppo di inebrianti sensazioni, in un totale ottundimento intellettuale [19].

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17. Per un inquadramento completo di Mīrābāī nella cultura indiana, v. B. N. Madhav Misra, *Mīrā kī prem Sādhanā*, Delhi, 1957.

18. Usiamo qui la parola « tantrismo » in senso improprio, cioè con l'inflessione moralistica ancora oggi in voga negli ambienti ramaiti, che designa non la tradizione agamica, ma tutto ciò che è « immorale ». D'altra parte una componente autenticamente tantrica nella *Bhakti* è riscontrabile, date le sue origini, nei Pañcarātra. A questo proposito v. gli ultimi lavori di M.me Esnoul. Furono tali origini che affiorarono durante il *rītikāl*, assumendo una inflessione esclusivamente orgiastica.

19. Nella lingua hindī moderna, la parola *līlā* ha perduto quasi tutti i significati che aveva acquistato in passato. Mantiene il suo significato di giuoco, spesso associato ad un'idea di « giuoco amoroso »; ma quest'ultimo è inteso nel senso quotidiano di « corteggiamento ». Più curioso è il destino della parola *krīḍā*, che, più illustre di *līlā*, per le sue origini vediche, al giorno d'oggi designa esclusivamente il gioco nel senso più banale della parola, da quello di « giuoco infantile » a quello di « giuoco d'azzardo ».

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JEAN FILLIOZAT

L'INDE ET LES SCIENCES HUMAINES MODERNES

L'Inde actuelle est, par le nombre de ses habitants, le deuxième peuple de la terre. L'antiquité de sa civilisation est connue en Europe depuis les Grecs. Aussi s'est-il toujours trouvé, à partir du XVIIe siècle et surtout du XVIIIe, des savants européens pour l'étudier. Pourtant elle est toujours restée en dehors de l'horizon de la plupart des humanistes et elle reste encore habituellement en dehors de celui des sciences humaines. Les sciences sociales et économiques lui consacrent, il est vrai, de plus en plus souvent des enquêtes sur les structures sociales, les organisations villageoises, les partis politiques, le commerce ou les productions agricoles. Mais ces enquêtes sont limitées, souvent menées à des fins de comparaison avec des résultats d'études socio-économiques sur d'autres pays. Surtout, elles ne tiennent compte des données du passé indien que d'après de vagues idées générales sur la philosophie des brahmanes. Elles ignorent ou dédaignent l'énorme masse de la documentation écrite en langues indiennes, à commencer par la littérature sanskrite. Elles se vouent en effet essentiellement aux données du temps présent qui, seules, importent pour elles au progrès moderne. Elles ne tiennent compte éventuellement que du passé classique européen. Mais, sous cette forme ces études ne paraissent pas pouvoir légitimement être qualifiées de « sciences » ou, en tout cas, faire partie de « sciences humaines » proprement dites.

On entend d'ailleurs de plusieurs façons ce nom de sciences humaines. Il me faut donc préciser dans quel sens je le prends moi-même ici.

Certains comprennent dans les sciences humaines l'étude des Lettres et des Arts, l'histoire et ses disciplines auxiliaires, aussi la philosophie non seulement dans son histoire mais encore dans ses œuvres de création. Ainsi conçues, les sciences humaines diffèrent profondément des sciences de la nature. Par fidélité à une formation biologique première (ou à la déformation qui en résulte) je souhaiterais attribuer, ici aux études qui ont l'homme pour objet le nom de « scientifiques » seulement lorsqu'elles

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suivent les méthodes mêmes qui ont vraiment constitué en sciences les investigations de la nature.

Les sciences, celles qui ont réussi, n'ont pas été fondées par les curieux et les collectionneurs de papillons ou de coquilles ou les observateurs de phénomènes remarquables. Tous ceux-là faisaient des choix dans les données du monde extérieur, selon la beauté, l'étrangeté ou l'utilité qui les attiraient. Mais les sciences de la nature ont été fondées par ceux qui ont cherché à rassembler dans leur connaissance tous les faits accessibles. Leur règle pour en comprendre l'enchaînement et les raisons d'être a été et demeure de former pour se représenter leur ensemble une hypothèse qui rende compte de tous les faits et qui ne soit en contradiction avec aucun.

A l'inverse un philosophe comme Voltaire a proclamé que l'histoire humaine était nécessaire parce qu'elle constituait un magasin où l'on pouvait « puiser à son usage ». Il voulait donc seulement y prendre des arguments favorables à ses thèses. Il avait une attitude d'avocat qui plaide, non de savant qui veut comprendre une réalité.

La culture humaniste classique, en dépit de la haute érudition qui bien souvent l'accompagne et l'accroît, ne suit pas toujours une démarche proprement scientifique. Elle aussi choisit parmi les productions humaines celles qu'elle juge dignes de former la pensée et le goût de l'honnête homme. Elle dédaigne ce qui s'écarte de son idéal propre ou ne peut venir s'y joindre et l'enrichir. Ainsi ont fait de leur côté les pandits indiens et les lettrés chinois des anciennes écoles qui voyaient dans leur milieu l'homme accompli et ailleurs les Barbares.

Les productions érudites des uns et des autres, qu'ils soient de l'Asie ou de l'Occident, ont été souvent admirables et sont parmi les objets les plus attachants qu'à côté des chefs-d'œuvre de leur tradition qu'ils éclairent et critiquent, puissent étudier les sciences humaines, mais elles ne relèvent pas de celles-ci, quand elles visent surtout et dans un horizon régional ou national, ce qu'on a appelé une « culture de délectation ».

Mais d'autres ont pu, et sans s'interdire de goûter l'objet de leur recherche, concevoir et réaliser comme science l'étude de l'homme. Au temps même de Voltaire deux savants en ont donné l'exemple en France: Joseph Deguignes et Anquetil-Duperron.

Réagissant sans doute à la fois contre l'esprit de Voltaire, sans le nommer, et contre l'exclusivisme de la culture classique traditionnelle, Deguignes a proclamé la nécessité d'étudier tous les peuples et il a publié une histoire de toute l'Asie (telle qu'on pouvait alors l'envisager) en l'intitulant comme par défi: *Histoire générale des Huns, Turcs, Mogols et autres Tartares occidentaux*, bien qu'il tentât d'y traiter aussi l'histoire de la Chine, de l'Inde et du Sud-Est asiatique.

Mieux encore, Anquetil-Duperron a tracé le programme des sciences humaines en fonction des sciences de la nature. Il a souligné qu'on étudiait toute celle-ci, qu'on explorait la Terre, sondait les océans et

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scrutait le ciel mais que, seul, dans la recherche universelle l'homme était oublié. Il a revendiqué pour tous les peuples du globe le droit d'être étudiés chez eux, dans leur vie, dans leurs livres et dans leurs monuments. Et il a mis lui-même en œuvre ce programme. Il est allé dans l'Inde observer la géographie du pays, les mœurs et les métiers des hommes, apprendre des langues, relever des inscriptions, quérir l'*Avesta* et se préparer à traduire en latin les *Upaniṣad*. Il s'est voué aussi bien à la restitution des vieux textes qu'à la compréhension des politiques du moment et même à la prévision de l'avenir. Sa recherche portait d'intention sur la réalité totale de la nature et de la situation des peuples. Elle était conforme en méthode générale à celle des physiciens et des naturalistes. Et elle n'excluait pas les préoccupations utilitaires: la science théorique fondamentale peut être aussi science appliquée.

Malheureusement, à l'époque d'Anquetil, en la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle, la querelle des Anciens et des Modernes faisait rage et elle n'a jamais complètement cessé depuis lors.

Si on découvrait le monde de l'Asie, son antiquité et sa vie présente on voulait souvent utiliser d'emblée les connaissances nouvelles plutôt que les approfondir ou même les relier entre elles.

Le cas de Volney, ennemi d'Anquetil, est typique. Cet auteur s'est rendu célèbre par un voyage en Orient et par ses déclamations sur les *Ruines* des empires. L'archéologie ne lui servait pas à tenter la reconstitution du passé, mais à alimenter ses spéculations générales. En outre il a fondé un prix académique pour récompenser les auteurs de transcriptions latines des écritures orientales. Or il n'avait pas seulement en vue de faciliter par là aux Européens l'apprentissage des langues orientales. Il voulait, comme le fit plus tard Ataturk, substituer dans l'usage des Orientaux mêmes les caractères latins à ceux de leurs langues, afin qu'ils n'aient plus accès à leurs littératures traditionnelles et ne reçoivent plus leurs lumières que du monde européen. Il estimait que l'étude des langues de l'Asie devait se répandre en Europe mais pour les échanges intellectuels modernes, et pour les relations politiques et commerciales, non pour la connaissance spécifique de civilisations dignes de vivre présentement mais dont le passé n'était, lui, digne que de rejoindre les ruines des empires.

D'un autre côté l'accroissement des connaissances chez les savants imposait déjà, et devait imposer de plus en plus au cours des XIXe et XXe siècles la spécialisation. Il est devenu de bonne heure impossible d'envisager profondément tous les domaines à la fois, tous les aspects de l'humanité passée ou présente. Donc, tandis que certains voulaient éliminer le passé des études, d'autres les morcelaient par nécessité. Et elles se sont trouvées finalement morcelées à un double degré: par la diversité des domaines et par leur répartition à l'intérieur de deux classes, l'ancienne et l'actuelle.

En ce qui concerne l'étude de l'Inde, un fossé s'est même creusé entre ceux qui recherchaient les origines aryennes et la noblesse primitive de l'Inde et ceux qui ne voulaient voir que déchéance et superstition

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dans l'Inde de leur temps. Ce n'était certes pas le cas des Wilkins, des Colebrooke et des Wilson qui, comme Anquetil, voyaient eux-mêmes dans l'Inde, où ils vivaient, à la fois la situation présente et sa continuité avec un passé conservé. Mais beaucoup d'indianistes d'Europe n'ayant aucun contact avec la contrée et les hommes vivants et produisant cependant des travaux remarquables d'érudition ancienne ont paru, et parfois prétendu eux-mêmes, donner le modèle de la science indianiste, au nom de la « critique ». Leur prestige a même joué dans l'Inde, d'où le dédain fréquent des pandits, ignorés ou méprisés d'eux et que, parfois, l'Inde moderne a cru devoir, en conséquence, déprécier aussi, ou n'entretenir qu'à titre d'auxiliaires techniques sans opinions valables.

Pourtant leur existence même, et leur compétence, encore aujourd'hui fréquemment évidente en ce qui concerne leurs traditions, sont des témoignages permanents et vivants de la continuité réelle du passé de l'Inde et de sa vie présente, continuité qu'oublient trop souvent aussi bien les spécialistes du passé que ceux de la société actuelle.

Or cet oubli crée une lacune grave dans l'information des uns et des autres et il a commencé au temps où la paléontologie et l'étude de l'évolution des êtres se fondaient sur la comparaison des fossiles et des espèces actuelles dans l'évidence de leur succession continue. Le développement de la connaissance de l'Inde est allé, alors, au rebours du progrès des sciences de la nature.

Il est vrai que bien des tableaux ont été tracés par des indianistes de l'évolution de la civilisation indienne, mais, pour avoir laissé inconnus dans de vastes littératures peu explorées, une foule de faits, les théories proposées se sont souvent réduites à des hypothèses dites « de travail » où, dans l'ignorance de ces faits, des conjectures leur étaient substituées. Parfois même c'est la pratique de Voltaire qui était suivie: choisir des données de départ convenant aux hypothèses et soutenir celles-ci dans l'esprit souvent à la mode de « renouveler une question » et de marquer son originalité de chercheur.

Mais, dans ces conditions, les recherches n'ont guère de droit à être qualifiées de scientifiques. En science l'originalité est le fruit des découvertes nouvelles, non de la nouveauté des idées.

Les sciences humaines, pour être sciences, ont donc pour premier devoir de collecter et de déterminer les faits humains. Et elles se trouvent avoir l'avantage sur les sciences de la nature de pouvoir les pénétrer au lieu de devoir les observer de l'extérieur. Mais elles ne le peuvent qu'à condition d'assimiler la culture de ceux qui les ont produits. A cet égard les sciences philologiques peuvent approcher des sciences exactes pour ceux des philologues qui non seulement connaissent la grammaire et le vocabulaire des textes, mais encore sont parvenus à se représenter le bagage intellectuel de leurs auteurs. Car le langage n'exprime pas toujours directement par lui-même toute la signification et toute la portée des propositions. Il forme aussi un ensemble de signaux qui déclanchent dans l'esprit de l'auditeur ou du lecteur les résonances de

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ses notions familières. L'analyste étranger qui ne possède pas les mêmes notions que l'auteur et que le milieu pour lequel celui-ci a composé manquera à entendre leur pensée réelle. Mais pour celui qui se sera astreint à acquérir leur éducation générale joueront les évocations de pensée qui complètent le langage. La compréhension sera exacte et entière.

Pour les périodes très anciennes, celle des textes védiques par exemple, une pareille exactitude de compréhension restera inaccessible par défaut de restitution sûre des connaissances et des idées de l'époque. Mais pour la littérature sanskrite dont la tradition est restée vivante elle peut être atteinte en suivant l'éducation des pandits.

On doit craindre, et on constate souvent, que la tradition vivante s'écarte de l'interprétation originelle probable, mais alors on saisit une évolution qui, légitime ou non, est une donnée historique de fait dont la science ne peut rejeter la réalité, et, par conséquent, la notation.

C'est pourquoi lorsque les spécialistes du passé lointain refusent de considérer les interprétations tardives, ils se privent de reconnaître une évolution, et par elle une continuité. Ils se privent aussi, éventuellement, de noter une valeur originelle qui aurait été conservée, comme un paléontologiste qui négligerait les animaux vivants, se priverait de connaître exactement une espèce fossile qui s'est perpétuée dans la faune actuelle.

Mais l'absence d'information sur le passé est encore plus dangereuse pour le spécialiste du temps présent. Il ne peut séparer dans ses observations ce qui est traditionnel de ce qui est nouveau. Surtout l'esprit et la formation de l'esprit du peuple qu'il étudie lui échappent. Il a tendance à interpréter les données qu'il recueille par analogie avec d'autres connues de lui chez un autre peuple. On a généralisé des observations locales en croyant, d'après des ressemblances extérieures, les déceler dans le reste du monde. C'est ainsi qu'on a cru retrouver dans les animaux sacrés de l'Inde des totems d'Amérique et le *mana* dans le *brahman*. C'est ainsi également que des juristes et des sociologues occidentaux, croyant détenir des clés universelles, tentent de s'en servir pour pénétrer des problèmes indiens sans songer qu'ils peuvent avoir des solutions topiques. Celles-ci ne peuvent être trouvées ni par eux, ni par les spécialistes de l'observation actuelle mais seulements par les savants en état d'utiliser l'énorme documentation écrite des traditions en sanskrit et dans les autres langues de l'Inde. Seuls, en effet, ces savants-là, vivant dans le monde actuel tout en ayant accès à l'ancien, sont en mesure de rechercher et de découvrir les sources et les raisons du présent. Mais il convient alors qu'ils ne s'enferment pas dans leurs antiquités de prédilection et qu'ils communiquent avec les modernistes pour éclairer leurs problèmes actuels par la connaissance réelle du milieu culturel complexe où ils se posent.

Il convient aussi que les spécialistes des sociétés modernes sachent que la documentation écrite majeure des sciences humaines est en Asie, dans des littératures plus amples que celles de l'Europe classique et qui

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ont été les plus vastes du monde avant l'expansion actuelle des publications. Il convient qu'ils cessent de traiter la majorité de l'humanité, qui est en Asie et conditionnée par la conservation de ses livres et de ses inscriptions, comme inexistante entre la période préhistorique et sa situation actuelle. Or beaucoup sautent aujourd'hui directement de spéculations sur les origines préhistoriques des peuples, des institutions et des langages, à la recherche de structures fondamentales dans les sociétés actuelles. Ils n'attachent alors du prix qu'à des informations orales qu'ils jugent signifiantes quand elles sont en accord avec leurs théories et qu'ils croient relever d'une tradition immémoriale. Mais souvent la tradition en question n'est immémoriale que par l'oubli de sa formation récente, laquelle est décelable par la confrontation avec l'évolution des traditions écrites datables.

Dans ces conditions d'ignorance des antécédents de la situation observée, ils sont tentés d'interpréter librement les faits indiens en fonction de leurs propres conceptions, étrangères à la civilisation du pays. Même quand ils étudient seulement des innovations venues en Inde de l'étranger, par exemple des vues sociales ou politiques récentes, il leur arrive de s'étonner des réactions indiennes à ces innovations, faute d'en pouvoir discerner les raisons. Or celles-ci tiennent aux idées familières préétablies dans les milieux indiens et qui constituent la base de la psychologie du peuple. Ces idées comprennent au moins une part de l'héritage culturel traditionnel, même quand les intéressés actuels ne lisent plus les textes anciens. On ne pourrait comprendre l'Italie ou la France d'aujourd'hui en ignorant ou en taxant de superstitions périmées tout ce qu'elles gardent consciemment ou non, de la civilisation romaine et de tous les changements qu'elles ont connus au cours de siècles ininterrompus. Il en est évidemment de même en ce qui concerne l'Inde, continuatrice des cultures sanskrite et dravidienne qu'elle a conservées tout en recevant par surcroît celles de l'Islam et de l'Occident. L'influence de ces cultures ne s'exerce pas seulement sur ceux qui les étudient personnellement, elle touche inégalement, mais au moins indirectement, toute la nation.

En outre elles sont tenaces et pas toujours injustifiées, même si elles paraissent telles aux étrangers. Elles peuvent survivre à des acculturations profondes et prolongées. Nous en prendrons un exemple hors de l'Inde, mais dans un pays où c'est une antique conception indienne qui est en jeu.

Les juristes européens discutent depuis longtemps sur le droit de propriété du sol en Asie. Appartient-il au roi, à l'Etat, au peuple, à l'occupant de fait, à d'autres? Dans l'Inde ancienne elle-même les opinions ont été diverses à son sujet. En tout cas, durant le proctectorat de la France sur le Cambodge, c'est-à-dire pendant près d'un siècle, la conception française du droit de propriété foncière a été établie, les terres pouvaient être achetées et vendues à titre définitif. Mais aussitôt après le début de l'indépendance, une conception antérieure a reparu dans la loi. Le terrain est une partie de la Terre qui ne peut être possédée

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comme un objet. L'occupant qui l'exploite régulièrement depuis cinq ans en conserve l'utilisation sans conteste, mais celui qui l'a abandonnée plus de cinq ans la perd. C'est que la Terre ne peut être possédée par des individus et qu'ils n'ont sur elle que le droit de jouissance à condition de l'exercer. Ce changement ou ce retour n'est pas dû à une simple réaction anticoloniale. Il est la remise naturelle en honneur d'une opinion indienne déjà exprimée dans les *Brāhmaṇa* et persistant au Cambodge grâce à la littérature canonique pāli, autorité scripturaire du bouddhisme de toute la partie occidentale de la Péninsule indochinoise. L'*Agañña*sutta, qui fait partie du canon conte en effet que la Terre, à l'origine, produisait sans culture la nourriture de tous les hommes. Mais certains, voulant s'en réserver une portion, avaient établi des clôtures. Alors la Terre indignée avait cessé de produire sans exiger d'effort et il avait fallu un roi pour trancher les différends entre les utilisateurs rivaux. Dans ces conditions le roi ou l'Etat ne sont aucunement propriétaires du sol mais juges répartiteurs de son exploitation. Cette conception ancienne l'a emporté sur la moderne, non par l'effet d'une routine qui déjà avait été interrompue, mais par son appartenance à la culture générale que le peuple avait conservée, et qui distingue sans déraison le substrat de la vie universelle des possessions individuelles.

Si donc les études indiennes veulent faire partie des sciences humaines légitimes, elles doivent s'attacher à tenir compte de la réalité indienne totale qui ne peut s'amputer d'aucun élément, originel ou acquis, de sa composition de fait, aussi bien psychologique que matérielle.

Les sciences humaines, de leur côté, devront de plus en plus remplir des conditions qu'elles négligent souvent, tant pour devenir plénières que pour devenir générales.

Pour devenir plénières il leur faut certainement s'associer aux sciences de la nature, car la vie des civilisations dépend du milieu naturel où elles se trouvent et qu'elles modifient elles-mêmes par leurs activités d'exploitation. Les géographies humaine et économique s'emploient déjà depuis longtemps à étudier les rapports de la Terre et des hommes. Mais le progrès des recherches écologiques dans le domaine de la végétation permet aujourd'hui des ajustements plus précis entre les connaissances des écologistes et celles des philologues et des historiens. Les témoignages épigraphiques et littéraires qui abondent sur les états anciens de l'exploitation doivent compléter pour les écologistes leurs constatations actuelles, les éclairer sur leurs antécédents et leur raisons d'être et permettre de fonder une écologie historique.

On peut ainsi envisager d'atteindre, par coordination des travaux de spécialistes de tous domaines, une connaissance globale des peuples, et notamment de ceux de l'Inde, dans leur réalité intime comme dans leur situation concrète.

Ceci exige sans doute la multiplication de recherches spécialisées mais non dispersées, menées au contraire dans la convergence consciente vers une compréhension commune et entière de chaque complexe humain étudié.

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Dans cette coopération élargie les interprètes des textes et des monuments, c'est-à-dire les savants qui détiennent les données de l'histoire, ont à jouer aussi le rôle de la coordination finale. Ainsi, sans cesser de découvrir, d'apprécier et d'aimer leurs objets littéraires, philosophiques ou artistiques, ils peuvent les replacer dans la réalité intégrale qu'ils ont composée. Cela exige un développement de nos études fondamentales que nos associations internationales peuvent travailler à promouvoir.

Par ailleurs, pour devenir générales, les sciences humaines doivent tenir le plus grand compte des faits humains asiatiques, qui sont ceux de la majorité de l'humanité, et de la majorité de la documentation écrite et figurée qu'elle a produite et conservée. Elles ne peuvent être générales par la généralisation d'idées formées exclusivement dans l'Occident moderne sur une documentation minoritaire.

En ce qui concerne l'Inde, il apparaît essentiel de recourir de plus en plus à la science spécialisée mais profonde des pandits voués à la tradition qu'ils ont gardée vivante, à tort ou à raison, à la tradition qui a formé leur être psychologique et qui est toujours une réalité humaine présente et influente. Leur savoir n'est pas à considérer scientifiquement comme porteur de solutions décisives, mais comme un des objets de notre étude et un moyen pour elle de pénétrer un monde culturel dont ils sont aujourd'hui les témoins survivants.

Ainsi conçue, l'étude de l'Inde est de plus en plus exigeante pour chacun d'entre nous, comme le sont par leurs progrès mêmes toutes les études scientifiques. Mais elle offre aux érudits spécialisés qu'il nous faut être un horizon plus large et plus fondé en réalité et en compréhension sur l'ensemble des hommes. Elle élargit par là, pour nous tous, que nous soyons de l'Inde ou de l'Occident, notre humanisme propre en reconnaissant celui des autres. Elle nous fait rejoindre le sentiment de Térence en latin: *Homo sum nihil humanum a me alienum puto*, de Bhartṛhari en sanskrit: *vasudhaiva kuṭumbakam* « C'est la Terre qui est ma famille », ou celui du poète tamoul du *PuRanāNūRu: yādum ūrē yavarum kēlir*: « Partout est mon village, tout le monde est ma famille ».

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JEAN FILLIOZAT

LA MEDECINE TRADITIONNELLE DE L'INDE

La science médicale dans l'Antiquité a été fondée sur des conceptions philosophiques et non pas seulement sur des données empiriques dans trois régions du monde: l'Inde, la Chine et la Grèce. Les médecines d'autres peuples ont pu avoir elles aussi des fondements philosophiques et rationnels mais les vestiges actuels de leur littératures ne révèlent pas chez elles de systèmes théoriques de physiologie et de pathologie. Ceux de la médecine arabe, plus récente, dérivent de la tradition grecque.

Dans l'Inde au contraire, non seulement la littérature médicale est extrêmement abondante, mais encore c'est la formation des théories qui nous est attestée par des textes avant l'apparition des traités à l'usage des praticiens, traités qui contiennent l'application des conceptions théoriques en même temps que le fruit de l'expérience clinique.

Les plus anciens documents écrits de l'Inde sont des sceaux inscrits appartenant à la civilisation dite de l'Indus, établie dans le bassin de l'Indus et les régions environnantes. Les textes qui portent ces sceaux sont très courts, n'ont guère de chance de se rapporter à la médecine et de toute façon restent indéchiffrés. Mais ils ont permis de dater en gros la civilisation qui les a produits du début du IIème millénaire avant J.C., car on en a trouvé en Mésopotamie parmi les documents datables de cette région. Leur présence a montré en même temps l'extension des relations de la culture de l'Indus.

Mais les écrits fondamentaux qui nous renseignent sur les conceptions indiennes sont les *Veda*, recueils d'hymnes et de formules cultuelles dont les premiers éléments ainsi que leur connaissance hors de l'Inde sont attestés au XVème siècle avant J.C. par un groupe de noms de leurs divinités figurant dans un traité entre souverains d'Asie mineure.

La répresentation que se faisaient du monde les Indiens védiques est mêlée de croyances en des dieux maîtres des forces de la nature et souvent exprimée en des mythes dont certains remontent à l'Antiquité préhistorique. En effet des mythes similaires se rencontrent fréquemment chez les peuples d'Iran ou d'Europe dont les langues sont appa-

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rentées au sanskrit védique. Il y a donc un héritage linguistique et culturel indo-européen qui apparaît précisément dans le plus ancien recueil de textes indo-européens qui nous soit parvenu et qui est le Veda.

Mais la cosmologie védique, et surtout la représentation que se sont faite les Indiens védiques du jeu des phénomènes de l'univers sont des conceptions rationnelles. Elles partent de constatations matérielles et tâchent de les relier logiquement par des hypothèses sur leur enchaînement.

Une première constatation a été faite, celle de la continuité cyclique et régulière des phénomènes astronomiques simples: succession et retour des phases de la Lune d'abord, régularité des mouvements du Soleil par rapport à l'horizon ensuite. Ces mouvements du Soleil se manifestent par un lever chaque jour plus au Nord, pendant six mois lunaires approximativement, jusq'à un arrêt et à une marche rétrograde, le lever étant chaque jour plus au Sud, pendant six autres mois, avec alors nouvel arrêt et nouveau changement de direction. Les positions journalières de la Lune par rapport aux constellations et même celles du Soleil, indirectement déduites celles-là, ont été aussi de bonne heure déterminées. On a pris ainsi conscience de l'existence d'une loi de la nature commandant tous ces mouvements. Le régime régulier de la mousson qui soufflle du Sud-Ouest de mai-juin à septembre-octobre s'offrait en même temps à l'observation immédiate, confirmait l'existence d'une loi naturelle et étendait son application du ciel à la Terre. En effet, la vie des plantes et des animaux sur cette Terre dépend dans l'Inde des pluies saisonnières de cette mousson dont le déclenchement coïncide sauf désastreuses exceptions, avec chaque année les mêmes positions astronomiques.

La loi naturelle en question, rigoureuse dans le domaine des astres et sensible dans celui de l'atmosphère et de la Terre, s'appelait le *ṛta*. La notion en était ancienne car l'ancien Iran la possédait aussi sous des noms linguistiquement similaires: *arta*, chez les Perses Achéménides et *asha* dans le livre sacré de l'Iran antique, l'Avesta.

Un dieu, Varuṇa, un de ceux dont le nom apparaît au XVème siècle avant J.C. dans le traité trouvé en Asie mineure, était censé le gardien de cet ordre du monde qui n'était pas soumis à son caprice éventuel et était donc bien une loi de la nature.

Cinq éléments matériels associés composaient le monde: la terre, l'eau, le feu, le vent et l'espace vide, contenant inerte. La vie dépendait essentiellement du feu mais en liaison nécessaire avec l'eau et le vent.

On croyait constater par observation, expérience et raisonnement que le feu vital pouvait être contenu dans l'eau et véhiculé par elle sur terre à partir du ciel où, lors des orages de mousson, il se révèlait dans les nuages de pluie. Les plantes ne poussaient que grâce à la pluie fécondante de la mousson or elles contenaient du feu puisque l'expérience du frottement de bois froids l'un contre l'autre l'engendrait. En outre la vache et les autres êtres vivants nourris de plantes avaient le

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corps imprégné d'une chaleur qui disparaissait à la mort et même, disait-on, « la vache crue produit du lait cuit ».

Par ailleurs le feu ne peut brûler sans vent et le vent apparaît aussi comme l'agent de tout mouvement dans l'atmosphère et sur la Terre.

Par analogie, le corps humain ou animal apparaissait comme composé des mêmes éléments matériels associés que l'univers: les liquides organiques correspondaient à l'eau, la chaleur animale au feu et le souffle au vent. Un texte védique considère la bile (*pitta*) comme représentant le feu. Les parties solides du corps répondaient à l'élément terre, les cavités des organes au vide. Mais ce sont le feu, l'eau et le souffle qui étaient les agents combinés de la vie du corps comme de toute la nature.

Ces conceptions devaient rester caractéristiques de la médecine classique indienne, l'*Āyurveda* ou « Savoir sur la longévité », jusqu'à nos jours.

D'autres conceptions de philosophie de la nature attestées moins anciennement que ces idées cosmologiques ou cosmo-physiologiques générales remontent pourtant au moins au milieu du premier millénaire avant J.C. et ont joué un rôle dans la formation des théories médicales qui les a conservées et développées.

Certaines sont des conceptions sur le fonctionnement psychique, d'autres sur l'analyse des réalités tant psychologiques que matérielles de l'univers, d'autres encore sont des règles de logique.

La représentation indienne du fonctionnement psychique a été de bonne heure heureusement élaborée. La reconnaissance de l'individualité psychique inconsciente formée ou nourrie par les expériences psychologiques traversées a été précoce. La psychologie intellectualiste de l'Europe, qui n'a dégagé la notion d'inconscient ou de subconscient qu'au XIXème siècle, n'a pas compris les textes indiens de psychologie au début de ce XIXème siècle lors des premières études de textes philosophiques sanskrits.

La théorie est pourtant fort simple. Chacun des phénomènes de conscience, perceptions ou idées, centralisées les unes et les autres dans l'esprit (*manas*, localisé dans le cœur, comme chez les Grecs, et non dans le cerveau) laissent dans l'individualité psychique inconsciente une trace qui n'est pas seulement une empreinte inerte comme celle d'une pression dans de l'argile mais plutôt une incorporation de toute sa nature, dynamisme compris. On appelle ces traces d'une façon imagée « parfumages » (*vāsanā*). Elles s'accumulent et se combinent entre elles pour former des constructions psychiques (*saṃskāra*), composantes inconscientes mais actives de l'individualité. Comme cette individualité existe en dehors des organes sensoriels qui lui ont apporté leurs données, elle ne s'anéantit pas à la mort corporelle. On admet alors qu'elle cherchera à se réincorporer selon ses tendances: d'où la théorie de la transmigration.

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Celle-ci n'intéresse pas la médecine, sauf dans quelques cas exceptionnels, mais les conceptions psychologiques de la culture indienne générale sont adoptées par l'*Āyurveda*.

Il a adopté aussi la philosophie dite du « dénombrement » (*sāṃkhya*) systématisée dans les premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne, mais dont les éléments principaux remontent aux siècles précédant cette ère. Il s'agit d'une analyse des « réalités » (*tattva*) constituant non seulement la Nature dans sa diversité mais encore le principe universel d'existence appelé Purusha, l'« Homme », dont l'être humain est comme une minuscule réplique. Ces « réalités » comprennent non seulement des éléments matériels constitutifs de la nature, mais encore les principes de différenciation de ces éléments et ceux de leur perception, ainsi que les entités psychologiques de conscience, d'esprit et de sentiment du moi.

Enfin — particularité exceptionnelle dans l'ensemble des littératures médicales du monde — la médecine indienne fait place dans ses principaux traités à l'enseignement de la logique. Celle-ci est considérée comme indispensable au médecin pour guider ses jugements de diagnostic et de pronostic et aussi pour défendre en discussion ses idées.

Les diverses philosophies indiennes attachent une grande importance aux critères d'autorité (*pramāṇa*). La logique des médecins en admet trois: l'observation (*pratyakṣa*), l'enseignement des autorités reconnues (*āptavacana*), car il est impossible de tout observer et connaître par soi-même, et l'inférence (*anumāna*), par laquelle on juge de l'existence d'une cause inapparente lorsqu'on observe un phénomène dont on sait par ailleurs qu'il est un effet constant d'une telle cause. La médecine rejette la comparaison, le raisonnement par analogie (*upamāna*) dont elle sait le caractère trompeur mais que d'autres écoles de logique admettent. Elle s'en sert cependant mais comme d'un instrument pédagogique, pour faire entendre plus aisément certaines propositions.

La médecine indienne a donc à plusieurs titres des fondements rationnels appartenant à la culture générale de l'Inde. De plus, et en conséquence de l'attitude rationnelle prise par les fondateurs de l'Āyurveda, cette médecine n'a pas pris possession de l'énorme héritage de magie qu'aurait pu lui laisser le Veda. Le Veda en effet ne contient pas seulement des allusions à des conceptions rationnelles sur l'ordre du monde. Il abonde, surtout dans un Veda particulier, l'*Atharvaveda*, en hymnes magiques contre les maladies. Celles-ci sont traitées par des prières, des rites et des charmes, en même temps que par des remèdes à base de plantes. Or, si l'Āyurveda devait utiliser quantité de plantes médicinales, il ne s'en est jamais tenu à celles qui avaient des vertus magiques. Surtout, il n'a employé en thérapeutique ni les prières, ni les hymnes, ni les charmes, sauf dans des cas absolument exceptionnels. Son but est de comprendre comment se maintient l'état normal, comment se produisent éventuellement les troubles, pour pouvoir choisir la thérapeutique appropriée selon la nature des désordres et les propriétés reconnues aux remèdes. C'est donc seulement la partie ration-

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nelle des conceptions védiques et des philosophies indiennes spéculant sur la nature ou règlant le bon emploi de l'esprit, qui a été adoptée par l'*Āyurveda* et qu'il a, dans l'histoire et jusqu'à nos jours, développée.

La littérature médicale de l'Inde est une des plus abondantes du monde. En dehors des textes relevant de la religion, de la magie et des pratiques populaires ou des pratiques de techniques du corps et de l'esprit qui forment le *Yoga*, elle consiste en un corps d'ouvrages dits d'Āyurveda, « Savoir sur la longévité ».

L'Āyurveda est représenté, dans la forme traditionnelle où il nous est parvenu d'abord par deux traités non datés avec précision mais qui appartiennent dans leur rédaction aux premiers siècles de notre ère. Dans leur rédaction seulement car ils se présentent comme des recueils de savoir traditionnel et déjà rationalisé beaucoup plus anciens.

Ces deux traités sont la *Carakasaṃhitā* et la *Suśrutasaṃhitā* c'est à dire les « collections » (*saṃhitā*) respectivement de Caraka et de Suśruta. Ces deux auteurs prétendent résumer les enseignements d'anciens maîtres qui sont pour Caraka, Ātreya, et pour Suśruta Dhanvantari. Encore Caraka n'est-il que celui qui a remanié une rédaction plus ancienne, par Agniveśa, de l'enseignement d'Ātreya.

La tradition veut que les enseignements primitifs aient été simultanément rédigés par divers disciples des maîtres, mais la plupart de ces rédactions particulières sont perdues. Seules, pour l'école d'Ātreya restent, à côté de la *Carakasaṃhitā*, une rédaction par Bhela, conservée partiellement dans un manuscrit unique et une autre par Hārīta qui vient d'être publiée. Celle-ci a été éditée plusieurs fois dans diverses régions de l'Inde mais elle porte la trace d'additions tardives. Elle n'a donc pas la même autorité ancienne que les autres. En revanche elle tire son importance précisément de son caractère tardif qui permet de juger par elle d'une évolution des enseignements traditionnels.

Un très court recueil de formules thérapeutiques et d'énoncés de principes de médecine, le *Yogaśataka*, la « Centaine de formules » est attribué généralement, mais pas toujours à un patriarche bouddhiste du IIème siècle de notre ère, Nâgârjuna. Il a été, en tout cas, très répandu car on en a trouvé des fragments en original sanskrit accompagné d'une traduction en une langue d'Asie centrale, le koutchéen, et en écriture du VIIème siècle dans l'oasis de Kuca en Asie centrale. Il a d'autre part été traduit en tibétain et finalement imprimé à Ceylan dès la fin du siècle dernier. Son édition en sanskrit et en tibétain doit paraître l'an prochain.

Un autre texte, beaucoup plus volumineux, comparable aux *Collections* de Caraka et Suśruta et qui reproduit beaucoup de leurs données, est l'*Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* de Vāgbhaṭa. Il est fait référence à lui dans un texte arabe du IXème siècle. Il est donc antérieur à cette époque. Il a été traduit lui aussi en tibétain.

Tous ces textes ont fait l'objet de commentaires détaillés très érudits et précis. Ils sont les bases principales de nombreux ouvrages spécia-

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lisés d'analyse des conditions de production des maladies et surtout de thérapeutique.

La doctrine générale, fondée sur les idées cosmologiques du Veda, reconnaît dans le corps humain la présence des cinq matières premières de constitution de la nature: terre, eau, feu, vent et espace et distingue le groupe des trois actives: l'eau sous la forme dans le corps de l'humeur phlegmatique ou pituitaire (*kapha*), du feu sous la forme de la bile (*pitta*) et du vent sous celle de souffle (*prāṇa*). La combinaison équilibrée de ces éléments assure les fonctions vitales, surtout par l'action combinée du feu et du vent, la bile et le souffle, tempérée par celle de l'élément plus lourd, l'eau ou phlegme. L'accentuation d'action de l'un d'eux donne lieu à divers tempéraments chez les hommes à l'état normal. Certains, adipeux, bouffis, indolents, ont une prédominance de phlegme dans leur économie. D'autres, maigres, actifs, coléreux sont de tempérament bilieux, dévorés par leur feu intérieur etc...

Les fonctions physiologiques des trois éléments sont subdivisées en fonctions particulières aux formes diverses qu'ils prennent dans l'organisme. Par exemple, le souffle est de cinq sortes: le souffle de la bouche et des narines responsable de la respiration et de la déglution, le souffle de la phonation, celui du centre du corps qui, agissant sur le feu contenu dans la bile l'attise et permet à ce feu d'opérer la digestion assimilée à une cuisson, puis le souffle d'en bas qui assure l'expulsion des excreta et aussi celle du fœtus à la naissance, enfin le souffle diffusé dans tout le corps et qui fait circuler les liquides dans les divers canaux, assure tous les mouvements du corps et des membres et véhicule aussi les sensations des sens au cœur, siège central de l'esprit.

Comme les Grecs en effet, les Indiens ont cru, d'après l'observation du cadavre, les artères et le cœur vides à l'état de repos et ont localisé la pensée non dans l'encéphale mais dans les cavités cardiaques. Le cœur, appendu à la crosse de l'aorte, était comparé à un bouton de lotus et il était censé s'épanouir de jour et se fermer de nuit comme le lotus, ce qui donnait par une image une explication sommaire de la veille et du sommeil.

La digestion, cuisson de la nourriture au niveau de l'arrivée de la sécrétion biliaire, aboutissait à la séparation, d'une part des excreta et d'autre part du chyle (*rasa*) nourricier se répandant dans le corps soit sous sa forme première soit sous celle de sang qui résultait d'une seconde action du feu biliaire sur le chyle.

En cas de perturbation, par excès ou par insuffisance, de l'action normale du souffle, de la bile et de phlegme, ces éléments devenaient des éléments de trouble (*doṣa*) d'où le nom de *tridoṣa*, les « trois troubles » donné à leur groupe en tant que responsable des désordres aussi bien organiques que fonctionnels et aussi bien matériels que psychiques.

La pratique médicale était fondée d'abord sur l'observation des phénomènes normaux ou anormaux et de leurs occasions de production

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(*nidāna*). D'où l'enseignement minutieux des effets de l'hygiène alimentaires et de ceux du comportement en relation avec l'état du milieu ambiant: climat, saisons, situation géographique, habitat etc...

En clinique, après observation des symptômes et des circonstances d'apparition du mal on pouvait porter un diagnostic d'après l'expérience personnelle antérieurement acquise et les classifications nosologiques connues par l'enseignement classique qu'on avait reçu. On cherchait ensuite à appliquer la thérapeutique, elle aussi apprise ou expérimentée. Cette thérapeutique traitait bien entendu les symptômes, mais visait aussi et particulièrement à supprimer les causes non pas seulement de ces symptômes mais surtout de l'ensemble de l'état morbide qu'ils manifetsaient. Dans le cas où les dites causes n'apparaissaient pas à l'observation immédiate, ce qui était le cas ordinaire, il fallait les inférer. On s'en rapportait alors à la théorie, spécialement à la théorie admise des trois troubles. On cherchait à discerner dans le tableau clinique des signes d'activité ou d'absence d'activité des trois troubles et dans nombre de maladies générales on distinguait des formes cliniques selon l'action qu'on pensait reconnaître de l'un ou l'autre des troubles ou de leurs combinaisons deux à deux ou encore de la perturbation simultanée des trois. Les maladies hémorragiques étaient dues à l'association de la bile avec le sang. Les états typhoïdes à l'action combinée (*sannipāta*) des trois troubles. Les affections dues particulièrement et essentiellement au vent organique sont toutes les affections neurologiques et aussi les tuméfactions des membres, si bien qu'on a pu traduire *vātaroga* « mal dû au vent » tantôt par paralysie, tantôt par rhumatisme, voire tétanos. Cet exemple montre que les dénominations des maladies ne correspondent pas toujours à des symptômes ou à des syndromes caractéristiques puisqu'elles peuvent dériver de la pathogénie supposée. Les noms tirés des symptômes s'imposaient néanmoins dans un grand nombre de cas mais alors le plus souvent des distinctions étaient établies selon les formes cliniques. Par exemple les diarrhées profuses, *atisāra*, littéralement « excès de flux », sont distinguées des chroniques qui reçoivent le nom de *grahaṇī*. Les « fièvres », *jvara*, forment un groupe différent des « inflammations », *dāha*. Elles sont elles-mêmes classées de deux façons, selon leur évolution clinique: continues, intermittentes, de deuxième, de troisième de quatrième jour (et elles correspondent alors aux accès paludéens), ou irrégulières, ou selon la part supposée prise par les agents de trouble dans leur production. Elles sont alors « avec vent », « avec bile », « avec phlegme », ou « avec l'action simultanée des trois ».

La thérapeutique est tantôt symptomatique, selon la connaissance empirique qu'on possède de l'effet des traitements, tantôt dirigée contre les causes de l'affection, causes inférées de signes accompagnant les symptômes proprement dits. C'est là que, pour choisir la conduite à tenir, le médecin âyurvédique doit se plier aux règles de jugement et particulièrement de l'inférence (anumāna), qui sont enseignées ou au moins rappelées par les textes classiques.

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La matière médicale est essentiellement végétale et comporte beaucoup de drogues qui ont été ou sont encore utilisées en pharmacopée européenne. Elles ne sont pas toutes indiennes, le commerce ancien avec l'Asie occidentale, même l'Afrique orientale, et surtout l'Asie orientale, ayant permis quantité d'échanges d'espèces utiles. Les plantes alimentaires font partie de la matière médicale en raison de l'importance attachée au régime. Non seulement on prescrit ou contrindique tel ou tel aliment dans certaines maladies, mais encore on fixe les règles d'usage en état de santé des substances nutritives selon la saison, le temps, le jour ou la nuit, le tempérament du sujet, ses occupations etc... Les Grecs avaient déjà remarqué à la fin du IVème siècle avant J.C. la prédilection des médecins indiens pour le bon régime alimentaire et pour les méditations externes.

Les plantes sont employées sous toutes les formes possibles, en macérations et décoctions, en pâtes et en pastilles dont l'excipient est souvent le miel ou la mélasse de sucre de canne ou du palmier, en potions à l'huile ou au beurre liquide, en onguents, liniments, collyres, gargarismes et errhins. Les lavements sont à l'eau ou à l'huile, les suppositoires et pessaires en pâtes diverses. Le vinaigre fournit l'acidité, le lait, l'urine et les lessives de cendres de céréales procurent des éléments minéraux et basiques.

Quelques minéraux sont employés à l'état natif, tels que la stibine (sulfure d'antimoine), l'orpiment (sulfure d'arsenic) et le réalgar (sulfure rouge d'arsenic). Mais il existe postérieurement à la formation de l'Āyurveda une médecine chimique, apparentée à l'alchimie de l'Antiquité et du Moyen-Âge et où le mercure (*rasa*) joue un rôle majeur. On rapporte l'enseignement de cet art au patriarche bouddhiste Nāgārjuna auquel est attribué le *Yogaśataka*, purement âyurvédique mentionné plus haut.

La thérapeutique chirurgicale est peu développée bien que quelques opérations indiennes soient célèbres comme celles des sutures intestinales au moyen de têtes de fourmis auxquelles on faisait mordre les lèvres de la plaie, les opérations de la pierre, l'embryotomie et la greffe de peau nasale par un lambeau prélevé sur le front en gardant un pédicule. L'abaissement de la cataracte est remarquablement décrit avec ses indications, contrindications et accidents.

L'hygiène générale, en dehors de l'hygiène alimentaire, est abondamment détaillée dans la pratique âyurvédique. Les bains, ou plus exactement les douches, en usage général et au moins quotidien dans l'ensemble de la population indienne ont étonné la plupart des voyageurs étrangers, européens ou chinois. Les douches, médicamenteuses, les fomentations, pulvérisations, inhalations, bains de vapeur, font en outre partie de l'arsenal thérapeutique.

Les traitements magiques d'une part et les pratiques de yoga d'autre part, qui sont courants en Inde depuis l'Antiquité et sont aujourd'hui parfois utilisés concurremment avec les traitements âyurvédiques ne font pas partie de la tradition âyurvédique, même lorsqu'ils reposent, comme c'est le cas pour une partie des exercices de yoga, sur des principes

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rationnels. Exceptionnellement une ou deux formules à réciter en vue de renforcer l'action des médicaments se trouvent mentionnées dans les traités âyurvédiques, même dans ceux qui, au titre de la réglementation du comportement normal, font allusion aux rites domestiques, et par conséquent ne s'opposent pas par principe à tout rituel.

Il existe pourtant dans les grands traités médicaux classiques un certain nombre de chapitres particuliers relatifs aux pronostics qui n'utilisent pas la doctrine âyurvédique générale et relèvent de la divination pure et simple. C'est le cas de pronostics par les rêves et aussi par l'observation des circonstances d'arrivée des messagers venant quérir le médecin, ou des rencontres faites en se rendant au chevet du malade. Or ces textes concordent pour la matière et même pour la forme avec des textes de même genre appartenant à la culture mésopotamienne. Comme celle-ci a été répandue dans le Nord-Ouest de l'Inde sous la domination des Perses Achéménides à laquelle Alexandre a mis fin au IVème siècle avant J.C., il apparaît comme très probable que l'art de divination médicale ainsi enseigné dans l'Āyurveda n'appartient pas originellement à celui-ci et a été emprunté, puis juxtaposé aux enseignements âyurvédiques sans y être adapté. Il en est de même des enseignements astrologiques qui proviennent du monde hellénique et n'apparaissent qu'assez tardivement dans les textes de l'Āyurveda.

D'autres emprunts à l'étranger sont également apparents dans des textes âyurvédiques relativement tardifs. C'est le cas de la pratique de l'examen du pouls non mentionnée dans les ouvrages classiques fondamentaux et qui pourrait avoir été instituée à l'exemple de la Chine. Mais il s'agirait alors d'un emprunt limité à l'idée d'examiner le pouls et non de l'emprunt de la pratique chinoise. En effet les informations recherchées ne sont pas celles que visent les médecins chinois. Il y a adaptation à la doctrine indienne des « trois troubles ». Le pouls renseigne le médecin indien sur l'activité du vent organique, du phlegme et de la bile.

L'Āyurveda a donc fait des emprunts, n'a pas cherché, une fois constitué, à garder une tradition immuable. Il a surtout emprunté au cours des siècles des produits médicinaux nouveaux, voire introduit dans l'hygiène alimentaire générale des substances étrangères dont la culture s'est répandue, tel le piment introduit d'Amérique à l'époque de l'implantation portugaise.

Réciproquement l'Āyurveda a eu une grande influence à l'extérieur, dans tous les pays où il a été transporté avec le bouddhisme et le brahmanisme, c'est-à-dire en Asie centrale, en Chine, au Tibet, en Mongolie, en Corée, au Japon et dans toute l'Asie du Sud-est. Au Japon des drogues indiennes avec leur catalogue et leurs noms indiens ont été conservées jusqu'à nos jours dans un temple bouddhique célèbre depuis le VIIIème siècle. Au Sud-est asiatique c'est autant avec le brahmanisme, surtout la religion de Śiva, qu'avec le bouddhisme que l'Āyurveda s'est propagé faisant avec la contrée de nombreux échanges de produits médicinaux.

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Antérieurement à l'ère chrétienne, et surtout pendant la période de domination de l'Inde du Nord par les Perses Achéménides qui englobaient dans leur empire aussi bien les Grecs d'Asie que des Egyptiens et des Indiens, la médecine âyurvédique a eu des échos dans le monde grec. En effet, la Collection hippocratique mentionne comme médicament indien le poivre long (Piper longum, en sanskrit *pippali*) qu'elle fait venir par l'intermédiaire des Perses et qu'elle appelle *peperi* (ce qui est en effet une forme iranienne du mot pippali). C'est de là que vient notre nom de « poivre », nom passé à une autre espèce (Piper nigrum), celle que nous utilisons dans la cuisine et qui est aussi une espèce indienne. De plus, la Collection hippocratique contient un traité *Des Vents* qui enseigne, quoique sans référence à l'Inde, la théorie classique indienne voyant dans le vent le moteur de l'organisme comme de l'univers. Enfin et surtout Platon, dans son *Timée*, enseigne, lui aussi sans référence, une théorie de physiologie et de pathologie qui ne se rencontre pas ailleurs dans la littérature grecque et qui concorde avec celle de l'Āyurveda classique des trois *dosha*. La concordance n'est d'ailleurs pas seulement générale mais porte aussi sur des détails qui ne résultent pas de l'observation naturelle mais répondent à des idées qu'il serait difficile de croire inventées indépendamment deux fois.

Aujourd'hui l'Āyurveda reste vivant en Inde. Il est considéré par les uns comme devant être abandonné au plus tôt, par d'autres comme indispensable dans une période de transition, en attendant la diffusion universelle de la médecine moderne. Certains le prétendent supérieur à toute médecine moderne et s'efforcent naïvement de montrer que les découvertes d'aujourd'hui avaient déjà été faites dans l'Antiquité indienne. Le gouvernement indien s'efforce d'en favoriser l'enseignement et d'en contrôler la pratique, en même temps que celle d'autres systèmes médicaux tels que l'homéopathie, la médecine dite *yūnānī*, qui dérive de la médecine grecque importée par les Musulmans, et la médecine des *Siddha*, laquelle combine des prescriptions âyurvédiques avec la médecine indienne chimique. En effet, il est pratiquement impossible de supprimer l'exercice de la médecine âyurvédique à défaut de laquelle une grande partie de la population serait tout à coup privée de soins. Mais il est indispensable qu'une instruction soit répandue quant à sa mise en œuvre et aux dangers que fait courir aux malades l'incompétence des guérisseurs âyurvédiques improvisés.

L'Āyurveda n'est d'ailleurs pas à rejeter en bloc comme suranné. Il emploie des médications dont l'efficacité est parfois évidente et qu'ils est utile d'étudier pour l'enrichissement de la pharmacopée actuelle. Par ailleurs ses observations d'hygiène alimentaire et générale ne sont pas sans valeur, au moins pour les conditions écologiques au milieu desquelles elles ont été faites. Leur vérification peut être plus utile que le transport mécanique en Inde ou en d'autre pays tropicaux de prescriptions de régimes éprouvées en Europe ou en Amérique du Nord et appliquées sans discernement à des populations vivant dans des conditions biologiques différentes.

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GIORGIO RENATO FRANCI

ŚRĪ ARAVINDA (AUROBINDO)
INTERPRETE DELLA CULTURA INDIANA PIÙ ANTICA

1. Traendo vita e forza da un'esperienza metafisica straordinariamente unitaria, la multiforme ricchezza degli interessi di Śrī Aurobindo * si è espressa in un'attività creativa varia e feconda: la molteplicità della sua opera consente e autorizza un esame condotto secondo le prospettive delle diverse scienze umane, un esame, quindi, che potrà porre al centro del proprio interesse ora il pensiero sintetico e innovatore, ora le dottrine sociali, oppure l'arte che esprime con la parola i livelli superiori della coscienza, o la teoria estetica, o, ancora, i commenti che s'inseriscono con notevole autonomia di posizioni nella grande tradizione dei *bhāṣya*: tutti aspetti, questi, del suo magistero che, per una corretta comprensione della sua figura, andranno sempre ricondotti a quell'unità di fondo che rimane in ogni caso suo merito — ma, perché possano essere recepiti e, eventualmente, utilizzati nella cultura comune, è necessario che questi singoli aspetti della sua attività siano vagliati criticamente, senza infatuazioni e senza ostilità preconcette, per il peso dei loro apporti specifici.

In precedenza mi sono occupato, sempre molto brevemente, delle dottrine linguistiche di A. [1], della sua interpretazione della *Bhagavadgītā* [2] e delle prospettive che egli scorgeva per l'evoluzione umana [3]. Non mi

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* Abbrevio il nome di Aurobindo in A. (La grafia Aravinda è più che altro un omaggio alla forma sanscrita del nome che ha raggiunto una così vasta celebrità nella trascrizione inglese della sua pronuncia *bengali*). Altre abbreviazioni di cui mi servo: *L.D.* = *The Life Divine*, Pondicherry, 1960; *O.V.* = *On the Veda*, *ibid.*, 1964; *Hymns* = *Hymns to the Mystic Fire*, *ibid.*, 1952; *Ṛv.* = *Ṛgveda* (cit. nell'ediz. dell'Aufrecht, Wiesbaden, 1955 [3]). Desidero anche specificare qui, *in limine*, che pur facendo uso della corrente trascrizione scientifica, ho lasciato immutata la grafia aurobindiana dei termini indiani nelle citazioni dirette delle sue opere, anche se tradotte.

1. Cfr. *Le idee linguistiche di Çrī Aurobindo*, nei miei *Saggi indologici*, Bologna, 1969, pp. 53-62.

2. Cfr. *Un metafisico e la Bhagavadgītā*, *ibid.*, pp. 188-190.

3. Cfr. i miei *Appunti sul 'progetto uomo' di Śrī Aurobindo*, in *Gururājamañjarikā, Studi in onore di Giuseppe Tucci*, Napoli, 1974, pp. 479-486.

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pare fuori luogo adesso, in un convegno di sanscritisti, abbozzare, perché non sarà niente più che un abbozzo, una presentazione delle sue idee a proposito della fase più antica della cultura indiana, quella cultura che trovò nel sanscrito il più autorevole strumento espressivo e con ogni probabilità il maggior fattore di coesione.

2. Le correnti spirituali indiane si sono fondate molto spesso sui tesori di una grandezza antica, ma tuttora viva e operante, come sapienza, norma, mito, nella coscienza delle età successive: il che ha fatto sì che una parte rilevante della loro produzione letteraria si presenti come una sorta di esegesi, animata dall'esigenza di mantenere una connessione chiara, addirittura inequivocabile, con un mondo di verità e valori stabili e perciò fondamentali, in una specie d'interscambio fecondo, anche se non adeguatamente riconosciuto nella sua reale natura, in cui il passato arricchisce e « consolida » il presente, e questo, nella sua mutevole consapevolezza, illumina variamente quello, fino, talora — come notava il Renou [4] a proposito dell'interpretazione çankariana della tradizione brahmanica — fino talora, anzi abbastanza frequentemente, a conformarlo, per una sorta di *choc en retour*, a propria immagine, con interpretazioni, quali che ne fossero le intenzioni, di fatto prevaricatrici, spesso assai acute, sempre culturalmente significative [5]. Quest'abito esegetico si abbeverava, in effetti, per lo più alla fonte di concezioni mitiche, di fronte alle quali impallidivano o scomparivano le differenze e peculiarità storiche, perché ciò che contava veramente sfuggiva a ogni forma del divenire, i valori regnavano in una specie di Olimpo metastorico, remoto eppure raggiungibile, in ogni caso esemplarmente efficace.

Questo modo di vedere le cose, proprio di tanta spiritualità indiana, negli ultimi due secoli si è incontrato con gli apporti, operanti massicciamente in senso storicistico, della cultura occidentale, cioè di un modello egemonico, potente e prestigioso [6]; l'incontro, compiutosi in vario modo e a vari livelli, a seconda delle tendenze e della preparazione culturale delle personalità coinvolte, costituisce comunque uno dei capitoli più interessanti della storia della spiritualità indiana contemporanea, parte non irrilevante di quell'ampia materia di studio che offrono all'esame degli specialisti dei singoli campi, degli antropologi, dei filosofi della cultura, gli incontri fra le civiltà e le conseguenti influenze, tra-

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4. Cfr. ÇANKARA, *Prolégomènes au Vedānta*, ... par L. Renou, Paris, 1951, p. I.

5. Questo fenomeno di proiezione del presente nel passato, del resto, non è certo esclusivo della cultura indiana: si pensi per esempio al neopitagorismo, a molto neoplatonismo, alla « riappropriazione profetica » di culti e tradizioni preesistenti; comunque il fenomeno si presenta in India con particolare evidenza e vigore.

6. I tre aggettivi vorrebbero alludere a quell'intreccio di potenza politica e di supremazia culturale che molti Indiani percepirono, e certo soffrirono a tutti i livelli, anche subconsci, nel dominio coloniale, veicolo di una cultura di evidentissima superiorità scientifica e tecnica, quale che fosse poi il giudizio che se ne poteva dare sul piano dei valori spirituali.

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sformazioni, reazioni [7]. In questo capitolo indiano di un libro le cui vicende si stanno ancora svolgendo sotto i nostri occhi, il lavoro esegetico di A., la sua linea interpretativa, rappresenta certo una delle pagine più importanti, come documento particolarmente rivelatore di una tendenza diffusa, come espressione autorevole nel campo storico di una concezione fortemente sintetica, consapevolmente arricchita [8], se non sostanziata, degli apporti di diverse culture, e tesa a un loro superamento in una civiltà più alta.

3. Già una prima significativa caratteristica differenzia nettamente da quello tradizionale l'approccio di A. al passato della cultura della sua terra, una caratteristica di fatto: l'allargamento della visuale alla preistoria. Il concetto di preistoria, infatti, è sostanzialmente estraneo alla cultura indiana classica, ed è di derivazione europea, come, del resto, la pratica stessa dell'archeologia in India [9], sulla quale le nostre nozioni della preistoria indiana si fondano.

È, ovviamente, un peccato che A. non abbia potuto sfruttare, per la sua interpretazione della fase più antica della cultura indiana le scoperte che hanno rivelato al mondo l'esistenza in India di una delle più grandi civiltà protostoriche, aprendo nuovi orizzonti e talora mettendo in discussione certezze che sembravano acquisite: in effetti la scoperta della civiltà dell'Indo, e soprattutto la percezione della sua effettiva importanza nella coscienza dei non specialisti, sono posteriori alla fase più aperta e ricettiva della sua formazione culturale, come anche, sia pure di poco, agli anni del suo impegno più diretto ed esplicito in questo campo. Questo può spiegare perché l'incontro con la preistoria e la protostoria indiane si sia compiuto soprattutto su basi linguistiche e filologiche.

Dal momento che delle concezioni linguistiche aurobindiane anche a proposito di questa materia mi sono già occupato, sia pur succintamente, altrove, e dato anche che egli non ci ha dato in un'opera organica l'espressione conclusiva del suo pensiero in questo campo (il suo

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7. In realtà tra le conseguenze non rarissime di questi incontri figurano anche le distruzioni delle culture più « deboli »: cfr., per una rapida sintesi delle ragioni e forme di questo fenomeno, E. Cerulli, *Inculturazione Deculturazione Acculturazione Etno- e Genocidio*, Genova, 1972, ecc. La grande ricchezza del suo patrimonio ha evitato all'India questa specie di tragedia totale, senza riuscire però a impedire guasti parziali anche rilevanti. La dinamica delle altre conseguenze dell'incontro di una cultura tradizionale con la cultura europea ha avuto in terra indiana uno sviluppo notevolissimo.

8. Per limitarci a un esempio particolarmente evidente, si pensi che A. si pone problemi ignoti ai commentatori indiani tradizionali, affrontando questioni di critica testuale chiaramente provocate dallo « scetticismo » occidentale, come quella relativa all'*Urtext* del *Mahābhārata*: cfr. *Vyasa and Valmiki*, Pondicherry, 1964.

9. Cfr., per questo punto, p. es. l'esplicito riconoscimento di una pubblicazione ufficiale come il volume pubblicato in occasione del centenario dell'*Archaelogical Survey of India*: S. Roy, *The Story of Indian Archaeology*, 1784-1947, New Delhi, 1961: specialmente a p. 6.

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contributo specifico si riduce a un capitolo di un libro non scritto [10] e a sparsi accenni), mi sembra opportuno limitarmi a fissare alcuni punti essenziali, che possono servire a comprendere meglio il suo atteggiamento, le sue ragioni e le conseguenze di esso.

A. si era formato in un'epoca ormai di riflusso dopo le grandi scoperte, non sempre sicure, della linguistica ottocentesca: il ripensamento, se non la crisi, era profondo, almeno negli esponenti più sensibili [11] a certi scricchiolii premonitori in una costruzione apparentemente perfetta. Anche A. polemizza contro quelle che gli parevano le conquiste fallaci di studiosi fervidi, ma talora avventati, per esempio respingendone le estrapolazioni nel campo della ricostruzione storico-culturale... Ma egli va oltre: il fulcro del suo interesse è l'India, nel cui tessuto etnico si usa riconoscere, tra le altre, una componente *ārya* e una dravidica. La permanenza nell'India meridionale convince invece A. della sostanziale unità indiana dal punto di vista etnico, quali che siano le varietà regionali, ma non soltanto da quello: anche dal punto di vista culturale [12]. Che dire dunque della netta distinzione tra lingue arie e dravidiche ammessa dalla scienza moderna? All'esame di A. anch'essa mostra un'insanabile debolezza [13]: mediante un'analisi, del resto appena abbozzata e basata soprattutto sul lessico [14], egli giunge a superare quella frattura di fondo, prospettando l'ipotesi che la famiglia linguistica indoeuropea e la dravidica siano derivate entrambe da una lingua primitiva comune, alla quale sarebbe ancor oggi possibile ricondurle [15].

Non possiamo seguire qui le altre idee aurobindiane in questo campo, idee spesso suggestive, ma anche chiaramente inaccettabili al livello attuale delle nostre conoscenze scientifiche [16]; basti dunque dire che sulla base delle considerazioni suaccennate l'unica prova di un contrasto etnico tra *ārya* e *draviḍa*, di un'invasione *ārya* contrastata da questi popoli di più antico insediamento, poteva ormai essere costituita dal *Veda*, che secondo l'interpretazione filologico-storica comunemente

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10. *The Origins of Aryan Speech* (in appendice a *O.V.*, pp. 563-594).

11. A dire il vero, pare molto poco probabile che A., non specialista di linguistica, fosse al corrente delle tendenze più nuove e significative in questo campo. In genere i suoi scritti dànno l'impressione di prendere a oggetto delle proprie critiche uno stato della cultura e della ricerca scientifica già superato da anni in Occidente. Cfr., per un rilievo analogo, K. W. Bolle, *The Persistence of Religion*, Leiden, 1971 (Repr.), p. 100.

12. Cfr. *O.V.*, pp. 39-40.

13. Cfr. *ibid.*, pp. 40, 573, ecc.

14. Cioè su di una base assai più generica e labile di quella su cui si fonda l'indoeuropeistica a partire almeno dal Bopp. Per di più i termini cui A. fa riferimento sono soprattutto nomi di parentela, in massima parte formazioni fanciullesche elementari, tipo *ammā*, *ambā*, cioè termini, per il loro primitivismo fonetico e la diffusione estesissima, molto poco significativi sul piano della ricostruzione e comparazione linguistica.

15. Cfr. *O.V.*, p. 41.

16. Per una loro critica, cfr. il saggio cit. alla n. 1, specialmente pp. 61-62.

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accettata fornirebbe ampia testimonianza di questo conflitto, specialmente nelle sue parti più antiche. Ecco dunque il perché di questo suo incontro con la *śruti*, specialmente con la *Saṃhitā* degli inni [17], e la ragione dell'angolatura particolare dell'interesse di A., che, non dimentichiamolo, era stato, contro ogni dominio straniero e ogni possibile spartizione, uno dei campioni dell'unità della sacra terra dell'Indo e del Gange [18].

4. Certo, intendere il preciso significato della testimonianza culturale vedica appariva impresa tutt'altro che semplice, perché non esiste una tradizione esegetica unitaria e ininterrotta dall'epoca remota dei primi testi fino ai nostri giorni. A. passa in rassegna le interpretazioni più autorevoli e ne lumeggia gli apporti positivi e i limiti [19]: di Yāska apprezza l'utile lavoro lessicografico, ma rileva la scarsa attendibilità delle sue etimologie; di Sāyaṇa riconosce la grandiosità dell'assunto, ma ritiene che egli si sia fermato all'esterno del tempio, traviato da una sorta di ossessione ritualistica che lo induce, per soverchio amore di coerenza, a licenze e abusi di vario genere, a una scarsa cura delle sfumature semantiche [20]. Quanto all'esegesi moderna occidentale il giudizio aurobindiano è parimenti, se non maggiormente [21], negativo, per un complesso di ragioni: in certi suoi esponenti essa segue troppo pedissequamente Sāyaṇa, in ogni caso si basa sulle conquiste, largamente ipote-

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17. Perché, essendo comunemente considerata la più antica dagli studiosi, avrebbe probabilmente potuto fornire maggior lume sulla cultura indiana più remota. Per le ben diverse ragioni intrinseche che portano gli aurobindiani a privilegiare il *Ṛv.*, cfr. p. es. T. V. Kapali Sastri, *Lights on the Veda*, Pondicherry, 1961 [2], p. 43.

18. Intendo dire che anche in questa sua ricerca A. è guidato da esigenze analoghe a quelle che lo spinsero a scendere in campo in difesa dell'unità della sua terra, minacciata, secondo lui e altri nazionalisti, dalla spartizione del Bengala, nel 1905, e che tanti anni dopo lo avrebbero indotto a uno dei suoi rarissimi interventi politici dopo il ritiro a Pondicherry (un suo messaggio contro la *Partition* fu radiotrasmesso il 14 agosto 1947). Che egli poi vedesse nell'India un'unità spirituale organica, l'espressione vivente della verità eterna, destinata per volontà divina non solo all'unità, ma ad una funzione di guida tra le nazioni, risulta da numerosi suoi scritti: cfr. per questo l'ampia trattazione di V. P. Varma, *The Political Philosophy of Sri Aurobindo*, Bombay, 1960, *passim*.

19. Ovviamente sintetizzo al massimo i suoi rilievi, cercando di mettere in luce i punti essenziali di ciò che dice in *O.V.*

20. Cfr. però questi riconoscimenti che possono completare positivamente il quadro: « very rarely does he put forward any higher meaning though sometimes he lets a higher sense come through or puts it as an alternative as if in despair of finding out some ritualistic or mythical interpretation. But still he does not reject the spiritual authority of the Veda or deny thet there is a higher truth contained in the Riks... » (*Hymns*, p. II). (Noto qui per inciso che in un saggio come questo, per forza sintetico, non posso prendere in esame l'ipotesi di mutamenti nell'interpretazione di A., di oscillazioni nei giudizi: se mai queste variazioni ci furono, ci sembra però di poter affermare che si può trattare al massimo di sfumature, tranne forse che nel caso della sua valutazione delle *Upaniṣad*).

21. Cfr. *O.V.*, *passim* (specialmente c. III). Cfr. Anche, per quest'ultimo punto, M. P. Pandit, *Mystic Approach to the Veda and the Upanishad*, Pondicherry, 1966 [2], p. 15.

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tiche, della filologia comparata, compiendo estrapolazioni inaccettabili. Per di più, esplicito o implicito, al fondo di troppe interpretazioni occidentali si può scoprire un pericoloso pregiudizio, il peccato di orgoglio e d'ignoranza [22] di chi non sa scorgere fasi o punti intermedi fra il selvaggio primitivo e Platone [23], e con ciò barbarizza troppo il *Veda*, certo pre-platonico, cioè pre-filosofico, nelle sue parti più antiche.

Neppure le interpretazioni o gli inquadramenti storici proposti da alcuni campioni della *Hindu Renaissance* soddisfano completamente A.: non quelli del Tilak [24] o di T. P. Iyer [25], che, al massimo, possono essere considerati punti di partenza momentaneamente accettabili, ma bisognosi di successive verifiche, di una nuova interpretazione esterna dell'antica rivelazione [26], ma neppure lo appaga l'interpretazione di Dayānanda [27], che gli pare difficile da seguire nei suoi voli, e troppo violenta, per amore di una prospettiva monocorde, contro la lettera esplicita dei testi.

Ecco dunque la necessità di un'altra interpretazione, per la quale A. propone un'ipotesi, o meglio: all'inizio A. la presenta come ipotesi a integrazione e ampliamento delle altre già correnti, ma poi egli si rivela sempre più convinto di avere la chiave, il magico « apriti sesamo » che può introdurre l'uomo del nostro tempo nel mondo, altrimenti precluso, di quelle remote verità: perché, che di verità si trattasse, non di dati storici di fronte ai quali si può restare indifferenti, ma di verità che coinvolgono il nostro destino, di questo gli parve ben presto impossibile dubitare, per la forza stessa della ragione più profonda che lo spingeva all'incontro con il vedismo: abbiamo veduto in precedenza che la sua permanenza nell'India meridionale, mettendo in crisi una radicata convinzione culturale, col rivelargli la sostanziale unità etnica dell'India, lo spinse a verificare sui testi vedici la fondatezza della *communis opinio* a proposito della diversità e opposizione fra *ārya* e *draviḍa*, ma questa spinta non fu probabilmente la più importante, l'impulso decisivo gli venne, secondo le sue parole, dalla sua stessa esperienza spirituale: « Il mio primo contatto con il pensiero vedico si verificò indirettamente, mentre seguivo certe linee di autosviluppo nella via dello Yoga... In quell'occasione cominciò a prodursi nella mia mente un ordinamento

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22. Perché trascura la catena evolutiva che ci lega alle forme più modeste e elementari di vita, con l'albagia di chi si sente diverso e signore.

23. Cfr. *O.V.*, p. 29.

24. A. fa riferimento a *The Arctic Home in the Vedas* (pubblicato a Poona nel 1903).

25. *The Riks*, Bangalore, 1911.

26. Cfr. *O.V.*, p. 38.

27. È singolare che, nonostante, la distinzione sempre abbastanza netta della propria posizione da quella di Dayānanda, A. sia stato scambiato per un suo seguace, almeno agli inizi della sua attività esegetica, da uno studioso insigne e informatissimo come il Renou (*Bibliographie védique*, p. 13). Per le ragioni profonde del pur rispettoso dissenso di A. rispetto a Dayānanda, cfr. Bolle, cit. alla n. 11, p. 101.

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di nomi simbolici connessi con certe esperienze psicologiche che avevano cominciato a regolarizzarsi, e tra loro comparivano le figure di tre energie femminili, Ila, Saraswati, Sarama »[28]. Ma qualsiasi interpretazione puramente letterale del testo vedico gli si rivelava incapace di spiegare la connessione esistente tra queste figure della sua mente e le omonime della *śruti*. Se c'era, come non gli sembrava lecito dubitare, questa connessione, che valore poteva avere l'interpretazione letterale? Ad A. pareva che essa potesse essere accettata entro limiti molto ristretti, come modo di lettura di chi non sa penetrare nella reale natura di un messaggio prezioso. Se il *Ṛv.* dice: « *gūḷháṃ jyótiḥ pitáro ánv avindan satyámantrā ajanayann uṣásam* »[29], come può trattarsi dell'aurora fisica, e non invece di qualcosa di cui l'aurora, con la sua luce che vince le tenebre, è simbolo? Se, ancora, il *Ṛv.* afferma che « *sáṃ te gávas táma á vartayanti, jyótir yachanti* »[30] come si può trattare di semplici vacche, non saranno piuttosto raggi di quell'aurora di cui nell'inno precedentemente citato si dice che è stata generata dai padri realizzatori delle sacre formule, di un'aurora cioè non fisica?[31].

Pur nella coerenza di un discorso che non esclude certo sempre la possibilità di una comprensione letterale a prima vista almeno accettabile, il linguaggio vedico appare dunque ad A. ricco di doppi sensi, quelli che nella tradizione successiva saranno classificati come *śleṣa*, ma che nel vedismo non sono artifizi espressivi oppure giochi raffinati o pedanti di artisti sapienti, sono invece le manifestazioni rivelatrici di una fase linguistica arcaica[32], nella quale le parole, non ancora fossilizzate, non ancora incatenate a un significato preciso come nelle epoche seguenti, hanno valori tuttora fluidi, variamente colorabili a seconda del contesto, perché non esprimono un'idea, quanto piuttosto un'emozione, un'intuizione fondamentale. Ecco dunque perché è spesso accettabile anche il senso letterale della *śruti*, il quale conserva una sua coerenza: l'intuizione fondamentale può presentarsi ai diversi livelli con significati differenti, ma non opposti, legati anzi tra loro tramite quel vincolo comune che è costituito dall'emozione percettiva originaria: così, per esempio, *aśva* significa « cavallo » sul piano fisico, e rappresenta l'energia e la forza sul piano dei valori simbolici.

A. riconosce dunque una sorta di esoterismo naturale[33], almeno nelle sue origini, per il quale ciascun « utente » della *śruti* accede ad essa al

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28. *O.V.*, p. 33.
29. *Ṛv.*, VII,76,4 (*O.V.*, p. 138).
30. *Ibid.*, VII,78,2 (*O.V.*, p. 135).
31. Che l'interpretazione letterale naturalistica conduca, se universalizzata con coerente rigore, a delle assurdità, è ripetuto più volte da A. in *O.V.*, *Hymns* (*Foreword*), ecc. cfr. anche KAPALI, cit. alla n. 17, pp. 12-13, ecc.
32. Cfr. *O.V.*, spec. c. V.
33. Uso un'espressione cara, credo, ai guénoniani, per indicare un segreto che è tale per la sua natura intima, per chi non sa penetrarla, più che per una volontà deliberata di copertura mediante velami verbali: il che non esclude eventuali intenzioni criptiche, rese possibili dalla natura stessa del linguaggio vedico; A. e i suoi seguaci negano invece che nascano da convenzioni artificiose.

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livello che le sue qualificazioni gli consentono: la lettera non esclude il valore simbolico, anzi ad esso più volte esplicitamente rinvia [34], ma la sussistenza di una rete di significati simbolici non comporta l'annullamento di quelli letterali, che però si muovono su livelli infinitamente più bassi [35]. L'interpretazione di A. non sostituisce completamente le altre, ma, subordinandole e integrandole, si presenta come più vera, perché più organica e perché fa accedere a verità e a valori più elevati. A. la chiama giustamente interpretazione psicologica, perché riconduce all'esperienza spirituale le vicende vediche, anche quelle su cui è stata costruita l'ipotesi vacillante del conflitto storico tra gli *ārya* e i non *ārya*. Sintetizzando all'estremo, possiamo affermare, riprendendo le parole di A. stesso, che « la concezione centrale del *Veda* è la conquista della verità, fuori dalle tenebre dell'ignoranza, e, mediante la conquista della verità, anche la conquista dell'immortalità » [36]. Per evadere dalle limitazioni del nostro mondo, del nostro esistere in una realtà dimidiata e confusa, bisogna combattere: la nostra vita dev'essere una lotta fra i poteri e le forze della verità e della luce, gli dei, e i poteri delle tenebre (Vṛtra, Vala, i Paṇi, i Dasyu). In questa lotta, che è intima, ma che non può non riguardare anche la realtà fuori di noi, riflesso e oggetto del nostro sentire e agire, dobbiamo invocare l'aiuto degli dei per distruggere gli ostacoli frappostici dalle forze paralizzanti dell'ignoranza e del male, e invochiamo gli dei con la parola e la formula sacra, il *mantra*, per donare loro il nostro sacrificio, che è, in fondo, l'offerta di noi stessi, di ciò che di noi ci è più caro, al principio spirituale più alto, costituendo così una specie di celebrazione, o meglio: riattivazione, di quel sacrificio primordiale da cui ha tratto origine il divenire cosmico [37]. Dall'offerta sacrificale verranno all'uomo ricchezze e altri beni, cioè uno stato di accresciuta prosperità spirituale, condizione che costituisce un

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34. Cfr. p.es. quanto A. dice in *Hymns*, pp. VII-VIII, a proposito dei *niṇyā vâcāṅsi* di *Ṛv.* IV,3,16 e di altre indicazioni analoghe. Cfr. anche PANDIT, cit. alla n. 21, p. 21, ecc. Si tratta, a nostro parere, d'indizi interessanti, per quanto probabilmente non conclusivi, dell'esistenza di almeno una certa aura di segretezza iniziatica.

35. Cioè mi sembra che, seguendo e sviluppando questa linea aurobindiana, si potrebbe giungere per il *Ṛv.*, a posizioni analoghe a quelle di certa recente critica dantesca che scorge nel « discorrere per emblemi » della *Divina Commedia* l'espressione del sentimento vitale che Dante, sulla scia di tutta una tradizione medievale d'immagini, metafore, allegorie, ha dell'analogia degli esseri.

36. *O.V.*, p. 258. Cfr. anche *Hymns*, pp. XXI-XXII: « There is a Truth deeper and higher than the truth of outward existence, a Light greater and higher than the light of human understanding which comes by revelation and inspiration, an immortality towards wich the soul has to rise. We have to find our way to that, to get into touch with this Truth and Immortaly, *sapanta ṛtaṃ amṛtaṃ*, to be born into the Truth, to grow in it, to ascend in spirit into the world of Truth and to live in it. To do so is to unite ourselves with the Godhead and to pass from mortality into immortality. This is the first and central teaching of the Vedic mystics ».

37. Tale è l'interpretazione aurobindiana del sacrificio del Macrantropo (*Puruṣa*) primordiale.

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aiuto per il cammino, uno strumento per quella lotta, nelle tappe successive.

Questo è dunque per A. il significato spirituale del *Ṛv.*, di una battaglia e di una conquista analoghe a quelle che si compivano nei misteri orfici ed eleusini [38]: ma questo significato presenta motivi d'interesse universale per la storia della civiltà: perché il *Ṛv.*, giungendo fino a noi da un'« almost enormous antiquity » [39], è il testamento dell'epoca dell'intuizione al suo termine, rappresenta l'unico documento organico della fase misterica, pre-filosofica della vicenda spirituale umana, quando il contatto con le forze e le potenze non meramente materiali era ancora possibile senza la mediazione, e il passaggio obbligato, della ragione, perché non si era ancora operato un netto distacco fra l'uomo, figlio della natura, e la realtà vivente che lo circonda, i valori che la permeano.

5. Maestro dello *Yoga* integrale e di dottrine metafisiche miranti a riattivare il contatto dell'uomo con quei valori che furono già suo naturale appannaggio, A. compie dunque una specie di rivendicazione della validità non solo storica, anzi: attuale, dell'intuizione vedica [40]. A questo riconoscimento, nell'unitarietà della sua esperienza di pensatore, di *yogin* e di poeta, anzi cronologicamente prima di tutto di poeta [41], A. doveva essere particolarmente portato e sensibile, per la sua fiducia nell'ispirazione [42], per l'apertura del suo canto a verità sopramentali analoghe, anche se su di un altro livello evolutivo, a quelle vediche: nell'interrelazione costante delle sue varie attività intellettuali la poesia illuminava l'esegesi, e i risultati acquisiti da questa fornivano stimolo e modello al canto: con ogni probabilità non è un caso che il suo *magnum opus* poetico, *Savitri* [43], tragga gli elementi-base della propria

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38. Cfr. *Hymns*, pp. IV-V, *O.V.*, p. 6, ecc.

39. *O.V.*, p. 17.

40. Cfr. per questo punto anche *L.D.*, p. 80.

41. Le sue prime poesie furono composte durante il suo soggiorno in Inghilterra, non cominciò a praticare lo *Yoga*, invece, prima del 1904 (cfr. *Sri Aurobindo on Himself and the Mother*, Pondicherry, 1953, p. 37, e anche S. Ghose, *Sri Aurobindo - Poet as Seer*, in *Sri Aurobindo. An Interpretation*, ed. by V. C. Joshi, Delhi, 1973, p. 43). Posteriori sono anche i primi frutti della sua attività di pensatore; quanto allo studio del *Veda*, lo cominciò solo dopo il trasferimento a Pondicherry (cfr. *On Himself*, cit., p. 25).

42. Questa fiducia nell'ispirazione è, del resto, solo un aspetto della fede profonda di A. nei valori dell'intuizione, per cui cfr. *L.D.*, p. 81. L'intuizione, del resto, è un elemento centrale della storia spirituale e culturale indiana: per una precisa definizione del suo peso e della sua natura, cfr. lo studio fondamentale di J. Gonda, *The Vision of the Vedic Poets*, The Hague, 1963 (che cita A. a p. 19).

43. L'opera è purtroppo rimasta incompiuta. (L'edizione che ho sott'occhio, pubblicata a Pondicherry nel 1954, reca in appendice una cospicua raccolta di lettere di A. sulla *Savitri* stessa, lettere che mostrano meglio forse di ogni sua trattazione teoretica il peso dell'intuizione e l'integrarsi dell'intuizione e della riflessione nell'opera aurobindiana).

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trama da una leggenda [44] alla cui origine sta verosimilmente la ben nota preghiera vedica omonima [45], nella quale si può scorgere come la sintesi della sua interpretazione gnostica del *Ṛv.* [46].

Non è però detto che, pur tenendo conto delle affascinanti indicazioni che A. ci dà, gli studiosi, che si devono confrontare con la dura peculiarità dei fatti, possano accogliere senza riserve la sua pur acuta interpretazione. Ovviamente il supporto metafisico-sperimentale dell'ipotesi aurobindiana sfugge allo studioso comune, che può solo giudicare, umanamente, ciò che in termini umani gli è detto; e converrà forse, almeno per ora, mettere fra parentesi anche la grandiosa cornice nella quale la concezione del *Veda* sostenuta da A. s'inquadra. Ma resta tutta una serie di altri rilievi addirittura ovvi, che qui si possono appena accennare: rilievi, sia chiaro, che, presi singolarmente, non sono tali da infirmare la prospettiva aurobindiana, ma che, nel loro insieme, assumono un peso che ne rende difficile l'accettazione senza notevoli revisioni e integrazioni.

Innanzi tutto, ci sembra, A. tende a un'interpretazione che, pur aperta alla molteplicità dei possibili, di fatto non li accoglie se non come eventualità remote o insignificanti; egli trascura così le varietà e le differenze della documentazione del *Ṛv.*: per esempio le linguistiche. Dice infatti che la lingua degli inni è fissa e invariabile [47]: orbene, decenni d'intense ricerche hanno chiaramente dimostrato il contrario [48]. Inoltre A. dà scarsissimo rilievo agli aspetti della documentazione ṛgvedica che potrebbero servire a rendere più solida e comprensiva la sua ricostruzione [49]: dagli accenni alle nozioni scientifiche (cosmologiche, mediche, ecc.) che gli inni attestano o presuppongono, a quelli sulle arti e mestieri, dai riferimenti all'organizzazione statale a quelli relativi alla strutturazione del corpo sociale, alla vita di tutti i giorni nei suoi vari

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44. Il colossale poema di A., giustamente definito da K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar (*Indian Writing in English*, Bombay, 1962, p. 171) « in a sense... *The Life Divine* turned into poetry », svolge e amplia la celebre leggenda del *Mahābhārata* gravandola dei sensi specifici della metafisica e dello *Yoga* integrale: cfr. p. es. A. B. Purani, *Savitri. An Approach and a Study*, Pondicherry, 1956 [2], *passim*, specialmente pp. 5-7.

45. Cfr. C. Della Casa, *L'episodio di Sāvitrī ricostruito sulle recensioni del Matsya- e del Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa*, in « Accademia dei Lincei - Memorie della Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche », serie VIII, vol. V, 1952, pp. 1-36

46. Perché è una tipica invocazione alla Luce, perché guidi le menti degli uomini.

47. Cfr. *O.V.*, p. 36.

48. Cfr. p. es. quanto dice L. Renou, nella Nouvelle edition du texte paru en 1896, au tome I, dell'*Altindische Grammatik* del Wackernagel, Göttingen, 1957, a pp. 3-5, pur nell'ambito di un riconoscimento generale che « a travers le RV. entier... c'est essentiellement la même langue qui règne », rilevando differenze, se non dialettali, di uso, cronologiche, ecc.

49. A. trascura anche troppo i lumi che potrebbero venire dalle testimonianze coeve, certo da valutare prudentemente, di civiltà già pienamente storiche, cioè con ricche testimonianze scritte: che attestano chiaramente una vita complessa e molteplice, su livelli intellettuali e con spinte economiche non facilmente integrabili con la sua interpretazione.

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contrasti, nelle riconosciute motivazioni economiche[50]: per quanto sia possibile tentare un'interpretazione spiritualistica di molte preghiere eudemonistiche[51], non sembra sia lecito misconoscere la potente spinta dell'interesse materiale di certe richieste dei cantori[52], gli artefici degli inni ben costruiti che, come abili lavoratori, chiedono compensi adeguati al valore della loro opera.

Con la sua interpretazione psicologica A. s'inserisce, con caratteristiche proprie di coerenza e rigore, nel movimento di revisione dell'interpretazione filologica tradizionale nella cultura ottocentesca, dell'interpretazione naturalistica del *Veda*[53]. Ma il rischio che egli corre, e a parer mio non evita, è quello di cadere nell'eccesso opposto ai vizi di fondo della scuola naturalistica. La sua prospettiva esegetica presenta il difetto di un certo irrealismo astorico. Anche dando per valida l'esigenza da A. così vigorosamente sostenuta, di non defraudare questi inni della loro peculiare forma di spiritualità (perché non è detto che la spiritualità, la tensione verso il sacro, nelle diverse culture, debba esprimersi sempre in modi simili a quelli che ci sono più familiari), non si riesce a sfuggire all'impressione, per così dire, di un'esile monotonia. Forse A. stesso non ha sfruttato adeguatamente le potenziali novità della sua intuizione, cioè l'idea di una comunicazione ininterrotta con il sacro, di cui i vari livelli e modi d'essere sono, con diversa competenza, epifanie, e ha così preferito scorgere, in un vario insieme di discorsi, un coro sostanzialmente unanime, tra l'altro, con una coincidenza di simboli, di voci diverse per una medesima realtà, che può sembrare uno spreco addirittura eccessivo, a meno che non si voglia vedere nel *Ṛv.* il luogo d'incontro di tradizioni spirituali convergenti, ma di diversa origine e con simbologie differenti. Pensiamo alla simbologia relativa alla verità. Quale sovrabbondante ricchezza d'immagini! « Usha è l'Aurora divina, perché il Sole che sorge grazie al suo giungere, è il Sole della Verità supercosciente... Usha stessa è la Verità..., e la madre delle Verità. Queste verità dell'Aurora divina sono chiamate le sue vacche, i suoi armenti splendenti, mentre le forze della Verità che le accompa-

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50. Inni come IV,57, VI,53, VIII,54... mi paiono piuttosto irriducibili negli schemi dell'interpretazione aurobindiana.

51. Cfr., per questa espressione, M. Puglisi, *La Preghiera*, Torino, 1928, pp. 204-213.

52. Cfr. le *dānastuti*, ecc.

53. Per dirla con M. Eliade (*The Quest. History and Meaning in Religion*, Chicago, 1969, p. 32), « the discipline of comparative Indo-European mythology has been hopelessly discredited by the improvisations of Max Müller and his followers ». Gli inizi della reazione contro la mitologia comparata si possono far coincidere con il lavoro del Gruppe su *Die griechischen Kulte und Mythen in ihren Beziehungen zu den orientalischen Religionen*, I, Leipzig, 1887. Assai più lungo, e non privo d'incertezze e di eccessi, in un senso e nell'altro, fu il cammino che portò la storia delle religioni a una più precisa definizione del rapporto sacrale tra il primitivo, o l'uomo delle società arcaiche, e la natura — ma mi sembra si possa affermare che questo cammino era stato già in parte percorso quando A. cominciò i suoi studi vedici, anche se egli probabilmente non ne era a conoscenza.

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gnano e occupano la Vita, sono chiamate i suoi cavalli »[54], ecc. ecc. Non stonerebbe davvero un inseguimento più incalzante di una definizione precisa di simboli che altrimenti risultano talora troppo sfuggenti o generici, forse non sarebbe male un po' di sano positivismo, non grossolano, ma rispettoso delle sfumature e delle indicazioni più varie...

Ma, proprio sulle orme di A., e con il senso preciso che lo si può seguire solo entro certi limiti, si potrebbe tentare una specie di recupero della sua intuizione fondamentale. In un mondo, voglio dire, pervaso dal sacro, e denso di rimandi analogici, cioè sentito come tale, nulla vieta che, talora o spesso, si scorgesse in fatti che per noi ormai sono meramente naturali, lo svolgersi di un dramma dello spirito. Al limite si può immaginare che per molti ormai degli uomini del periodo vedico anche più antico, cioè della lunga e varia fase di composizione delle *Ṛc*, gli inni significassero ciò che la loro lettera dice, che molti eventi e fenomeni naturali fossero sempre più intesi come tali, che l'aurora fosse, come per noi, sia pure con ben diversa scienza, soltanto un fatto fisico, ma si può anche immaginare che per altri uomini non fosse così: senza bisogno di supporre l'esistenza di una generale convenzione criptica, che pure nulla può indurre incontrovertibilmente ad escludere, si può supporre che per questi altri uomini nello scenario naturale si svolgesse veramente un dramma metafisico, proiezione esterna (almeno per noi, non è detto lo fosse sempre per loro) di un sacro divenire iniziatico: qualcosa, insomma, di analogo, *mutatis mutandis*, a quelle che, attestate in altra epoca, ma forse di più antiche origini, furono, almeno secondo alcuni interpreti[55], le modalità effettive dell'*ars regia* alchemica. Nelle più varie società e culture, sono stati presenti gruppi iniziatici delle più diverse nature, con complessi mitico-rituali propri, spesso simili esteriormente alle tradizioni e pratiche comuni, ma con reinterpretazioni innovatrici, comunque segrete... Nulla esclude che anche nell'India vedica ci fossero gruppi di questo genere, che potrebbero aver contribuito, con la creazione o l'adattamento di inni, alla costituzione o modificazione della parte più antica del *corpus* vedico...

Ma di tutto questo sappiamo, tutto sommato, ben poco, e forse così sarà anche in futuro, perché, dopo tutto, non è necessario che un gruppo iniziatico si crei o riplasmi testi, può benissimo intenderli segretamente in altro modo[56]. Resta in ogni caso il fatto che, pur con la più benevola disponibilità, troppe cose sfuggirebbero a ogni lettura gnostica del senso vedico, almeno a quelle attualmente ipotizzabili o attestate; non escludendo quindi la possibilità di singole individuazioni precise, la possibilità di un'individuazione di valori alternativi verosimili, l'interpretazione aurobindiana appare complessivamente limitata a un aspetto spirituale troppo univoco.

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54. *O.V.*, p. 261.

55. Cfr. p. es. J. Evola, *La tradizione ermetica*, Roma, 1971[3], M. Eliade, *Forgerons et alchimistes*, Paris, 1956, ecc.

56. Si tratterebbe cioè di una specie esoterica del neologismo semantico.

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6. Il *Ṛv.* appare dunque ad A. come la testimonianza chiarissima, per chi sappia intendere, di una grande, sconosciuta fase dell'evoluzione umana, una fase che volge ormai, ancora piena di luce, al tramonto: poi, come vuole « l'antica tradizione di un oscuramento progressivo e della perdita del *Veda* »[57], subentra un mutamento tale da causare un distacco irreversibile[58], non solo per la diversità degli uomini da quelli del periodo vedico più antico, ma per ragioni intrinseche al *Ṛv.* stesso, a quella che ormai si può chiamare, però senza connotazioni negative, l'ambiguità del suo linguaggio, alla veste ritualistica da cui è coperto il suo messaggio. Perciò anche chi, armato non solo di buone intenzioni, ma di autentica tensione spirituale, cercava di riscoprire il senso profondo del *Ṛv.* e delle *Saṃhitā* in genere, si trovava di fronte a un'impresa pressoché impossibile. I *Brāhmaṇa* e soprattutto le *Upaniṣad* sono la testimonianza di questo tentativo varie volte compiuto di pervenire al recupero delle arcane valenze delle parole degli antichi *ṛṣi*. Tentativo non riuscito nel caso della ricerca dei *Brāhmaṇa* perché essi mirano soprattutto alla conservazione del rituale, perdendosi in minuzie[59], ma non riuscito neppure ai cercatori e maestri delle *Upaniṣad*, perché il contatto con quel mondo di verità-realtà autorivelantisi con spontanea naturalezza era ormai spezzato, quella sintesi lucida tra il mondo esterno e l'intimo non era più possibile[60].

Le *Upaniṣad* ricorrono certo al *Ṛv.* e alle altre raccolte come alla loro base scolastica o testuale, ma ormai si servono delle *Saṃhitā* come di un punto di partenza per la loro ricerca autonoma di verità, che esprimono in forme adatte alla nuova epoca dello spirito. Esse insomma, più che interpretare il *Veda* più antico, fondano il *Vedānta*[61], e il movimento di cui esse sono espressione ha addirittura più di un aspetto e carattere anti-vedico, specialmente per la contrapposizione tra lo spirituale e il non-spirituale, tra l'esperienza intima e la pratica del rito. Si perde così l'equilibrio arcaico tra spirito e materia, cominciano ad affermarsi tendenze dualistiche alla rinuncia e all'ascetismo, che culmineranno nelle « esagerazioni » del buddhismo.

Quella che ho presentato qui sopra è l'interpretazione della posizione storica delle *Upaniṣad* più frequente nelle opere di A. sul *Veda*, e, ritengo, la più accettata dai suoi seguaci: essa però può ricevere alcune significative limitazioni e precisazioni da altri passi, che possono mostrare sfumature differenti nel pensiero di A. in materia, se non proprio una certa oscillazione. Si veda per esempio questa serie di citazioni dirette: « Ancient Vedanta seized this message of Intuition and formulated it in the three declarations of the Upanishads, 'I am He',

57. *O.V.*, p. 12.
58. Che però va inteso, almeno in certo senso, come progresso: cfr. *L.D.*, p. 82.
59. Cfr. *O.V.*, p. 13.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
61. È chiaro che questo termine è qui inteso nel significato derivato, ormai quasi esclusivo, di complesso di dottrine costruito sulle *Upaniṣad*.

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'Thou art That, o Swetaketu', 'All this is Brahman, this Self is Brahman »[62]; « ... the age of intuitive knowledge, represented by the early Vedantic thinking of the Upanishads... »[63]; « The sages of the Veda and Vedanta relied entirely upon intuition and spiritual experience »[64]. Anche la negazione aurobindiana[65] dell'esistenza di dibattiti nelle *Upaniṣad* rientra in questo riconoscimento del carattere intuitivo delle loro dottrine, e quindi in questa prospettiva che tende a riconnetterle più strettamente alla spiritualità vedica più antica, come, del resto, vuole una linea storiografica che oggi viene da più parti sostenuta[66], talora con eccessi analoghi, inversamente, a quelli in cui sono incorsi alcuni sostenitori della sostanziale novità delle *Upaniṣad*: probabilmente non è arbitrario supporre che si stia nel giusto proponendo un contemperamento delle due tesi, riconoscendo nelle *Upaniṣad*, coacervo di testimonianze, anche di dibattiti!, di diversa età e origine, la presenza di elementi antichi e nuovi, di tendenze alla conservazione e al rinnovamento.

7. Qui ormai può bastare un rapido accenno al modo come A. intende e caratterizza le età immediatamente successive a quella delle *Upaniṣad*[67]; si può già intuire sotto quale segno egli avrebbe visto svolgersi la loro dinamica storica: nella caduta nel materiale, ma anche nella coscienza infelice che può portare a eccessi dualistici, oppure al tentativo di organizzare l'esistenza per recuperare almeno in parte una serie armonica di valori omogenei. Al fondo di questi vari atteggiamenti è pur sempre la perdita dell'esperienza unitaria del reale.

Lasciamo da parte, con A., la vicenda di coloro che, certamente in gran numero, immersi in un divenire desacralizzato, cercarono di strappare al suo flusso soddisfazione o conforto per il proprio particolare interesse e piacere: in una prospettiva come quella di cui ci stiamo occupando, il loro valore non può non apparire modesto, più che altro d'indizio di una condizione diffusa, ma non davvero esemplare. Quanto agli eccessi dualistici, essi per A. sono rappresentati con emblematica vividezza dal buddhismo, pur essendo ben presenti anche nelle altre manifestazioni coeve della vita spirituale dell'India.

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62. *L.D.*, p. 81. Qui, e nelle due citazioni seguenti, *Vedānta* equivale a *Upaniṣad*.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

65. *Ibid.*

66. Cfr. J. Gonda, *Change and Continuity in Indian Religion*, The Hague, 1965. Cfr. anche C. Pensa, *Some Internal and Comparative Problems in the Field of Indian Religions*, in *Problems and Methods of the History of Religions*, Leiden, 1972, pp. 103-107 (e i rilievi di Bausani e la replica di Pensa a p. 120). Per la polemica della scuola aurobindiana contro l'ipotesi di una frattura tra *Ṛv.* e *Upaniṣad*, cfr. Pandit, cit. alla n. 21, p. 102, ecc.

67. Per quanto ho potuto vedere, A. ritiene il buddhismo posteriore alla fase di composizione delle *Upaniṣad* antiche e medie.

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Come altri campioni del Rinascimento indiano, o induistico [68], A., che pure dopo l'abbandono della politica attiva seppe superare molti dei limiti « confessionali » [69] del movimento di cui era stato ispiratore, A. mantenne in fondo un atteggiamento di notevole e significativo distacco dal buddhismo, un distacco che talora ci può sembrare, non a torto, poco equo, anche se comprensibile.

Nella sua larghissima produzione letteraria i riferimenti al cammino di mezzo sono comparativamente piuttosto scarsi, e si può ritenere che egli non abbia approfondito adeguatamente l'ampia problematica storica e speculativa che l'imponente letteratura buddhistica solleva e illumina. Certamente il buddhismo non ha avuto un peso notevole nella formazione del suo pensiero, pur così fortemente sintetico, per una sorta di repulsione di fondo; altrettanto certamente egli non ne ha riconosciuto adeguatamente l'importanza nella storia culturale indiana.

A. apprezza nel Buddha una straordinaria personalità dinamica [70], riconosce alcuni meriti storici dei buddhisti [71], e, del resto, non considera il buddhismo come un *monstrum* a sé, insiste anzi sui saldi vincoli di esso con il *Vedānta* upaniṣadico [72], ma soprattutto scorge nel buddhismo l'espressione più tipica, anzi talora la causa, starei per dire il colpevole, di quell'eccesso ascetico di ripudio del mondo che fu all'origine di molti mali storici dell'India: « È questa rivolta dello Spirito contro la Materia — dice nella *Vita divina* — che per duemila anni ha dominato la mente indiana, da quando il buddhismo ha disturbato l'equilibrio del vecchio mondo ario » [73]. Ci sembra un giudizio ingiusto, non solo in sé, perché ignora, da un lato, che il buddhismo, alle sue origini storiche, fu uno solo dei tanti movimenti ascetici, che dunque reagivano a una situazione di crisi sociale [74] e insoddisfazione individuale, e d'altro canto ignora la non casuale coincidenza tra il fiorire del buddhismo e quello delle epoche classiche della cultura indiana; è un giudizio che ci sembra ingiusto nella prospettiva stessa di A., che doveva portarlo piuttosto a cogliere nella crisi di cui il buddismo fu espressione, e di cui cercò di essere la soluzione, le radici antiche e universali.

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68. Alle loro posizioni nei confronti del buddhismo dedico qualche pagina nel mio saggio su *La rinascita del buddhismo in India*, in attesa di stampa.

69. Intendo fare riferimento a certe caratteristiche, piuttosto analoghe a quelle presenti nelle opere del romanziere bengalese Bankim Chandra Chatterji, evidenti nela religione di A. durante la sua fase di agitatore politico (culto della Dea Madre connesso con un fanatismo religioso-nazionalistico con esclusivismo, di fatto, *hindu*, ecc.).

70. Cfr. *L.D.*, p. 36.

71. Cfr. *L.D.*, p. 37, ecc.

72. Cfr. *L.D.*, p. 43.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

74. Comunque si vogliano intendere i rapporti tra pensiero e società, non va dimenticato la significativa coincidenza tra la fioritura di questi movimenti e la contemporanea formazione dei grandi stati del bacino gangetico.

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Certo la simpatia di A., campione dell'onninclusività, non dell'esclusione ascetica, campione della virilità costruttiva, non della fuga nella solitudine, la simpatia di A. non poteva andare a un movimento almeno nelle formulazioni negative esplicite [75] così diverso dai suoi ideali. Gli doveva riuscire assai più facile e gradevole, oltre tutto per la sua formazione personale, l'incontro con l'induismo, che pure egli superava in una nuova sintesi: molte sue pagine mostrano come nutrì vivo interesse e rispetto per gli sforzi teoretici dello strenuo pensiero filosofico [76], per l'opera dei maestri della normativa sociale, nel loro tentativo di sottoporre l'esistenza tutta a una tensione spirituale gerarchica, per l'attività artistica ed educativa ad un tempo che si è espressa nella creazione di opere come il *Mahābhārata* e il *Rāmāyaṇa* [77]. Ma è soprattutto nella *Bhagavadgītā* e nel tantrismo che A. coglie la presenza significativa dei valori del sacro in un loro caratteristico rivelarsi, con tendenze e modalità che egli avrebbe poi accolto e inverato nella sua costruzione metafisica e yogica: nella *Bhagavadgītā* [78] come vangelo, aperto agli uomini dei più diversi tipi e livelli, della presenza della divinità nell'uomo e nel mondo, delle varie forme e possibilità del suo rivelarsi e del nostro procedere verso di essa, nel tantrismo [79] per la sua possente, anche se talora implicita o potenziale, spinta verso il recupero di ciò che in una prospettiva dualistica potrebbe qualificarsi come non spirituale o addirittura anti-spirituale: i valori mondani, della natura, della fecondità, della forza, della sacralità rituale nelle sue manifestazioni anche più singolari e inaudite.

8. Possiamo ormai tirare brevemente le somme di quanto siamo venuti dicendo, piuttosto però che per ripetere i rilievi che abbiamo fatto, per cercare di integrarli con alcune considerazioni conclusive. Innanzi tutto per quanto riguarda la posizione che A. come commentatore occupa nella storia culturale dell'India moderna: più che alla tradizione esegetica classica, anche se Madhva è potuto sembrare un suo lontano ante-

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75. Non è detto, in effetti, che a un'espressione negativa formalmente corrisponda sempre una realtà negativa, o una negazione di realtà: questo mi sembra abbia mostrato, almeno a livello di possibilità, la lunga serie di discussioni sul *nirvāṇa* e sullo *śūnya*; cfr., del resto, più in generale, J. Gonda, *Why are ahiṃsā and similar concepts often expressed in a negative form?*, in *Four Studies in the Language of the Veda*, 'S-Gravenhage, 1959, pp. 95-117.

76. Per un rapido quadro della posizione di A. di fronte alla filosofia indiana, cfr. *L.D.*, pp. 83-84. Sono poi ben noti i suoi accenni polemici, frequentemente ripetuti, ma anche estremamente schematici, contro il *māyāvāda* śaṅkariano.

77. Cfr. per tutto questo il già citato *Vyasa and Valmiki, Foundations of Indian Culture*, Pondicherry, 1959, ecc.

78. Cfr., oltre al mio piccolo saggio cit. alla n. 2, i ben più estesi studi di A. Roy, *Sri Aurobindo's Interpretation of the Gita*, Calcutta, 1952, e A. K. Majumdar, *Sri Aurobindo's Interpretation of the Gita*, in *Sri Aurobindo...* by Joshi, cit. alla n. 41, pp. 71-89.

79. Cfr., per un'accurata disamina degli apporti complessivi della tradizione tantrica al pensiero di A., disamina che non ci sarebbe certo possibile in questa sede, oltre al volume del Bolle cit. alla n. 11, dello stesso autore, *Tantric Elements in Sri Aurobindo*, « Numen », 9, 1962, pp. 128-142.

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cedente [80], A. si collega senza dubbio alle posizioni di vari illustri esponenti del risveglio indiano nel ribadire, contro i tanti pregiudizi razziali o etnici diffusi nei riguardi di un paese coloniale, l'autonoma grandezza spirituale dell'India antica e nell'insistere sul suo valore ancor oggi esemplare. Con questi campioni della *Hindu Renaissance* A. ha anche in comune la rivendicazione di un induismo che non ripudi le realtà mondane, le tensioni, le lotte, i valori della vita, un induismo muscolare che sarebbe piaciuto al grande Vivekānanda [81], e che sarebbe il vero *dharma* della terra di Bharata, fedele alle sue gloriose origini vediche.

Rispetto agli altri luminari del risveglio indiano A. si distingue, ci sembra, per una più articolata conoscenza della cultura indiana antica, per una percezione più avvertita del divenire storico, se non proprio delle differenze e peculiarità riscontrabili in questo processo. Si distingue anche per una conoscenza relativamente più larga della cultura occidentale, della quale ha saputo acutamente cogliere certi nuovi avviamenti, a volte ancora praticamente *in fieri* nella fase della sua più aperta formazione e informazione: così per esempio per la critica dell'interpretazione naturalistica del *Veda*, e, più in generale, per la scoperta di valori spirituali profondi, anche se non razionalisticamente definiti e analizzati, in culture, come quella vedica più antica, che per la loro, supposta, primordialità potevano apparire a molti rozze e povere.

Per queste ragioni è comprensibile che l'interpretazione aurobindiana delle fasi più antiche della cultura indiana sia ancor oggi in certa misura accettabile non solo da devoti entusiasti, ma anche, e non soltanto per *lip service*, da competenti [82], magari con integrazioni e revisioni parziali. Ma penso vi sia anche un altro motivo, di carattere più generale, che può renderla per qualche riguardo seducente: perché essa s'inserisce nella tendenza abbastanza largamente diffusa a rivedere criticamente la concezione filosofica della storia che all'epoca della formazione di A. godeva di particolare fortuna e di universali consensi: quella che postulava un progresso certo, continuo e sostanzialmente uniforme del genere umano, dalle sue remote origini animalesche ai nostri giorni e oltre, inarrestabilmente. A questa concezione, soprattutto ai limiti vistosi delle sue espressioni più fideistiche, sono state mosse molte critiche fino a giungere, al limite, alla contrapposizione di una concezione di segno del tutto inverso, la quale, fondandosi su tradizioni mitico-religiose peraltro non sempre coerenti né antiche, scorge nella storia una decadenza continua da una condizione perfetta o età dell'oro [83].

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80. Cfr. KAPALI SASTRI, cit. alla n. 17, p. 84.

81. Per l'influenza di Vivekānanda su di lui, cfr. p. es. A. B. PURANI, *Life of Sri Aurobindo*, Pondicherry, 1958, p. 303, ecc.

82. Cfr. p. es. la presenza operante del pensiero aurobindiano nelle opere di studiosi come S. K. Maitra, P. Filippani Ronconi, ecc.

83. Testi-base di questo moderno anti-progressismo estremistico possono essere considerate le opere di R. GUÉNON (specialmente *La crise du monde moderne*, Paris, 1927), di J. EVOLA (soprattutto *Rivolta contro il mondo moderno*, Roma, 1969 [3]): autori, ambedue, sul cui pensiero, e sui cui apriorismi intendo tornare, con un saggio sul sedicente tradizionalismo contemporaneo.

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A., in certo senso, concilia queste due concezioni, con il fondamentale ottimismo di chi sa che addentrarsi nella selva oscura è un mezzo per giungere alla luce, di chi sa che il vasto dramma, le indicibili tragedie della storia, hanno un senso fondamentalmente positivo perché non siamo mai soli: dal divino è partita la realtà del molteplice, e ad esso, da esso sempre guidata, ritorna: la supposta decadenza nella storia non è che un aspetto di questa ascesa.

In questo grandioso quadro metafisico l'interpretazione aurobindiana della cultura indiana più antica si colloca e spiega con allettante plausibilità, congiungendo la fiducia nel futuro con il rispetto più pieno dei valori del passato, anzi servendosi della riscoperta di questi per una guida alla creazione di quello. Certo però il quadro tracciato da A. presenta varie parti piuttosto deboli, che ci paiono non accettabili, non solo perché così originali che un loro accoglimento implicherebbe profonde revisioni di tutto un modo di vedere le cose: si tratta soprattutto della definizione troppo unilaterale del mondo spirituale del *Ṛv.*, del misconoscimento del significato storico delle *Upaniṣad*, del giudizio ingiusto sul buddhismo. Con questi limiti, e con gli altri che abbiamo onestamente cercato di rilevare, la linea interpretativa di A. rimane peraltro secondo noi meritevole di un più diffuso interesse da parte degli studiosi: sia come manifestazione non secondaria, né tanto meno accessoria, del suo pensiero, sia come espressione tra le più qualificate del rinascimento indiano, sia, infine, perché essa, richiamando l'attenzione sulla fase aurorale del pensiero umano, ne fornisce un'interpretazione non usuale, significativa e coerente, con la quale, e non solo per rispondere a una provocazione contro *idola* diffusi, conviene misurarsi. E, in ogni caso, ribadiamo, A. ha colto secondo noi nel segno almeno per quanto riguarda la cornice ideologica di parte del messaggio vedico.

Il significato più profondo dell'interpretazione aurobindiana delle origini e dei primi sviluppi della cultura indiana esula però dal campo filologico-storico: esso sta in quel suo procedere oltre la lettera, verso lo spirito, che la lettera difende e copre, verso quella stessa verità spirituale di cui A. si è fatto allievo e, per gli altri uomini, maestro. La sua esegesi, come tanta esegesi indiana, vuole avere un significato e una funzione attuali: si rivolge al passato per trarne un messaggio per gli uomini del presente e per i posteri: perché i valori spirituali del mondo vedico possano trovare, sui livelli corrispondenti alle mutate condizioni storiche, se non conoscitori filologicamente scaltriti, uomini che ne sappiano sviluppare in sé il germe più vero.

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MILKA JAUK-PINHAK

ESQUISSE D'UNE FORMATION DES NOMS DE LA LANGUE VÉDIQUE

(modèles productifs de la dérivation primaire)

A) *Introduction méthodologique*

Le corpus des mots d'une langue ne représente pas un tout fermé ni limité. Les besoins pour les expressions nouvelles s'imposent surtout dans les sociétés qui passent des étapes du développement matériel ou spirituel intense. Le vocabulaire s'enrichit par deux procédés principaux: l'emprunt [1] et la formation des mots [2].

La formation des mots est le procédé linguistique, par lequel les unités lexicales nouvelles sont crées en partant du matériel morphologique existant de la langue en question d'après les modèles (patterns) formatifs vivants [3]. Le processus de la formation s'opère d'après un nombre limité de modèles, la structure desquels est claire et analysable. Le sens lexical et le sens grammatical du mot formé doivent clairement résulter du sens de ses parties formatives. La formation des mots implique, par conséquent, l'analyse morphologique du vocabulaire, qui seule peut découvrir les formes et la fonction des parties formatives, leur sélection, les règles de leur combinaisons possibles, en un mot, leur organisation. D'ailleurs, c'est surtout cet aspect (analytique) de la formation des mots qui est bien accessible au savant, l'autre aspect étant plutôt le bien des sujets parlants de la langue considérée.

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1. Cf. L. BLOOMFIELD, *Language*, New York, 1933 (repr. 1969), pp. 444-495.

2. Un autre procédé est le changement de sens des mots existants. Cf. S. ULLMANN, *The Principles of Semantics*, 2e ed. 1959, pp. 171-257; A. MEILLET, *Comment les mots changent de sens*, dans LHLG, I, 230-271; J. VENDRYES, *Le language*, Paris, 1950, pp. 225-248.

3. Cf. H. MARCHAND, *The Categories and Types of Present-Day English Word-Formation*, Wiesbaden, 1960, p. 2; E. S. KUBRJAKOVA, *Cto takoe slovoobrazovanie*, Moskva, 1965; W. FLEISCHER, *Wortbildung der deutschen Gegenwartssprache*, Leipzig, 1971, p. 9 et suiv.

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En ce qui concerne la méthodologie et les principes théoriques qui la déterminent, la formation des mots a suivi les grands courants de la pensée linguistique. Elle était étudiée relativement tôt dans les grammaires comparées de différentes langues indo-européennes, en y restant toujours un domaine à cheval entre la morphologie, la lexicologie et l'étymologie. La connaissance des anciennes langues classiques, et surtout du sanskrit, a rendu possible la construction d'un schéma formatif, qu'on a trouvé réalisé dans ces langues dans un degré très variable de clarté et d'évidence [4]. La plus petite unité au niveau de la formation est le thème, consistant de la racine, qui comporte le sens lexical, et du suffixe, qui détermine le sens grammatical, c'est-à-dire la catégorie grammaticale et la valeur du mot [5]. Ces éléments apparaissent dans l'ordre linéaire fixe: racine + suffixe ou suffixes [6]. Le nombre des suffixes n'est pas défini, de manière que les suffixes successifs ont toujours la fonction de « transcatégoriser » [7] la partie à laquelle ils sont attachés. Par ex. *ámavat* « violent, impétueux » s'analyse formativement en

forme	*AM*	—	*a*	—	*vat*
contenu	« attaquer »		« nom d'action »		« adjectif »

Très souvent il n'est pas possible d'attribuer le thème à une racine verbale, soit que la racine est sortie de l'usage [8], soit que la motivation verbale manque tout à fait. Tels mots relèvent plutôt de l'étymologie et de l'histoire de la langue.

Le schéma de la formation des mots des langues indo-européennes est caractérisé par une précision et une exactitude exemplaires. Il représente le code qui est à la base de la compréhension de la structure de ces langues, et qui décrit cette structure dans une mesure satisfaisante. Dans la linguistique traditionnelle (ce qui veut dire comparative et historique) cette théorie a toujours été appliquée aux données de différentes langues indo-européennes, dont les documents écrits, qui seuls nous fournissent ces données, datent de différentes époques et montrent les différents degrés de réalisation du code fondamental. Le

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4. Cf. P. CHANTRAINE, *La formation des noms en grec ancien*, Paris, 1933, p. XIV.

5. La présentation classique de cette théorie provient de A. MEILLET, *L'introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes*, 8e éd., Paris, 1937, p. 146 et suiv.

6. Il suit dans cet ordre linéaire un autre élément constitutif, celui qui fait du thème un mot, qui le rend capable de figurer dans le texte — la désinence (on disait aussi « le suffixe de flexion » - *Flexionssuffix*), qui ne peut être qu'une.

7. Cf. M. LEUMANN, *Gruppierung und Funktionen der Wortbildungs-suffixe des Latein*, Museum Helveticus I, 1944; P. TEKAVCIC, *Grammatica storica dell'italiano*, III, Bologna, 1972, p. 23 et suiv.

8. Par ex. le védique (*paśu*)-*tŕp* « qui vole le bétail », (*asu*)-*tŕp* « qui enlève la vie » n'est attribuable qu'au verbe avestique *trāfyâṭ* « il vole » - cf. J. WACKERNAGEL-A. DEBRUNNER, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 2. *Die Nominalsuffixe*, p. 3.

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schéma formatif racine + suffixe(s) + désinence appartient au système des correspondances des langues indo-européennes [9] et il y est resté vivant. Mais, à travers le temps et à cause du développement que subit la langue, la compréhension des réalisations concrètes du code commun change. Les éléments concrets de la formation changent de condition, cessent d'être productifs et, pour les futures générations des sujets parlants, deviennent incompréhensibles. Une fois tombée en désuétude, leur productivité ne ressuscite plus. L'essentiel est de souligner, qu'en grammaire traditionnelle on procédait, comme si tous les types formatifs étaient vivants et productifs durant l'histoire entière des langues que l'on recherche. En fait, ce n'est qu'un accès possible aux problèmes de la formation des mots, qui découvre le commun dans les structures des langues parentes, ou bien dans les différentes phases d'une même langue, ce qui revient au même.

Même après l'avènement de la linguistique saussurienne [10], qui a révolutionné les recherches linguistiques et fortement poussé le développement des nouveaux courants théoriques, la formation des mots est longtemps restée à l'écart de ces événements importants. La description synchronique est devenue la première et la seule vraie tâche de la linguistique. Les recherches phonologiques et morphologiques se sont fort développées. Ainsi la base théorique a mûri pour poser la formation de la parole sur de mêmes critères formels qui ont été définis pour autres niveaux de la description. C'est surtout depuis une vingtaine d'années, qu'on peut voir un grand progrès dans ce domaine [11].

Il ne s'agit seulement de découper les mots en ses éléments composants, mais aussi et surtout de déterminer « the position of those linguistic forms within the structural system of a given language » [12].

Essayons maintenant de donner une courte esquisse des critères de la formation qui sont aujourd'hui généralement acceptés. Le thème représente un signe linguistique, ayant la forme et le contenu (le signifié et le signifiant dans la terminologie de de Saussure). Il ne compte pour la formation que s'il est analysable en éléments plus petits, qui, eux

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9. Cf. R. KATICIC, *Der Entsprechungsbegriff in der vergleichenden Laut- und Formenlehre*, Indogermanische Forschungen, Bd. 71, H.3.1966, pp. 203-220.

10. Cf. F. DE SAUSSURE, *Cours de linguistique générale*, Génève, 1916; M. IVIC, *Trends in Linguistics*, The Hague, 1965, pp. 122-129.

11. Cf. H. MARCHAND, *op. cit.*; ID., *Synchronic Analysis and Word-Formation*, Cahier F. de Saussure, 13, 1955, pp. 7-18; W. FLEISCHER, *op. cit.*; E. S. KUBRJAKOVA, *op. cit.*; P. TEKAVCIC, *op. cit.*; CH. ROHRER, *Die Wortzusammensetzung im modernen Französisch*, Diss. Tübingen 1967; P. A. SOBOLEVA, *O transformacionnom analize slovoobrazovatel'nyh otnošenij. Tezisy dokladov na konferencii po strukturnoj lingvistike, posvjaščenoj problemam transformacionnogo metoda*, pp. 38-43, Moskva, 1961; S. BABIC, *Sufiksalna tvorba pridjeva u suvremenom hrvatskom ili srpskom knjizevnom jeziku*, Zagreb, 1966, Rad JAZU 344, pp. 63-256; J. DUBOIS, *Etude sur la dérivation suffixale en français moderne et contemporain*, Paris, 1962.

12. Cf. H. MARCHAND, *Synchronic Analysis...*, p. 12.

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aussi, sont des signes. Ceci est le critère fondamental. Le signifié du thème s'analyse en racine (ou un élément d'origine non-verbale, mais compréhensible, qui en tient la place) et suffixe. Le contenu du thème est complexe, lui aussi, composé d'un sens lexical et d'un sens grammatical. Le suffixe est un morphème grammatical sans usage indépendant. Il domine le dérivé, parce qu'il détermine son appartenance sémantique et grammaticale. De l'autre côté, la valeur sémantique du suffixe résulte de sa fonction répétée dans un nombre défini de mots. Il est assez difficile de formuler la signification des suffixes [13], et l'on se sert de significations grammaticales ou autres, prises de différentes sciences ou de la vie. Les suffixes peuvent exprimer les notions les plus variées possible (par ex. noms d'action, noms d'agent, diminutif, appartenance, collectivité, condition, doctrine, instrument, passé, intensité, approximation, possibilité, ressemblance etc.). Tout thème qui ne satisfait à ce critère doit, par conséquent, être exclu de la recherche, parce qu'il est formativement immotivé. Il ne réalise aucun modèle formatif vivant et ne relève que du lexique [14]. Sont exclus également des mots monosyllabiques (n'ayant pas la structure à deux éléments) et les mots étrangers (qui sont formés d'après d'autres modèles formatifs). Leur formation, parce qu'ils en ont certainement une, peut être expliquée en étymologie et en grammaire comparée [15]. Les mots immotivés ne représentent en aucun cas la partie moins importante du vocabulaire d'une langue. Au contraire, ils appartiennent en principe au lexique fondamental, qui se transmet de génération en génération dans une communauté linguistique. Le deuxième critère se rattache directement au premier. Les éléments formatifs isolés d'après le critère de motivation doivent se répéter dans la même fonction en d'autres mots. Ces critères formels nous aident à délimiter le champ de travail. La partie du vocabulaire, ainsi délimitée, contient tous les types de formation productifs, vivant dans la conscience des sujets parlants, qui les mettent en œuvre en cas de besoin. Il est bien-entendu, que toutes les combinaisons ne sont réalisées et n'entrent pas dans l'usage standardisé. Mais cela ne les empêche pas d'être, le cas échéant, formées et comprises.

Nous avons passé dans les grandes lignes le développement de la linguistique européenne. Il est sûr, qu'elle a été poussée à son début dans une mesure considérable par la découverte du sanskrit classique. Après cette rencontre qui la fécondée, la linguistique européenne a suivi ses propres voies du développement pour aboutir à une méthodologie stricte et exacte, fondée sur de critères formels explicites. Plus de vingt

13. Cf. BLOOMFIELD, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

14. On emploie de différents noms pour tels thèmes: monème, mot immotivé, mot lexical.

15. On doit, cependant, admettre que, dans certains cas, une projection dans l'histoire de la langue (diachronie) peut se montrer utile pour mieux éclaircir l'état synchronique, si elle s'opère en pleine conscience de toutes les implications que peuvent provoquer des données ainsi confrontées.

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siècle auparavant les grammairiens indiens ont procédé de principes méthodologiques [16] très semblables. Le *śabdânuśâsana* (la théorie du mot) [17] traditionnel de l'Inde, comme il se trouve appliqué dans l'œuvre de Pāṇini, se rapproche sur les points essentiels de la théorie de la formation des mots contemporaine. Au centre de son intérêt se trouve l'analyse du mot en élément radical (*dhâtu*) et élément formatif (*pratyaya*). Le postulat fondamental est celui de l'origine verbale des noms, formulé explicitement chez les précurseurs de Pāṇini. L'analyse formelle et la motivation sémantique correspondante y sont strictement observées. Ce sont, à vrai dire, les formules de différents types formatifs et les moyens d'explication sont exclusivement linguistiques. « His purpose was purely structural », écrit V. N. Misra [18], et encore « it is a syncronic analysis par excellence » [19].

La seule partie du vocabulaire qui se conforme à ces exigences sont les dérivés suffixaux. Les mots qui échappent à cette analyse exacte sont rangés parmi les *uṇâdi*, où ils deviennent l'objet de recherche des étymologistes professionnels.

« Ainsi était rendue possible une investigation proprement linguistique sur la formation des mots, au lieu des divagations qu'on appellera recherches étymologiques en Europe pendant plus de deux mille ans [20].

B) *Le système de la formation des noms de la langue védique* [21]

Les grammairiens indiens ont distingué deux types des noms dérivés: *kṛt* (en linguistique comparée appelés primaires) et *taddhita* (secondaires). La différence entre les deux types n'est pas dans les suffixes, puisque certains d'eux peuvent figurer dans toutes les deux séries. La différence est dans le caractère de l'élément gauche dans l'ordre linéaire formatif et dans le caractère de la motivation. Cette différence nous semble, quand même, essentielle, puisque dans les dérivés secondaires

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16. Cf. J. Brough, *Theories of General Linguistics in the Sanskrit Grammarians*, dans « Transactions of the Philological Society », 1951, pp. 27-46.

17. Cf. le texte magistral de L. Renou, *Introduction générale*, dans Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*, I, pp. 1-42 avec un très riche appareil bibliographique.

18. Cf. son œuvre *The Descriptive Technique of Pāṇini*, The Hague, 1966, p. 24; cf. aussi S. D. Joshi, *Two Methods of Interpreting Pāṇini*, dans « Journal of the University of Poona », 23, 1965, pp. 53-61.

19. Le domaine de l'intérêt dans le phénomène de la langue et la portée de la formalisation scientifique qui caractérise ses résultats sont, sans aucun doute, dûs à la prédilection de l'esprit indien pour la systématisation, la présentation logique et claire. Toute la tradition de l'Inde a soigné ce type de l'accès scientifique.

20. Cf. G. Mounin, *Histoire de la linguistique des origines au XXe siècle*, Paris, 1970, p. 72.

21. En fait, il s'agit de la langue du *Ṛgveda*. La raison en est, que la langue du *Ṛgveda* conserve le mieux les traits archaïques, tandis que les autres *saṃhitā* les perdent graduellement. Ceci vaut surtout pour l'*Atharvaveda*.

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on renonce au critère de la motivation verbale comme unique dans la formation des noms. Et même, grande quantité de thèmes formativement immotivés, qui, à vrai dire, ne constituent que les unités du lexique, deviennent la base d'une motivation nouvelle. C'est un cas extrêmement rare que d'avoir à la base d'un dérivé secondaire un thème à la motivation verbale [22]. Le trait vraiment archaïque de la formation védique est le maintient de l'accent à valeur morphologique. En indo-européen la valeur dérivative ne relevait pas tellement du suffixe, que de la place du ton. L'accent sur l'élément radical formait les noms d'action, tandis que l'accent sur le suffixe donnait les noms d'agent et adjectifs. Ce système est conservé en traces en védique (par ex. *śucá* « lumineux »: *śóka* « lumière »; *yaśás* « glorieux »: *yáśas* « gloire » [23]).

Le dérivé *kṛt* a la structure racine + suffixe et deux variantes accentuelles possibles. Par ex.

codá « incitateur »	*códa* « incitation »
cod - a	*cod - a*
CUD - a	*CUD - a*
« inciter » « Nom d'agent »	« inciter » « Nom d'action »

C'est ce type que nous allons examiner dans l'article.

La dérivé *taddhita* a la structure nom + suffixe.

Par ex. *róhita* « rouge, rougeâtre »
rohít - a
« jument rouge » « adjectif ».

Exceptionnellement on trouve un dérivé *kṛt* à la gauche d'un suffixe *taddhita*. Par ex. *táruša* « vainqueur »
tárus - a
« combat, supériorité » « adjectif »
TṚ - us - a
« traverser, vaincre » « n.d'act. » « adj. »

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22. On peut mieux, peut-être, sentir la vraie signification d'une méthodologie stricte et claire là, où elle n'est pas observée. *Altindische Nominalbildung* de BRUNO LINDNER, Jena, 1876, est significative à cet égard. Il écrit (p. 7): Die indischen Grammatiker theilen bekanntlich die Nominalsuffixe in 3 Klassen ein, die sie *Kṛt*, *Uṇâdi* und *Taddhita* nennen. Von diesen fallen die beiden ersten *für unsere Betrachtung* zusammen und machen die primäre Nominalbildung aus, während die Taddhita den sekundären Suffixen entsprechen ». Comme on voit, Lindner introduit même les *uṇâdi* dans la formation. Il traite ensemble les dérivés primaires à la motivation verbale et ceux qui n'en ont pas du tout. Dans ces derniers il ne s'agit que des finales homophones. Il est méthodologiquement inadmissible de ranger ensemble par ex. *yudhí* « bataille », dérivé de *YUDH*, et *nemí* « jante », *āṭí* « un oiseau aquatique » qui sont complètement immotivés par rapport à la totalité des verbes sanskrites. Cf. M. MAYRHOFFER, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, Heidelberg, 1956 et suiv.

23. Cf. grec ψεῦδος « mensonge »: ψευδής « menteur »; τόμος « coupure »: τομός « coupant »; cf. T. BURROW, *The Sanskrit Language*, London, 1965, 2e ed., p. 118; J. BLOCH, *L'indoaryen du Veda aux temps modernes*, Paris, 1934, p. 47.

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Cette distinction est rarement observée dans les grammaires existantes d'une manière tout à fait stricte [24].

Nous allons maintenant passer en revue les suffixes *kṛt* les plus importants de la langue du *Ṛgveda*. Les traits les plus caractéristiques de certaines formations et leurs fonctions seront présentées sur un choix d'examples.

Noms-racines

Apparemment formés sans suffixes, les noms-racines en fait attachent un suffixe à deux réalisations allomorphes: *-t-* (après les voyelles i, u, ṛ finales de la racine) ou zéro (dans d'autres cas).

Par ex. *-dṛś* (*DṚŚ*) « qui voit »
-vid (*VID*) « connaisseur »
-stut (*STU*) « qui célèbre »

	Nom d'ag. en composé	Nom d'agent	Nom d'act. en composé	Nom d'action f.
AD « manger »	*-ád* par ex. *madhv-ád*			
DṚŚ « voir »	*-dṛ́ś* par ex. *ahar-dṛ́ś*		*-dṛś* par ex. *su-dṛ́ś*	*dṛś*
DVIŠ « haïr »		*dvíš*		*dvíš*
BHID « briser »	*-bhid* par ex. *pûr-bhíd*	*bhíd*		
YUDH « lutter »				*yúdh*
SAD « être assis »	*-sad* par ex. *upastha-sád*		*-sad* par ex. *ni-šád*	
HŪ « invoquer »	*-hû* par ex. *deva-hû*			

24. Par ex. dans WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER, *op. cit.*, qui est une œuvre magistrale - très exhaustive, bien qu'un peu difficile à manier. Peu exhaustive, mais donnant une bonne vue d'ensemble est la partie sur la formation dans L. RENOU, *Grammaire de la langue védique*, Paris-Lyon, 1952, pp. 141-186.

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Il y a aussi des noms concrets, par ex.: *gúh* (*GUH*) « abri », *mít* (*MI*) « pilier », *sráj* (*SRAJ*) « guirlande » etc.

-a-

Ce suffixe appartient parmi les plus nombreux en védique. Il forme une grande quantité de dérivés aux fonctions très variées. Renou [25] le définit comme « abondant, mais mal organisé ». L'accent morphologique se maintient dans certaines paires formatives, mais la régularité y est fortement troublée, de manière qu'on rencontre les deux schémas possibles chez les noms d'agent et les noms d'action.

	Noms d'agent		Noms d'action	
IŠ « désirer »		*-išá* par ex. *gav-išá*	*éša*	*eša*
DRUH « tromper »	*drógha*			*-drohá* par ex. *abhi-drohá*
YUJ « lier »		*-yujá* par ex. *a-yujá*	*yóga*	
RUC « briller »			*róka*	*roká*
VṚ « choisir »		*vará*	*vára*	
ŚṚDH « être courageux »	*śárdha*			
HAS « rire »			*hása*	

Les paires de noms par ex. *bhojá* « qui donne le plaisir » et *bhóga* « plaisir » (de *BHUJ*), *śucá* « brilliant » et *śóka* « lumière » (de *ŚUC*) montrent un modèle formatif, où le palatal se maintient devant le suffixe accentué, mais se transforme en guttural si la racine garde le ton. Ce modèle est tôt devenu improductif, de manière qu'il n'existe un critère descriptif pour prévoir la forme de la finale radicale en palatal (cf. *dúgha* « vache », *dóha, dógha* « allaitement »). Ceci pose des problèmes à la description, qui peuvent mieux être éclaircis par un commentaire d'ordre diachronique [26]. Il y a encore assez de noms à motivation verbale, dont le sens est nom d'objet ou autre. Voici quelques

25. *Grammaire...*, p. 197.
26. Cf. BURROW, *op. cit.*, p. 123; WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER, *op. cit.*, p. 91 et suiv.

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uns: *plavá* (*PLU*) « bateau », *yugá* (*YUJ*) « joug », *códa* (*CUD*) fouet », *svéda* (*SVID*) « sueur ». Le *-a-* joue le rôle de simple élargissement phonétique dans un nombre de mots, dont la forme des noms-racines ne comporte pas d'assez forte motivation (par ex. *sûra* de *sûr* « soleil », *himá* de *hím* « hiver », *māṃsá* de *māṃs* « viande). Cette fonction de *-a-* est vivante depuis le védique. En outre, le *-a-* termine un grand nombre de noms immotivés, où il n'est plus identifiable comme suffixe. Ces mots n'appartiennent pas à la formation, mais au vocabulaire et à l'étymologie. Par leur contenu ils couvrent les domaines très importants de la vie.

Etant surchargé de valeurs sémantiques variées et ayant confondu les critères formels clairs de sa distribution formative, le suffixe *-a-* est devenu peu à peu faiblement motivé, de manière que d'autres suffixes se sont spécialisés pour les fonctions qu'il a remplies auparavant: *-tṛ-* pour noms d'agent, *-ti-* pour noms d'action, *-tra-* pour noms d'instrument.

-ana-

forme de nombreux dérivés, sémantiquement peu homogènes. L'accent en est sans valeur morphologique.

	Noms d'agent	Adjectifs	Noms d'action	Noms concrets
AD « manger »				*ádana*
KṚ « faire »		*karaṇá* « habile »	*káraṇa*	
CUD « chasser »	*-códana* par ex. *ṛši-códana*			
BHUJ « jouir, manger »			*bhójana*	*bhójana*

-ani-

est peu attesté dans les dérivés motivés et ne montre pas de sens spécialisé. Par ex. *kšipaṇí* (*KŠIP*) « coup de fouet », *vartaní* (*VṚT*) « chemin ». Plus vivant est le schéma spécial, formé au thème du désidératif, par ex. *rurukšáṇi* (*RUJ*) « qui veut briser » (*ru-RUJ-s-ani*).

-as-

conserve l'accent morphologique dans quelques paires, par ex. *tyájas* « abandon »: *tyajás* « descendant »; *máhas* « grandeur »: *mahás* « grand ».

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Les valeurs sémantiques sont très variées.

	Noms d'agent, adjectifs	Noms d'action	Noms abstraits	Noms concrets
AV « aider »		*ávas*		
TU « être fort »	*tavás*		*tavás*	
TVIŠ « s'animer »			*tvešás*	
NAM « s'incliner »		*námas*		
RAṂH « se hâter »			*-raṃhas* par ex. *vâta-raṃhas*	
RUH « grandir »				*róhas* « sommet »
SAH « vaincre »	*sáhas*		*sáhas*	
HĪḌ « se fâcher »		*héḍas*		

Un grand nombre de mots ne se laisse ramener à aucune racine verbale, par ex. *ágas* « péché », *psáras* « festin », *várpas* « beauté », *śárdhas* « troupeau ».

-i-

« C'est le type même des formations mal caractérisées »[27]. Il forme deux types principaux de dérivés. Le premier type au schéma racine + *i* est assez peu réalisé.

	Noms d'agent	Noms d'action	Noms concrets
KṚŠ « labourer »		*kṛší*	
KRĪḌ « jouer »	*krîḍí*		
GRANTH « lier »			*granthí* « nœud »
MATH « agiter »	*-máthi* par ex. *havir-máthi*		

27. Renou, *Grammaire...*, p. 155.

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Le second type est limité à la langue du *Ṛgveda* et inconnu aux textes postvédiques. Le sens en est adjectif ou nom d'agent, avec la nuance de l'intensité. Le schéma est le suivant: redoublement + racine + *i*.

Par ex. *cákri* (*KṚ*) « qui fait »
dâdhṛši (*DHṚŠ*) « courageux »
yúyudhi (*YUDH*) « belliqueux »
súšvi (*SU*) « presseur du Soma »

-is-

est assez peu productif et mal caractérisé, moins attesté que le *-as-* qui lui est proche.

chadís (*CHAD*) « couverture »
jyótis (*JYUT MS, AV*) « lumière »
rocís (*RUC*) « lumière »
havís (*HU*) « oblation »

-u-

L'accent morphologique est conservé dans *âyu* « vie »: *âyú* « vif, agile » (sans motivation verbale); *sâdhu* « bien, bénédiction »: *sâdhú* « bon, juste » (*SADH*).

	Noms d'agent	Adjectifs	Noms d'action
KRĪḌ « jouer »	*krîḍú*		
TAP « chauffer »	*tápu*	*tápu*	
NṚT « danser »	*nṛtú*		
PAN « admirer »			*panú*
PRATH « s'étendre »		*pṛthú*	
SVĀD « sucrer »		*svâdú*	

Dans l'autre type de la formation le suffixe *-u-* s'ajoute au thème du désidératif, le schéma étant redoublement + racine + *s* + *u*. Le sens désidératif est vivant.

ninitsú (*NID*) « qui veut se moquer »
ririkšú (*RIŠ*) « qui veut détruire »
pipîšu (*PĀ*) « qui veut boire »

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Nombreux sont des mots immotivés, par ex. *âśú* « rapide », *índu* « goutte », *urú* « étendue », *jânu* « genou », *mádhu* « miel ».

-ta-

C'est le suffixe qui fait partie du système verbal en formant les participes passés. Ces participes sont souvent substantivés, donnant des adjectifs et des noms de sens différents. La limite entre les adjectifs et les participes n'est pas nette, même chez les noms il est difficile de définir exactement le degré de substantivation.

Par ex. *ghṛtá* (*GHṚ*) «beurre »
caritá (*CAṚ*) « allure »
jîvitá (*JĪV*) « vie »
yuddhá (*YUDH*) « combat »

-ti-

C'est un suffixe au très haut degré de spécialisation sémantique, qui crée les noms d'action. Autres significations sont peu nombreuses, par ex. *dhûti* (*DHŪ*) « qui secoue », *váṣṭi* (*VAŚ*) « désireux » (cf. aussi le tableau). Le ton est généralement sur le suffixe, la racine comportant la voyelle réduite.

	Noms d'action	Noms abstraits	Noms concrets
AV « aider »	*ūtí*		
CIT « penser »	*cítti*	*cítti*	
JĪ « vaincre »		*-jīti* par ex. *á-jīti*	
JUŚ « jouir »	*júṣṭi*		
TAN « tendre »			*tánti* « corde »
PAC « cuire »	*paktí*		*paktí* « nourriture »
VAC « parler »	*-ukti* par ex. *námas-ukti*		
STU « louer »	*stutí*		
HŪ « invoquer »	*-hûti* par ex. *devá-hûti*		

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Il ya encore quelques noms du sens très proche, formés sur le thème redoublé, par ex. *carkṛtí (KṚ,* int. « louer ») « louange », *dîdhiti (DHĪ)* « dévotion ».

-tu-

est proche du précédent dans sa valeur sémantique. L'action y est exprimée dans le sens le plus abstrait, ce qui a été la raison d'utiliser les cas isolés comme infinitifs ou absolutifs. C'est un trait constant dans l'histoire de la langue sanskrite. Théoriquement donc, chaque racine forme un nom en *-tu-*, du moins les cas à valeur infinitive ou absolutive.

Il y en a relativement peu à la valeur uniquement nominale.

Par ex. *gātú* (*GĀ, jigāti*) « marche »
gātú (*GĀ, gāyati*) « chant »
mántu (*MAN*) « réflexion »
-vártu (*VṚ, vṛṇoti*) dans *dur-vártu* « difficile à être défendu »
hetú (*HI*) « excitation »

-tṛ-

est le suffixe exclusif pour la formation des noms d'agent, hérité de l'indo-européen [28], et il est resté très vivant, même après l'époque védique. En védique on peut réconstruire le schéma formatif ancien, dans lequel deux noms d'agent ont pu être formés de chaque racine, l'un portant le ton sur la racine et ayant l'objet à l'accusatif (— *tṛ* + Accus.), l'autre avec le ton suffixal et régissant l'objet au génitif (— *tṛ́* + Gén.). La différence formelle était à la base d'une distinction très subtile du sens. Le premier schéma réalisait le adjectifs verbaux (*dâtā vásu* « qui donne le bien »), le second, au contraire, signifiait celui qui a la profession, même la mission à faire ce que dit le verbe (*dātā́ rādhasām* « donneur de faveurs »). Ce modèl formatif a laissé de rares paires accentuelles, où l'on peut avec sûreté constater cette distinction sémantique. Le suffixe est parfois ajouté à la racine par une voyelle de liaison, qui, au sens formatif, fait partie de lui-même. Ainsi nous avons à considérer plusieurs types de réalisations du schéma formatif fondamental:

1) racine + *tṛ*	5) racine + *îtṛ́*	9) racine + *otṛ́*
2) » » *tṛ́*	6) » » *utṛ*	10) » » *ótṛ*
3) » » *itṛ*	7) » » *utṛ́*	
4) » » *itṛ́*	8) » » *ûtṛ́*	

28. Cf. le traité magistral de E. BENVENISTE, *Noms d'agent et noms d'action en indoeuropéen*, Paris, 1948, où le savant connu recherche les relations entre le forme et le contenu des dérivés en *-tṛ-* en grec, en avestique et en védique.

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L'opposition formelle et distinction sémantique peuvent être constatées dans ces examples:

KṚ	*kártṛ* « faisant » *kartṕ* « auteur, créateur »
DṚ	*dártṛ* « qui détruit » *dartṕ* « destructeur »
HAN	*hántṛ* « qui tue » *hantṕ* « tueur »
TṚ	*tárutṛ* « vainquant » *tarutṕ* « vainqueur » (« destiné à vaincre » Benveniste p. 15).

Beaucoup de dérivés sont réalisés d'après un schéma unique, — *tṛ* ou bien — *tṕ* .

Par ex. *ástṛ* (*AS, asyati*) « qui jette »
dágdhṛ (*DAH*) « incendiaire »
śáṃstṛ (*ŚAṂS*) « récitant »
śnáthitṛ (*ŚNATH*) « perceur »
trâtṕ (*TRĀ*) « protecteur »
vaktṕ (*VAC*) « orateur »
coditṕ (*CUD*) « excitateur »
panitṕ (*PAN*) « admirateur »

-tra-

Le sense le plus marquant est celui de noms d'instrument, de fonction, de ressort, à côté d'autres significations nominales usuelles, qui sont moins souvent réalisées. Les formes du suffixe sont *-tra-*, *-atra-*, *-itra-*, *-utra-* (dans le mot *tárutra* seulement), et la distribution de ces variantes correspond à celle du *-tṛ-* dans le noms d'agent [29]. Motivation verbale est très haute. Les noms de fonction neutres peuvent être dérivés directement des noms d'agent en *-tṛ-* indiquant celui qui remplit la fonction (par ex. *pótṛ, potṕ* > *potrá* « fonction du prêtre qui filtre le Soma dans le sacrifice »).

Noms d'instrument	*-tra-*	*-atra-*	*-itra-*
KŠṆU « aguiser »	*kšṇótra*		
CAR « se mouvoir »			*carítra* « pied »
DĀ, dāti « couper »	*dātra* « faucille »		
PAT « voler »	*-patra* par ex. *śatá-patra*	*pátatra* « aile »	
VADH « tuer »		*vádhatra*	

29. Ce qui pourrait indiquer l'origine commune, cf. BURROW, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

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Autres valeurs du suffixe dans, par ex.: *śāstrá* (*ŚĀS*) « ordre », *stotrá* (*STU*) « louange », *hótrā* (*HŪ*) « invocation », *vástra* (*VAS*) « costume », *yájatra* (*YAJ*) « digne d'estime ».

-tha-

Le suffixe *-tha-* se réalise comme *-tha-* et *-atha-*. Ce qui est assez exceptionnel dans la formation des mots, la distribution de ces deux variantes peut être décrite en règles formelles. Elle est prévisible. La racine *VAC* réalise les deux types: *ucátha*, *ukthá* (noms abstraits). Les racines à la structure phonétique consonne+voyelle, *RIC*, *HAN* ajoutent *-tha-*, les autres racines, *ŚĪ*, *RU* *-atha-*. Après l'epoque védique il n'y a plus de nouvelles dérivations en *-tha-*.

	Noms d'action	Noms abstraits	Noms concrets
I « aller »	*ayátha*		
CAR « se mouvoir »	*carátha*		
TṚ « passer »			*tīrthá* « gué »
NĪ « conduire »	*nīthá* « conduite (de la mélodie) »		*nîthā* « chemin »
RIC « laisser »			*rikthá* « héritage »
VAKŠ « grandir »	*vakšátha*		
STU « louer »		*stavátha*	

-tha- termine aussi quelques mots sans étymologie verbale, par ex. *óšṭha* « bouche », *kā́šṭhā* « piste », *yūthá* « troupeau », *rátha* « char ».

-na-

Ce qui est dit plus haut sur les formations en *-ta-*, vaut bien pour celles en *-na-*. Les participes en *-na-* sont moins nombreux que ceux en *-ta-*. De purs noms sont aussi rares, surtout motivés.

áśna (*AŚ*, *aśnāti*) « gourmand »
ghṛṇá (*GHṚ*) « chaleur »
dāná (*DĀ*) « donation, donneur »
mā́na (*MĀ*) « mesure »
yajñá (*YAJ*) « sacrifice »
sthā́na (*STHĀ*) « endroit ».

Des mots immotivés en *-na-* sont par ex. *tṛ́ṇa* « herbe », *budhná* « terrain » *várṇa* « couleur », *nagná* « nu ».

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-ma-

Les dérivés en *-ma-* ne sont plus formé après l'époque védique. Ici le suffixe forme des noms à la gamme presque complète des significations, que l'on rencontre dans la formation des noms en védique.

	Noms d'agent	Adjectifs	Noms d'action	Noms concrets
AJ « conduire »			*ájma*	*ájma* « sentier »
GHṚ « chauffer »			*gharmá*	
TIJ « être acéré »		*tigmá*		
DṚ « briser »	*darmá*			
DHŪ « incendier »				*dhūmá* « fumée »
SU « presser »				*sóma*
STU « louer »			*stóma*	

Le manque d'une organisation formative plus stricte indique le caractère archaïque d'une formation, qui a perdu sa productivité.

-man-

Les nombreux dérivés en *-man-* conservent un petit nombre de noms à l'accent morphologique, par ex. *dāmán* « donneur », *dắman* « don ». La régularité de cette opposition accentuelle n'est plus vivante et l'on en trouve de déplacements sur le plan formel et sémantique (*svādmán* m., *svắdman* n. « douceur » de *SVĀD*). Le suffixe se réalise en *-man-*, *-iman-* et même *-īman-*. La distribution de ces allomorphes est difficile à être prévue, même dans les verbes de la série *seṭ -man-* et *-iman-* est possible (cf. *jánman*, *jániman* « naissance »; *bhárman* « support », *bhắrman* « brancard », *bhárīman* « maintient »).

	Noms abstraits	Noms d'action	Noms d'agent
AJ « conduire »		*ájman*	
JI « vaincre »			*jéman*
PRATH « s'étendre »	*prathimán*		
PRĪ « aimer »		*premán*	
VAD « parler »			*vadmán*
SU « presser »			*somán*
HAN « tuer »		*hánman*	
HI « chasser »		*hemán*	

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Les dérivés à sens concret: *ádman* (*AD*) « nourriture », *kšádman* (*KŠAD*) « couteau », *vártman* (*VṚT*) « trace de la roue », *vásman* (*VAS*) « costume », *syūman* (*SYŪ*) « corde ».

-ra-

forme des adjectifs, dont quelques uns sont substantivés (par ex. *gṛdhra* « vorace » m. « vautour », *vípra* « excité » m. « poète »).

	Adjectifs	Noms d'agent
KŠIP « être rapide »	*kšiprá*	
MATH « se secouer »		*mathrá*
ŚUBH « décorer »	*śubhrá*	
SYAND « se mouvoir »		*syandrá*
HAS « rire »		*hasrá*

Autres significations par ex. *kšudrá* (*KŠUD*) « miette », *riprá* (*RIP*) « saleté ».

-van-

En fonction primaire le suffixe *-van-* forme en védique de nombreux noms d'agent et adjectifs. Ceux-ci figurent très souvent en deuxième membre du composé. Dans le schéma formatif la racine est accentuée.

ṛ́kvan (*ṚC*) « chantre »
drúhvan (*DRUH*) « qui ruine »
mádvan (*MAD*) « qui s'enivre »
-hásvan (*HAS*) dans *upa-hásvan* « moqueur »
jásvan (*JAS*) « misérable »
yúdhvan (*YUDH*) « belliqueux »
śúbhvan (*ŚUBH*) « pur ».

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OLIVIER LACOMBE

LE SANSKRIT ET LA PHILOSOPHIE DE L'ETRE

Le sanskrit dispose de deux racines pour exprimer l'idée d'être: *as* et *bhū*. Usant habilement de l'une et de l'autre, la *Bhagavad-gītā*, dans une stance célèbre (II.16) a précisé, avec force et concision, la philosophie brahmanique de l'être:

nāsato vidyate bhāvo nābhāvo vidyate sataḥ /
ubhayorapi dṛṣṭo 'ntas tvanayos tattvadarśibhiḥ //

« Le non-être ne vient pas à l'être, l'être ne cesse pas d'être. Ce sont là deux domaines dont la frontière est clairement perçue par ceux qui ont l'intuition de la réalité ».

Le sanskrit et le grec ont maintenu distinctes les conjugaisons verbales issues des racines skt. *as*, grec ἐς d'une part, et skt. *bhū*, grec φυ d'autre part.

As et ἐς disent l'affirmation absolue de soi dans l'être.

Bhū vise la production ou l'auto-production dans l'être. (J'évite, à dessein, la traduction ambiguë de *bhū* par *devenir*).

Φυ signifie: transitivement, faire croître, intransitivement, croître, donc aller vers plus d'être.

En grec l'association est moins étroite, dans l'ordre de la sémantique philosophique, entre le participe présent féminin οὐσία de ἐς et le substantif φύσις dérivé de φυ, qu'en sanskrit entre *as* et *bhū* dans toute l'étendue de leurs conjugaisons et dérivations. Aristote discernera pourtant, je crois, une relation intime entre οὐσία et φύσις, celle même qui se développera plus tard entre *essence* et *nature*.

Le latin a amalgamé dans la conjugaison d'un seul verbe composite des formes empruntées à l'une et l'autre de ces racines: *est*, *fui*. Il en va de même en français.

L'allemand et l'anglais ont fait en outre appel à une troisième racine: *wesan*, de sorte que leurs verbes *être* groupent des formes telles que: anglais, *is*, *be*, *was*, allemand, *ist*, *bin*, *war*.

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En allemand le substantif *Wesen* est un mot noble. Il signifie la « réalité essentielle ».

Les ontologies brahmaniques ont été fortement influencées par la tendance du sanskrit à faire un usage jumelé de *as* et *bhū*, tout en les distinguant, comme le prouve la citation faite plus haut de *Bh. G.* II.16.

Mais, selon les écoles, l'accent est mis tantôt sur l'une, tantôt sur l'autre racine. Il n'est pas douteux que le Vedānta de Śaṅkara privilégie *AS*, en particulier sous la forme participiale *SAT*. Il reste fidèle en cela à la *Chāndogya-upaniṣad* dont la sixième lecture (sections 1, 2, 3) est un grand hymne à l'Etre (*sat*) qui prend délibérément le contre-pied de *RV.* 72, 2,3 et de *Ch. Up.* III, 19, 1: « L'être naquit du non-être »[1]. « A l'origine, tout l'univers n'était que non-être. Il devint être »[2]. Face à de telles assertions, le père de Śvetaketu, Uddālaka Āruṇi répond avec vivacité: « Au commencement... il n'y avait ci, unique, sans second, que l'Etre. Certains ont dit, il est vrai: au commencement il n'y avait ci, unique, sans second, que le non-être. De ce non-être naquit l'être. Mais comment en serait-il ainsi?... Comment du non-être l'être naîtrait-il? ».

La profession de foi d'Uddālaka semble riposter du même coup à *RV* X 92 et *RV* X 129 selon lesquels l'Un (tantôt masculin, tantôt neutre) a précédé dans l'existence et l'être et le non-être. Cet Un qui est « fixé au nombril du Non-né », qui « respirait de son propre élan », qui, « vide », prit « naissance par la puissance de l'Ardeur », alors que cet Univers « n'était encore qu'onde indistincte »[1].

Uddālaka, pour sa part, identifie l'Un à l'Etre et pose l'Etre comme Principe des principes.

Il est permis d'entrevoir dans les spéculations védiques sur le non-être, le vide, le Non-né, un apophatisme qui se cherche. Il n'est pas aventureux d'y voir aussi une anticipation sur les recherches techniques à venir concernant *avyākṛta, avyakta.* Il n'est pas déraisonnable de penser que certains passages susmentionnés admettent une sorte d'alternance inversable entre les termes *sat* et *asat*, préparant ainsi le couple *vyakta/avyakta.* Il est clair enfin que dans les textes combattus par Āruṇi *asat* ne désigne pas le néant, l'*atyantābhāva* des logiciens, tandis qu'au contraire sa question: Comment l'être naîtrait-il du non-être? accule l'adversaire à l'absurde: le tout ne peut venir de rien, ni le plus du moins. Toute alternance est ici hors de cause.

Le Vedānta ultérieur, alors qu'il raffinera sur l'Un jusqu'à préférer *a-dvaita* à *eka* pour obéir aux intentions apophatiques du *neti, neti* de l'*Upaniṣad*, gardera pourtant au cœur de sa méthaphysique la position

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1. Nos citations (en français) du *Rig-veda* sont empruntées à Louis Renou, *Hymnes spéculatifs du Véda*, Paris, Gallimard, 1956.

2. *Chāndogya-upaniṣad*, traduite et annotée par Emile Senart, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1930.

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absolue de l'*ātman qui est*, l'affirmation inconditionnelle du *sat* ou du *satya*, par exemple dans la quasi définition du brahman comme *sat-cit-ānanda* [3].

Cette philosophie de l'être s'édifie, pour une part, sur l'opposition être-action. Le monde de l'action, du *karman* reste en-deçà de l'être: il implique non-être, manque, convoitise. Tandis que l'ordre de l'être est celui de la plénitude infinie, pacifiée et calme.

Par contre, l'opposition essence/existence, qui nous est si familière, n'a guère de place ici, ni sous sa forme classique, ni sous la forme dérivée et récente, voire abusive, de l'existentialisme et de l'essentialisme. L'expérience métaphysique vedāntine est une expérience volontairement involuée d'une existence massive, totale, en même temps que translumineuse et quiescente, d'une existence qui n'accepte pas de s'analyser au plan de l'essence.

Si le Vedānta privilégie le *sat*, d'autres *darśana*(s) poussent au premier plan la racine *BHŪ*, ainsi que ses dérivés nominaux *BHAVA* et *BHĀVA*, et plus encore les formes causatives: *bhāvay-* et *bhāvanā*. Toutes les doctrines qui insistent sur l'efficience mentale, le dynamisme de la pensée réalisatrice ont pour ce dernier terme une prédilection marquée. La philosophie *śaiva* du Cachemire, en particulier, lui accorde une place d'exception. Pour elle, comme pour bien d'autres écoles indiennes, *bhāvanā* dit la réalisation mystique dont *sādhanā* est le moyen. On voit maintenant pourquoi la traduction de *bhū* par « devenir » nous paraît tantôt insuffisante, tantôt trompeuse.

Ces remarques devraient être complétées par des considérations parallèles sur l'aventure métaphysique du verbe être dans la philosophie grecque et dans les doctrines juives, islamiques, chrétiennes inspirées par la Bible et le Coran. Nous verrions alors s'ouvrir à nos yeux de tout autres voies. Mais nous dépasserions les limites de cette modeste communication.

Faut-il ajouter qu'il ne s'agit pas du tout ici, dans notre esprit, d'instaurer quelque néo-nominalisme selon lequel la métaphysique ne serait qu'affaire de langage. Mais la langue, les langues suggèrent des thèmes, « donnent à penser » au philosophe [4].

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3. Ce n'est pas ici le lieu d'évoquer la difficile question de la démarche apophatique incluse dans l'affirmation même de *satya* comme *lakṣaṇa* du Brahman. Mais on ne saurait nier, me semble-t-il, que l'affirmation absolue de l'*ātman* reste sous-jacente à toute cette négativité du discours.

4. Par ce qu'elles disent et par ce qu'elles ne disent pas. On peut penser une philosophie de l'être dans une langue qui ne dispose pas du verbe être.

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CHARLES MALAMOUD

CONVERGENCE D'UN RAISONNEMENT MĪMĀṂSAKA ET D'UN MOTIF POÉTIQUE DE L'ATHARVASAṂHITĀ

L'injonction *svādhyāyo 'dhyetavyaḥ* est formulée pour la première fois en *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka* II,14. Ce deuxième *prapāṭhaka* du TĀ est du reste appelé *svādhyāyabrāhmaṇa* chez les commentateurs: explication théologique du *svādhyāya*.

Nous sommes bien embarrassés pour traduire ce *vidhi*: la tradition indienne, en effet, en fournit deux interprétations très différentes.

1. La première se fonde sur l'identité expressément posée: *svādhyāya* = *brahmayajña*. Le livre II du TĀ énonce la règle qui nous occupe dans un développement consacré au *brahmayajña* et, plus largement, aux cinq *mahāyajña* quotidiens. Ces *mahāyajña* sont décrits en détail dans les Gṛhyasūtra et dans la Smṛti, mais la théorie en est formulée déjà dans le TĀ, dans un texte de Śruti par conséquent. Le *brahmayajña* est, comme on sait, un sacrifice qui fait partie du rituel du *gṛhastha*; il doit être exécuté hors du village, dans la solitude, et consiste en l'offrande d'un *dravya* qui n'est autre que le *brahman*, c'est-à-dire le texte védique, à une *devatā* qui est encore le *brahman*. Plus précisément, le *brahmayajña* est un rite qui comprend un certain nombre d'éléments accessoires, *aṅga*, les circonstances de temps et de lieu, les postures etc., et un élément principal, l'offrande en forme de récitation, le *svādhyāya* proprement dit. Ce qui est notable ici, c'est la solitude du sacrifiant, ou plus exactement son tête-à-tête avec le texte védique: le sacrifice est déconcrétisé à l'extrême, d'autant plus que la récitation peut se réduire à une pure méditation sur le *praṇava*: image, donc, ou esquisse, à l'intérieur même de la vie rituelle du *gṛhastha*, de ce qui sera le dépouillement des rites chez le renonçant. Comprise à la lumière de ce contexte, l'injonction peut donc être traduite: « on doit réciter la récitation-personnelle », l'élément *sva-* du composé *svādhyāya* désignant la personne propre du sacrifiant, et peut-être déjà, dans ce rite où l'on offre le *brahman* au *brahman*, une façon d'évoquer l'*ātman*. Et toute une tradition indienne, les théoriciens du yoga notamment, comprend le mot *svādhyāya* dans une acception similaire.

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2. Les philosophes mīmāṃsaka, de leur côté, ont une interprétation toute différente. Pour eux, le mot *svādhyāya* désigne le Veda propre à la *śākhā* védique à laquelle on appartient. Il suffit de consulter le *Mīmāṃsākoṣa* édité à Wai pour se rendre compte que c'est toujours ainsi que les Mīmāṃsaka définissent le *svādhyāya*. L'injonction doit alors être comprise: « il faut apprendre le Veda de sa propre branche védique ». Le changement de sens du mot *svādhyāya* entraîne une acception différente du verbe *adhi I*: non plus « réciter », mais « étudier ». L'élément *sva-* ne renvoie plus à la personne considérée dans son individualité et sa solitude, mais au groupe familial et culturel auquel elle appartient. En outre l'injonction ne concerne plus l'activité rituelle du *gṛhastha*, mais le travail d'apprentissage du *brahmacārin*.

Cette deuxième interprétation s'écarte nettement, selon moi, de la valeur originelle de l'injonction. Mais peu importe en l'occurrence. Ce qu'il faut retenir, c'est que comprise comme on vient de le dire, elle sert de point de départ à toute la spéculation mīmāṃsaka et donne le branle à un raisonnement très instructif quant à la relation maître-élève dans le brahmanisme.

Le texte de base, le *Śabarabhāṣya*, et les deux écoles rivales qui se développent à partir de cette exégèse initiale, à savoir l'école de Kumārila et celle de Prabhākara, ont ceci de commun qu'elles cherchent à articuler l'injonction védique *svādhyāyo 'dhyetavyaḥ* sur le premier *sūtra* de Jaimini: *athāto dharmajijñāsā*, « après quoi, donc, le désir de connaître (le Veda) en vue du *dharma* ». Je ne m'attarde pas ici sur la glose qui analyse ce *sūtra* de façon à montrer que le désidératif n'est pas confiné au *jñāna* mais porte aussi, et principalement, sur le *dharma*. Ce que je veux souligner, c'est que les Mīmāṃsaka s'interrogent sur ce paradoxe: comment le texte de Jaimini peut-il commencer *ex abrupto* par des mots qui signifient « après quoi donc... » et qui impliquent par conséquent que quelque chose a déjà été dit? L'élément implicite, c'est, nous dit-on, *vedam adhītya* « après qu'on a étudié le Veda ». Après cette étude et en conséquence de cette étude on doit être saisi du désir de connaître le Veda pour en tirer des instructions en vue du *dharma*. Il convient donc de marquer une gradations dans l'étude du Veda: d'abord l'étude littérale, puis l'approfondissement du sens. Le texte de la branche védique à laquelle on appartient doit être assimilé de telle sorte que son contenu soit utilisable pour le rite et soit une source d'inspiration pour une conduite dharmique. Ce n'est pas à dire que le texte védique, pris en lui-même, soit trompeur ou systématiquement obscur: simplement il fourmille de difficultés qui peuvent être résolues par une utilisation judicieuse de l'ensemble des données fournies par le texte, mais qui demeurent insurmontables tant qu'on s'en tient à la simple lecture linéaire, même augmentée de la connaissance des « membres auxiliaires du Veda », des Vedāṅga. Seule une exégèse de type mīmāṃsaka, justement, peut permettre de trancher les « cas » litigieux. Or un apprentissage de ce genre ne peut être mené à bien par l'élève livré à lui-

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même. L'élève doit demeurer auprès de son maître. Et tout le raisonnement vise à montrer: (1) que le texte qui enjoint d'étudier le Veda enjoint implicitement d'approfondir cette étude par l'apprentissage de la Mīmāṃsā, et que le premier *sūtra* de Jaimini est là pour rendre cet implicite explicite; (2) que la règle *vedam adhītya snāyet* doit s'interpréter de telle sorte que le *snāna* terminal ne se produise pas immédiatement après la fin de l'étude littérale, ou bien que ce bain, même si on le prend, ne donne pas le signal du *samāvartana.* De toute façon, que ce soit avant ou après le bain, l'élève doit trouver le temps d'apprendre le *dharma* tiré du Veda, c'est-à-dire en somme la Mīṃāmsā, en restant auprès de son maître. Car non seulement il ne pourrait venir à bout de cette tâche par ses propres forces, mais encore — selon Prabhākara tout au moins — il ne pourrait même pas avoir l'idée de l'entreprendre.

A partir d'ici, Prabhākara développe une pensée qui lui est propre et qui diverge de celle de Kumārila. Prabhākara remarque que l'injonction védique *svādhyāyo 'dhyetavyaḥ* est incomplète. En effet elle ne dit pas qui est le complément d'agent de ce passif d'obligation. C'est-à-dire que le texte ne nous apprend pas qui est l'*adhikārin* de ce *vidhi.* Quelles qualifications faut-il avoir, et de quel *kāma* faut-il être animé pour être concerné par cette injonction? Il faut avoir le désir de connaître le sens du Veda. Mais ce désir ne peut être suscité que par le maître. Et le maître sait quelles qualifications il exige de celui qui aspire à recevoir de lui l'initiation. Dans notre interrogation sur l'élève nous sommes donc renvoyés vers le maître, et c'est dans les instructions relatives à l'enseignement que nous trouverons, dit Prabhākara, de quoi compléter l'injonction relative à l'étude. Sur les devoirs du maître, la Smṛti nous enseigne en effet ceci: *aṣṭavarṣaṃ brāhmaṇam upanayīta* « il doit initier un brâhmane âgé de huit ans », d'une part, formule où le verbe *upa NĪ*, employé à l'*ātmanepada*, indique, selon la règle de Pāṇini I,3,36, une conduite que l'on tient pour gagner de la considération; et d'autre part ce texte de Manu II,140: *upanīya tu yaḥ śiṣyaṃ vedam adhyāpayed dvijaḥ / sāṅgaṃ ca sarahasyaṃ ca tam ācāryaṃ pracakṣate*, formule où sont indiqués clairement les qualifications et le désir, donc *l'adhikāra*, du maître: « le brâhmane qui, après avoir initié son élève, lui fait apprendre le Veda avec ses appendices et ses parties ésotériques, celui-là on le considère comme un maître ». Mais comme l'explique le chapitre « Mīmāṃsā » du *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha*, l'enseignement, qui est la fonction du maître, ne peut être mené à bien sans l'étude, qui est la fonction de l'élève. L'effort du maître, ou plutôt l'effort pour mériter le titre de maître, ne peut aboutir que si l'effort de l'élève vient à sa rencontre.

Le raisonnement de Prabhakāra vise à mettre en lumière l'*adhikārin*, non explicite, de l'injonction d'étudier: c'est là le *prayojya* de son argumentation. Pour atteindre ce but, l'injonction complète dont nous disposons, et qui concerne le maître, fonctionne comme moyen, *prayojaka.* Entre l'injonction incomplète et l'injonction complète à partir de laquelle

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on induira le terme manquant dans le première, il y a une relation de *prayukti*: relation dont Prabhākara montre qu'elle doit être soigneusement distinguée de la relation *aṅgāṅgibhāva* d'auxiliaire à principal.

Ne s'agit-il pas, somme toute, d'un truisme, à savoir: pas d'élève sans maître, pas de maître sans élève? Non, car s'il est vrai que le maître et l'élève ont besoin l'un de l'autre, il y a entre eux une dissymétrie: les caractéristiques du maître sont données d'emblée, tandis que celles de l'élève sont à découvrir. A partir de cette dissymétrie se dessine une remarquable dialectique du maître et de l'élève: le maître est là pour l'élève. Le but est donc l'élève, et le maître un moyen. Mais le moyen préexiste au but. Pour faire apparaître le maître dans sa fonction de moyen, pour le justifier dans son rôle de moyen, il faut faire surgir l'élève comme fin de l'activité du maître. Mais puisque le maître a besoin de l'élève, l'élève apparaît d'abord comme un moyen pour le maître, le moyen pour le maître d'être lui-même, ou plutôt d'être ce qu'il prétend être, ou désire être. En tant qu'il est un but, l'élève est donc le moyen d'un moyen.

Ce schéma de la relation, de la solidarité maître-élève, et plus précisément cette idée que le maître a besoin de l'élève pour répondre à sa définition de maître et donc pour être pleinement lui-même, je crois que nous y trouvons une allusion dans un *sūkta* de l'*Atharva-Veda*, l'hymne XI,5 au *brahmacārin*. Cet hymne parle du *brahmacārin*, mais il parle aussi de la plénitude. Il exalte le *brahmacārin* en des termes tout à fait grandioses qui lui confèrent des proportions cosmiques. « Le *brahmacārin* s'avance, mettant en mouvement les deux hémisphères », *brahmacārṣṇáṃś carati ródasī ubhé*... « En lui les dieux trouvent leur concorde »: *tásmin devāḥ sáṃmanaso bhavanti*... (1). « Les Pères, la masse divine, les dieux, un à un, suivent le *brahmacārin* »: *brahmacāríṇaṃ pitáro devajanāḥ pṛthag devā anusáṃyanti sárve*... (2). Et plus loin: « en l'espace d'une journée, il passe de l'océan oriental à l'océan du nord »: *sá sadyá eti pūrvasmād úttaraṃ samudrám* (6). « Les plantes, ce qui fut et ce qui sera, le jour et la nuit, l'arbre, l'année avec ses saisons, sont nés du *brahmacārin*. Les animaux de la terre et ceux du ciel, ceux de la forêt et ceux du village, ceux qui n'ont point d'ailes et ceux qui en ont sont nés du *brahmacārin* »: *óṣadhayo bhūtabhavyám ahoratré vanaspátiḥ / samvatsaráḥ sahá ṛtúbhis té jātā brahmacāríṇaḥ /pārthivā divyāḥ paśáva āraṇyā grāmyāś ca yé / apakṣāḥ pakṣíṇas ca yé té jātā brahmacāríṇaḥ* (20).

Ces formules qui attribuent un rôle aussi prodigieux au *brahmacārin* ont amené les exégètes, et notamment Bloomfield, à voir dans cet hymne une façon bizarre de célébrer le soleil: non sans de bonnes raisons, semble-t-il. Mais il faut prendre en considération d'autres passages de ce même hymne, plus topiques: « de son *tapas* le *brahmacārin* emplit son maître »: *sá ācāryàṃ tápasā piparti* (1). Et encore: « quand le maître initie le *brahmacārin* il le place comme un fœtus à l'intérieur de son corps. Il le porte pendant trois nuits dans son ventre, et quand il naît les dieux se rassemblent autour de lui pour le voir »: *ācāryà upanáyamāno brah-*

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macāriṇaṃ kṛṇute gárbham antáḥ / táṃ rātrīs tisrá udáre bibharti táṃ jātáṃ dráṣṭum abhisáṃyanti devâḥ (3). Ici, à chercher une métaphore pour le soleil, nous ne pouvons que nous fourvoyer. Nous avons affaire à la description poétique d'un rite réel, la *dīkṣā*, qui lui-même symbolise la naissance qui fait du jeune homme un *dvija* et qui par là-même confère au maître la plénitude à laquelle celui-ci aspire. Il n'y a pas à s'étonner de l'ampleur cosmique attribuée dans cet hymne à l'action du *brahmacārin*. Il suffit de penser au rôle cosmogonique constamment assigné au *brahman* associé au *tapas* (et le *brahman* et le *tapas* sont les deux composantes du *brahmacarya*) pour se rendre compte que ce n'est pas le soleil qui est le sujet du poème et que c'est bien le *brahmacārin* qui est décrit, défini, au moyen de termes qui font penser au soleil, mais pour nous réorienter aussitôt vers le *brahmacārin*. En somme il faut prendre cet hymne pour ce qu'il se donne.

Ce n'est pas le lieu de procéder à un examen détaillé de l'hymne tout entier, et je me hâte de formuler les conclusions générales que je tire des remarques que je viens de présenter.

1. Le *brahmacarya*, entendu comme l'apprentissage du Veda, avec tous les rites et toutes les observances qui l'accompagnent, le symbolisme dont il est chargé et la relation maître-élève qu'il instaure, est au point de départ de la cosmologie de cet hymne védique, de même qu'il est au point de départ de la spéculation mīmāṃsaka, notamment dans la version qu'en présente Prabhākara.

2. En règle générale, la Pūrvamīmāṃsā ne prend pour thème de ses discussions et de ses exégèses que la partie du Veda appelée *karmakāṇḍa*, c'est-à-dire les Brāhmaṇa. L'exemple dont je viens d'esquisser l'étude montre toutefois que les hymnes, *arthavāda* par excellence, pourtant, peuvent recevoir eux aussi quelque lumière de l'herméneutique mīmāṃsaka. Plus précisément, parmi les hymnes tardifs, il en est qui sont comme l'évocation poétique de rituels et de schèmes théologiques qui ne sont pas très différents de ceux qui constituent la matière des Brāhmaṇa. Ceux-là sont susceptibles d'être éclairés par la Mīmāṃsā, dans leur structure poétique même (qu'est-ce qui est la métaphore de quoi?), bien que la Mīmāṃsā n'y fasse pas référence.

3. Quand nous lisons les hymnes védiques, nous sommes souvent frappés et même heurtés par la hardiesse et pour ainsi dire la violence poétique de ces textes. Cette violence nous paraît plus tolérable, plus assimilable, quand nous interprétons le poème comme un complexe de métaphores renvoyant à autre chose que ce qu'il semble dire, à une signification secrète. Il faut reconnaître que l'exégèse traditionnelle indienne nous entraîne souvent sur cette voie, et que d'autre part nous pouvons beaucoup gagner en faisant apparaître dans un texte plusieurs étages de significations superposées. Mais prenons garde à ne pas perdre d'un côté ce que nous gagnons de l'autre; dans notre empressement à dégager le sens ou les sens ésotériques, tâchons de ne pas nous rendre aveugles au sens littéral ou immédiat.

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Z. MATIŠIĆ

THE TITLE *TANTRĀKHYĀYIKA* AS OPPOSED TO THE TITLE *PAÑCATANTRA*

An interesting question which comes up in the study of the *Pañcatantra* complex concerns the title of the original version of the work. Almost as differing as the attempts to prove one or another title as the original one are the interpretations of the meaning of the word *tantra* which appears as part of the title in the earliest recensions preserved.

I would first like to sum up in a few sentences the standpoints of the leading scholars who dealt with this query and then offer a somewhat newly dimensioned attitude to the matter concerned.

Most scholars agree that the original title of the work was one of the two preserved in the earliest recensions. Which of these two, they disagree on. In Hertel's[1] opinion it was the title *Tantrākhyāyika*. Edgerton[2] is certain that it was *Pañcatantra* and Keith[3] is inclined to agree with Edgerton. Reconstructing the original title of the work Artola[4] puts the titles mentioned together.

The interpretation of the meaning of the title depends on the interpretation of the meaning of the most intriguing word appearing in both of them — the word *tantra*. Different explanations of its meaning have been given by different scholars. While in his final explanation Hertel[5] comes to the conclusion that *tantra* means « Klugheitsfall » and *Tantrākhyāyika* « aus Erzählung von Klugheitsfällen bestehendes /Lehrbuch/ », Edgerton[6] translates the *tantra* as « book » and *Pañcatantra* as « the five books ». Although doubtful as to what the title *Pañcatantra* originally meant, Keith[7] suggests as the most probable the meaning

1. *Tantrākhyāyika*, die älteste Fassung des *Pañcatantra*. 1. Teil, Leipzing und Berlin, 1909, p. 7.
2. *The Panchatantra Reconstructed*, Vol. 2, New Haven, 1924, p. 181.
3. *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1961, p. 247.
4. WZKM, 52, 1953, pp. 380 ff.
5. WZKM, 20, 1906, pp. 81 ff.
6. *The Panchatantra*, London, 1965, p. 10.
7. l.c.

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« five subject-matters ». Studying the semantic development of the meaning of the word *tantra* Artola [8] comes to the meaning « main point », « chief matter » and selects that one. He then reconstructs the title of the original work as *Nīti-pañcatantrākhyāyika* and translates it as « the little narrative-book based on (or illustrating) the five main points of *nīti* ». Geib [9] is in complete agreement with Artola's interpretation of the title. He only determines the content of the five main points of *nīti* in accordance with his own interpretation of the work without claiming that the title *Tantrākhyāyika* was also the original title of the work.

Both Artola and Geib in their translation ignore the fact that the *tantrākhyāyika* can not be interpreted as an independent word. The last member of the compound is the word *ākhyāyikā* (f.) which changes its gender in the compound. This makes us interpret the whole compound as an attribute, the same as Hertel did, presumably the attribute attached to the word *śāstra*. In the *kathāmukha* the work is twice described as a special art of *śāstra* [10] written in *tantras*. It differs from the *śāstra* in that it is a *sumanoharaṃ śāstram*, a *śāstra* which delights or captivates the heart deeply, that is to say a *śāstra* which is a literary work. This interpretation is testified also by the title *Tantrākhyāyika* which as an attribute to *śāstra* and means a *śāstra* that is a short literary prose work [11] in *tantras* or on *tantra*.

As Artola-Geib's and Hertel's interpretations of the meaning of the word *tantra* fit better into the *kāvya* nature of the work designating the core of it, they are, it seems, more acceptable than the others. On the other hand Artola-Geib's interpretation serves this purpose better than Hertel's. First, it maintans a clear connexion with the original meaning of the word *tantra* and second, it determines more completely the nature of the work it designates. The work is a sort of literary

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8. l.c.

9. *Zur Frage nach der Urfassung des Pañcatantra*, Wiesbaden, 1969, pp. 18 ff.

10. *Sakalārthaśāstrasāraṃ jagati samālokya viṣṇuśarmāpi tantraiḥ pañcabhiretaiścakāra sumanoharaṃ śāstram / kathāmukha*, 3 /
Having examined the core of all *arthaśāstras* in the world Viṣṇuśarman also composed a heart-captivating *śāstra* in these five *tantras*.
Tenāpi ca sūpāyamālocya śāstrāṇi likhitāni pañca tantrāṇi / by the end of kathāmukha /
And he (Viṣṇuśarman) having considered a good mode wrote five tantras as *śāstras*.

11. Artola believes *ākhyāyika* to be a diminutive form in the sense of denoting the popularity of the work and the affection with which it was accepted by the public. The word occurs in the recension which is not only a simple *kathā* meant to entertain and teach political and practical wisdom in a light way. This recension was not so widely spread and popular as the others, so it would be wrong to consider it as being so much fondled by the readers as that they should start using diminutive forms for it. *Ākhyāyikā* is a technical term which denotes a short narrative work. Compared with the other narrative works known in Sanskrit literature *Tantrākhyāyika* is really a short one.

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version of *nītiśāstra*, only the teaching of *nīti* in it is not exposed in a systematic and detailed way. It is concerned only with the core of the *nīti*, which the author of the work finds in the necessity of being able to distinguish the true state of a case from an apparent one. For that reason the translation of *tantra* as « the main point », « chief matter » [12] seems to be the most appropriate one.

If we now take into consideration the title *Tantrākhyāyika* in the light of the kind of literature it belongs to, we may find ourselves facing a new possibility of the interpretation of the title. The work belongs to *kāvya* literature. One of very common poetical ornaments employed in *kāvya* literature is *śleṣa*. Should it then be strange for the author of the work, a master of *kāvya* style, who somehow builds up the composition of the work on double meanings [13], to put a double meaning in the form of *śleṣa* into the very title of his work? Treated as a *śleṣa*, *Tantrākhyāyika*, the title of the earliest recension preserved, unfolds before us the mastership of its author who in one compound determines the work by its content on the one hand, and by its form on the other hand. If understood in this way, the translation of the title *Tantrākhyāyika* is as follows:

(a) / *śāstra* / which is a short literary prose work on the main point / of *nīti* /

(b) / *śāstra* / which is a short literary prose work / written / in chapters.

As the title *Tantrākhyāyika* belongs to the earliest recension preserved, which is at the same time the best representative of the original work [14], we may assume that it belonged to the original work as well. Besides that this title designates the work much better and more completely. When we interpret it as a *śleṣa* it reveals one of the principle characteristics of the work — double meaning. At the very first encounter with the work this double meaning makes us probe into the

12. Artola (l.c.) finds the five main points of *nīti* in the themes of the five chapters. Geib (l.c.) tries to find them in the aspects of the relation — friend versus enemy — as treated in the book. In this attempt he does not succeed in achieving five distinctive aspects of this relation. And that should be expected if they really were the five main points of a serious scholarly discipline such as *nīti*. On the other hand Geib's insisting on the five main points does not fit into his interpretation at all. In his opinion the work teaches the core of *nīti* and that is then the chief matter or the main point. It seems that Geib was led in this attitude by the need of joining the two titles available into one.

13. See Geib, l.c., chapter « Interpretation ».

14. Geib (l.c.) has definitely proved that *Tantrākhyāyika* gives a fuller and better picture of the original work than Edgerton's reconstructed text. With Edgerton even *Pañcatantra* in its original form remains just a celebrated collection of fables and stories. But if the text was, just a collection of fables and stories it would be a bad one. A bad collection in the sense that there were too few stories and too many stanzas in it.

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matter: examine, estimate and discover things. And this process which is the essential part of the whole composition, was most probably meant to be a challange for us by the author.

If we accept the title *Tantrākhyāyika* as the original one we should be able to explain about the origion of the title *Pañcatantra.* The authors of later recensions did not fully comprehend all the shades of meaning and the puns that the work abounds in. That such was the case can be seen in the way they shortened or enlarged the work turning a refined composition with great *kāvya* qualities into popular reading. Such people could easily fail to see the *śleṣa* nature of the title. In the *kathāmukha* they found the word *tantra* mentioned as a formal category. At the end of each and every book they read that it was the end of a *tantra,* that is to say the end of a chapter or a book. Taking only this meaning of *tantra* into account, the meaning available in the text itself, they read it into the meaning of the title as well. So they changed gradually a long and rather complicated name *Tantrākhyāyika* into a simpler and more easy to understand *Pañcatantra.* Should the case be vice verse one would expect at least somewhere the appearence of the title *Pañcatantrākhyāyika.*

The work is generally known and treated under the name of *Pañcatantra.* Among the texts preserved two groups should be distinguished, one represented by the texts which can be called the masterpieces of *kāvya* literature, and the other represented by the texts that are interesting collections of popular witty stories rather loosely connected. As we have to deal here with two different levels according to their aesthetic achievements and literary values I would be inclined to treat the older level belonging to high *kāvya* achievements under the title of *Tantrākhyāyika* and the other one under the title of *Pañcatantra.*

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HARI MOHAN MISHRA

A REAPPRAISAL OF PĀṆINI

Pāṇini, as a grammarian, has been highly acclaimed by the ancients as well as by the moderns, by the East as well as by the West. But his grammar is deficient in many respects. What the great grammarian lacked most is the historical insight. It will be corroborated by the following discussions.

Let us first discuss verbal roots. Pāṇini has framed a number of rules according to which some roots are substituted by other roots in some tenses or moods. Some of these rules are:

1. *Luṅsanor ghasḷ* (2.4.37).
2. *Hano vadha lìṅi* (2.4.42).
3. *Iṇogā luṅi* (2.4.45).
4. *Asterbhūḥ* (2.4.52).
5. *Bruvo vaciḥ* (2.4.53).
6. *Cakṣiṇaḥ khyāñ* (2.4.54).

The fact is that conjugational formations of every root in every tense or mood are not found in literature. If the root *i* = to go has no aorist formations we should treat it as such and should not complement it by the same of « *gā* » which is phonetically different from « *i* ». Hence formations like « *eti* » > *i*, and « *agāt* » > *gā* should not be treated as complementary to one another. They are different formations of the different roots although both of them have the same meaning. Pāṇini, here, failed to analyze the developing process of the language. If a rule like, « Iṇogā *luṅī* » could be framed « Iṇo gam *luṅī* » could as well be framed.

In the Vedic language there are roots which are not confined to a single class. Such roots have different conjugational formations according to different classes. The root « *trā* » = « to rescue » belongs to the

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second as well as to the fourth class; so it has, in Ipv.2.pl.both « *trādhvam* » and « *trāyadhvam* »; Pāṇini has explained it and formations like it, by his magic formula « *bahulaṃ chandasi* » (2.4.76).

Phonetic elements which are known as bases or roots are not necessarily verbal only. They are verbal as well as nominal as attested by the *Ṛgveda* in a large number of cases, e.g. *ud* = to wet and *ud* (f.) = water (*Ṛv.* 5.31.4); *tan* = to stretch and *tan* (f.) offspring (*Ṛv.* 5.49.13); and *yudh* = to fight and *yudh* (f.) = battle (*Ṛv.* 1.8.3) etc. Now the formation of noun « *yut* » according to the system of Pāṇini is a feat of grammatical jugglery. First the suffix « kvip » is added to the root « *yudh* » and then the same is dropped leaving no trace of its own.

According to Pāṇini, there is only one pp.suffix-« *ta* » which changes according to his will, sometimes into « *na* » as in « *bhugna* » and then into « *ka* » as in « *śuṣka* », into « *va* » as in « *pakva* » and into « *ma* » as in « *kṣāma* ». The fact is that all of them are different suffixes, otherwise it will be difficult to explain two different formations like « *bhukta* » and « *bhugna* ».

Pāṇini has treated the whole lot of comparative and superlative formations under the head of secondary derivations. He derives « *śreṣṭha* » and « *jyeṣṭha* » from the single word « *praśasya* » by his two rules

1. *praśasyasya śraḥ* (5.3.60) and
2. *Jya ca* (5.3.61).

How could « *praśasya* » be turned once into « *śra* » and at the next time in to « *jya* » is beyond the reach of logical comprehensions. The fact is that « *śreṣṭha* » is an irregular formation from the root « *śri* » = to spread light and « *jyeṣṭha* » is regularly formed from the root « *jyā* » = to overpower. This « *jyeṣṭha* » is initially accented. But there is one more oxytonic « *jyeṣṭha* » for which Pāṇini has framed a special rule, « *vṛddhasya ca* » (5.3.62). The primary meaning of « *jyeṣṭha* » is greatest and the secondary meaning is eldest. Difference in accent is due to the difference in meaning. « *Kaniṣṭha* » can be cited as parallel example which when initially accented means smallest and when oxytonic, means « youngest ».

One word may have many meanings. To explain it Pāṇini assumes as many suffixes for it. « *somya* » is an adjective and its derivation is *soma-* + *ya* (« *ya* » being a secondary suffix which forms adjectives of relations). Thus the derivational meaning of « *somya* » is, « related to *soma* ». This meaning changes according to the noun it qualifies. When it qualifies a person it means « *soma*-loving » as in *Ṛv.* 10.14.6. When it qualifies « *madhu* » etc. it means full of *soma* as in *Ṛv.* 4.34.4. We do

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not require the folloing two rules of Pāṇini to explain this difference in meanings:

1. *Somamarhati yaḥ* (4.4.137).
2. *Maye ca* (4.4.138).

« *Saumya* » is also a vṛddhied form of the same. So the rule « *Somāṭṭyaṇ* » (4.2.30) also appears to be superfluous as there is no change in meaning between *somya* and *saumya.* Similar is the case of « *dādhika* » = made of or mixed with curd. For this Pāṇini has framed three rules. They are:

1. *Dadhnaṣṭhak* (4.2.18).
2. *Saṃskṛtam* (4.4.3).
3. *Saṃsṛṣṭe* (4.4.22).

Here the last two rules are superfluous. Instances can be multiplied. It is interesting to note there that there are cases where Pāṇini has prescribed only one suffix having different semantic nuances, e.g. « *straiṇa* and *pauṃsna* » under the rule, « *strīpuṃsābhyāṃ nañsnañau bhavanāt* » (4.1.87). Changes in meanings of a word depend upon the usage and not on suffixal changes.

The same device of adding and dropping the suffix has been applied to a number of secondary derivatives, e.g. *tadrāja* suffixes as in « *pañcālāḥ* » (pl. of *pañcāla*) denoting the Pañcāla people (under the rule 2.4.62); suffixes denoting time related to a *nakṣatra* = lunar mansion as in *puṣya* (under the rule (4.2.4) and suffixes denoting fruits as in *badaram* = fruits of the jujube tree (under the rule (4.3.163). In such cases it is the usage which has played a decisive role.

A number of superfluous formations also occur in secondary derivations. One intresting example is the rule, « *astināstidistaṃ matiḥ* » (4.4.60). Here the question is why the word « *nāstika* » is included in the rule. Once « *āstika* » is derived, « *nāstika* » can very well be formed by means of negative compound like « *naika* » etc. Logically also the proposition « *asti* » should precede that of *nāsti.*

A number of rules relating to *Bahubrīhi* compound appear to be superfluous or uncalled for. The rule « *jāyāyā niṅ* » (5.4.134) says that « *jāyā* » at the end of a *Bah.* substitutes (« *ni* » for its final *ā*). Thus « *yuvajāniḥ* » etc. are formed. But « *jani* » in the *Ṛv.* means wife, so « *yuvati* » may very well be compounded with « *jani* ». The rule, « *Dharmādanic kevalāt* » (5.2.124) says that *dharma,* when preceded by a single member in a *Bah.,* becomes « *dharman* ». Thus « *samānadharmā* » etc. are formed. But in the *Ṛv.* « *dharman* » itself is an independent word and *samānadharmā* etc. can be compounded with it. Similarly « *dha-*

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nus » and *dhanvan* having the same sense of bow occur in the *Ṛv.* so words like « *śārṅgadhanvā* » etc. may be compounded with *dhanvan* instead of with *dhanus*. Thus the rule « *Dhanuṣaśca* » (5.4.132) becomes infructuous.

A large number of words of negative compound are enumerated in the rule (6.3.75). Many of them appear to be of dubious character. *Nakṣatra* = lunar mansion, is one of them. It is now derived from the root *nakṣ* = to attain. *Nakha* = nail is an IE. word and has cognates in many branches. *Nakra* = an alligator is most probably a Dravidian word.

From what has been said above it may be concluded that Pāṇini did not pay proper attention to the process of historical development of Sanskrit language.

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WOLFGANG MORGENROTH

ALBRECHT FRIEDRICH WEBER - A PIONEER OF INDOLOGY

On February 17th, 1975 we commemorated the 150th birthday of Albrecht Weber, the Berlin indologist. Weber, for some 50 years, had acted as an outstanding scholar at a responsible post in Berlin and through his studies contributed essentially to the development of Indology in the second part of the 19th century.

As a professor at Berlin University and as a Member of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences he maintained an intensive exchange of views with all the prominent indologists of his time. He entertained ties of friendship with many of them and, at his request, a great number of them were elected to the Academy [1].

Among his students were the American Whitney, the Dutchman Kern, the Frenchman Breal, the Russian Minayeff, the Italian A. de Gubernatis, the Pole Hanusz; the German Eggeling and Thibaut who lived abroad, and the outstanding German indologists Delbrück, P. Goldschmidt, Hillebrandt, Jacobi, Jolly, Kielhorn, E. Kuhn, E. Leumann, Oldenberg, Pischel and Zimmer [2].

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1. According to the archives of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR these are R.v. Roth (1861), J. Oppert (1862), F. Spiegel (1862), Th. Aufrecht (1864), M. Müller (1865), A.F. Stenzler (1866), A. Regnier (1867), H. Brockhaus (1868), J. Muir (1870), Ch. Lassen (AM 1872), F.A. Pott (AM 1877), G. Bühler (1878), F. Kielhorn (1880), O.v. Böhtlingk (AM 1885), W. Pertsch (1888), E.B. Cowell (1893), M. Müller (AM 1900), E. Senart (1900; retired in 1914).

Comapre the archives of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR II: IIIb, vol 7 ff., *passim* (corresponding, or non-resident [AM] members).

2. According to Moritz Winternitz (Biogr. Jb. u. Dt. Nekrolog 6 [1901], Berlin 1904, 347; — and according to E. Strohal [Münchener] Allg. Ztg. 1901, Suppl. 298,8,4) Weber in the years 1949 — 1901 recorded the names of his students. The following students have written their doctorial thesis under Weber in Berlin: W. Pertsch (1854), F. Johaentgen (1858, later unsalaried university lecturer in Berlin), N. Siecke (1869), E. Sieg (1891), W. Friedländer (1900). After *India and Italy*, Rome 1974, A. de Gubernatis S. 148), F.L. Pullè (S. 152) and P.E. Pavolini (S. 153) spent several terms with Weber in Berlin.

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Weber's influence went far beyond the auditorium since he through his advice and judgment decisively shaped the up-and-coming generation of Sanskrit scholars. For this reason, an account of Weber's life and work is « at the same time also a retrospective view cast back at the history of science taught by him over half a century » [3].

Albrecht Weber was born in Breslau on February 17th, 1825; his father Benedikt Weber was an economist. At the age of 17 he graduated from the monastic school at Rossleben with good knowledge in Greek and Hebrew. In 1842 he went to Breslau University and devoted himself primarily to Sanskrit studies under the guidance of A. F. Stenzler. His father, mindful of Stenzler's fate, did not think highly of this unprofitable art and would rather have liked his son to become a historian.

Weber attended also lectures on history and studied classical philology and even natural sciences.

His energy was enormous. After a two-year stay in Breslau he went to Bonn where Christian Lassen's universal way of thinking had a great influence on him who had made already much progress in languages. In 1845 he went to Berlin for one term, but apparently Bopp influenced him less than the two other scholars whom Weber met in Berlin: A. Kuhn and R. v. Roth. To the former he later expressed his thanks in his doctoral thesis as a « viro egregia Vedarum cognitione excellenti, qui semper familiari et consuetudine et institutione me docuit » [4].

With the latter he established ties of friendships for the rest of his life which had an especially beneficial effect on the great *Petersburg Lexicon*. Later Böhtlingk joined them.

It appeared, however, that Kuhn and Roth had won Weber for Vedic research. Still in 1845 he returned to Breslau to take his doctor's degree with Stenzler who acted as his mentor. His thesis *Yagurveda specimen cum commentario* in which he compared a transcript by Stenzler with Berlin manuscripts revealed already Weber's method of work which he adhered to all his life and which helped lay the foundations for further research in many fields: first, the text is given in Devanagari and then

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3. Pischel in his commemorative speech made before the Berlin Academy 1903, in AbhAW 1903, 4.

4. Weber felt to be more closely associated with the Bonn school of Schlegel and Lassen than with the Berlin school of Bopp which becomes even apparent from his attitude towards A. Hoefer, the strongest follower of Franz Bopp, whom he resented his critique towards Lassen (comp. ZDMG 4, 1850, pp. 399-400 and Ind. Stud. 2,1, 1851, pp. 149-155).

Weber did also not take note of Hoefer's share in the acquisition of the Chambers' collection, nor did he mention his activities in regard to cataloguing (compare the preface to the volume of the catalogue of 1853).

In Weber's postumous wors (library) Hoefer's attempt at establishing a systematic index of the Chambers' collection was found (compare the catalogue of the library of Dr. A. Weber, the late Professor of Sanskrit at the Berlin University, Gütersloh, 1902, p. 117, No. 45).

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in transcriptions which Weber had always advocated. Then, a translation follows together with a comprehensive commentary and detailed etymological explanations.

Thanks to his excellent thesis and to Bopp's recommendation Weber was accorded a travelling grant by the Prussian Academy which made it possible for him to stay in France and England from 1846 to 1848 [5], to collate manuscripts for the complete edition of the *White Yajurveda* he wanted to publish. In Paris he met E. Burnouf, the Buddha scholar and founder of Pāli studies in Europe; the Arabist Reinaud, the authority on Muslim historians and geographers of India; and Mohl, the editor of *Firdosis Schahname* and scholar of Iranic languages. In England he met Wilson. The acquaintance with former British colonial officers gave him a certain, though not unbiassed insight into the Indian situation which was the more important to him since he himself had never seen the country of his painstaking studies [6].

Following his return to Germany Weber habilitated at Berlin University in 1848 because he wanted to be near the manuscript collection of the Royal Prussian Libray, which had been substantially extended by the acquisition of the Chambers' collection [7]. He worked side by side with Franz Bopp, the founder of comparative linguistics and pioneer of Sanskrit studies in Europe, who — with the assistance of Wilhelm von Humboldt — had come to Berlin in 1821 and was appointed ordinary professor at Berlin University in 1825 [8].

With the publication of the *Indische Studien* Weber already in 1949 founded his own journal which was to replace Christian Lassen's periodical.

To the annoyance of many colleagues working in the same field, Weber himself filled the greatest part of those 18 volumes which appeared first in Berlin until 1898 and then in Leipzig (he did so mainly with the

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5. Arch. Akad. II:IIe2, vol. 13 contain Weber's application of 16.6.1846 for material support, the granting of money due to the recommendation of Franz Bopp (intellectual abilities) and Friedrich v. Raumer (confirmation of lack of means), a letter of thanks by Weber of 26.10.1846 as well as a report by Weber dated June 1847. Weber received a second grant to be able to return via Paris.

6. Weber explicitly deplores it in his scientific dispute with M. Haug concerning the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*. Personal perceptions are irreplaceable. Weber cautions, however, to transpose present-day views held by the Brahmins simply into the past (compare Ind. Stud. 9, 1865, pp. 177-380).

7. Compare Weber's letter addressed to F. v. Raumer dated 12.10.1855 (arch. of Humboldt University Berlin [Arch. HUB] current No. 1433, 70-72).

8. Compare W. MORGENROTH: *One Hundred and Fifty Years of Sanskrit Studies in Berlin, humanistic traditions and obectives of Indology at the Humboldt University*, in: Wiss. Zs. d. Humboldt-Univ., Ges.- u. Sprachw. Reihe 25, 1976, Part II.

9. In a prospectus by Dümmler dated 1.5.1849 the journal was adverstised still under the title « Vedische Studien » with the understanding that brochures of 6-8 printing sheets were scheduled to be published in arbitrary sequence and that the new journal was intended to replace the former « Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes » (ed. by König in Bonn by Christian Lassen) which suspended publication with the next number (1849). (The prospectus of the publishers Dümmler are to be found in Arch. Akad. XX:VII 02. vol. 13).

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financial assistance of the Academy), but Roth, Aufrecht [10], Kern, Jacobi and Kielhorn made contributions as well.

After an unsuccessful attempt in 1852 [11] Weber was appointed professor extraordinarius [12] in 1856 but as late as 1867 — shortly before Bopp's death — he became professor in ordinary for Sanskrit and Indian classical studies in Berlin [13].

Unlike Franz Bopp whose interest in Sanskrit was of an outspoken linguistic nature [14] Weber's great objective was to explore the history and culture of Indian antiquity; he devoted all his energy to this task. The years till 1867 were characterized by great pecuniary difficulties [15], although he had for long been recognized as an authority and, at the request of Bopp, had been elected to the Royal Prussian Academy in 1857 as an ordinary member [16].

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10. Th. Aufrecht was one of the most active contributors to Weber's journal, but also Weber (till 1867!) published in the Zs. f. vgl. Sprachforschung (KZ), edited by A. Kuhn and Th. Aufrecht. Weber encouraged Aufrecht to publish the first complete edition of *Rigveda* (in transcription) and for this purpose he placed at his disposal the volumes 6 and 7 of the « Indische Studien ». In the preface Aufrecht expressed his thanks to Weber for manuscriptal comparisons and unselfish support.

11. Compare Arch. HUB, current No. 1432, p. 294: Weber's application of 28.10.52 to be appointed to extraordinary professor; current No. 26, p. 31: Minutes of the meeting of the faculty of 4.11.1852, according to which several members praised highly Weber's erudition and intellectual capabilities, however they did not deem it necessary to have a separate chair for this subject in Berlin and recommended Weber's appointment at another Prussian University, or the payment of an annual salary in Berlin by maintaining the unsalaried university lecturership. Compare also current No. 1432, pp. 296-297 and p. 298.

12. Compare Arch. HUB, curr. No. 1435, pp. 69-72: Weber's letter of 12.10.1855 to Minister F. v. Raumer, Minister for intellectual education and medicinal affairs, expressing the request to be appointed to an extraordinary professorship in Berlin by indicating to his scientific attainments and his personal plight. — P. 74: F. v. Raumer asks the faculty to send an expertise. — P. 75-76: Work in the commissions. — P. 77-81, expertise by the faculty sent to Minister F. v. Raumer of 15.11.1855, in which Weber's achievements were appreciated and his personal plight recognized. The appointment of Weber would be possible only if another lecturer ranging before him were appointed, too.

13. Compare Arch. HUB, curr. No. 1459, P. 139-140: Application of Weber to the faculty to get a professorship for Indian Antiquity (apart from Bopp's Professorship for Sanskrit and comparative linguistics). — P. 141: Work of the commissions. — P. 142-3: In a letter to the Ministry dated 14.2.1867 the faculty declines to have a second chair for Sanskrit on the grounds to be unnecessary for Berlin, but it recommends the appointment of Weber, since Bopp's chair had become virtually vacant because of Bopp's illness since 1864. — P. 145-146: Second Version of the letter sent by the faculty. — P. 147: Appointment of Weber as per 16.3.1867.

14. Letter of F. Bopp to K.J. Windischmann dated 21.11.1829, from: S. Lefmann, *Franz Bopp, His Life and his Science* I, Berlin, 1891, annex 81.

15. Compare Arch. HUB curr. No. 1459, pp. 139-140.

16. Compare Arch. Akad. II:IIIa, vol 7, p. 104: On 18.5.1857 Bopp substantiated his proposal to elect A. Weber to a member of the Academy by the fact that Weber was an excellent and oustanding expert in Vedic literature, that he had almost completely edited the *White Yajurveda* and had made invaluable contributions to the *Petersburg Dictionary*. In his *Geschichte der indischen Literatur* (« History of Indian Literature ») Weber had dealt with important chronological questions and had presented a first translation of Kālidāsa's drama *Mālavikāgnimitra*.

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This untiring scholar published many of his major works in monthly reports, minutes of proceedings and treatises of the Academy. The various smaller ones were collected by himself in *Indische Skizzen* (Berlin 1897) and *Indische Streifen* volume I (Berlin 1868). The numerous announcements and comprehensive reviews reprinted in volumes II and III of Weber's *Indische Streifen* (1869, 1879) and in volume XVIII of his *Indische Studien* are proof of the attention paid by Weber all his life to the publications in the field of Indology. There was hardly any publication which had not been subject to a critical review by him.

Weber was primarly a Vedic scholar; he was essentially involved in the exploration of the then-unknown Vedic literature [17]. His doctoral thesis of 1845 meant already the beginning of studies in this field in which he remained unequalled during his entire life: the field of ritual literature.

When Weber came back from England, his friend R. v. Roth after an intensive study of manuscripts had just pusblihed his paper *Zur Literatur und Geschichte des Veda* (On the literature and history of *Veda*) through which he became the founder of a school which influenced Weber as well [18]. Benfey's *Sāmaveda* edition had just appeared (1848) [19], and Max Müller prepared to restart work broken off because of Friedrich Rosen's early death, and to publish a complete edition of the *Rigveda-Samhita* with Sayana's commentary (as from 1849) [21]. It was in that period that Weber did his first pioneer work. In no more but ten years he published all three parts of the *White Yajurveda*:

> *The White Yajurveda*, edited by Dr. A. Weber, Docent of the Sanskrit-Language at the University of Berlin, in the Part I:
> *The Vājasaneyi-Sanhitā in the Mādhyandina- and the Kāṇva-Sākha, with the Commentary of Mahīdhara*, Berlin/London, 1849-52.

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17. Proceeding from their colonial interests the English, represented by W. Jones, but above all by H. Th. Colebroke, had dealt with Indian Law and the native Indian sciences at an early time, whereas German Romanticism, following initially the English translations of Indian works, was primarily concerned with Sanskrit poetry.

18. This school tried to get an understanding of the *Veda* from the texts themselves, so that the commentaries were used with great caution because of possible subsequent reinterpretations due to later views. K. Geldner and R. Pischel, in contrast to this, had later shifted Indian tradition used in interpreting the *Rigveda* into the foreground.

19. Compare WEBER: *Über die Literatur des Samaveda* (« On the Literature of Samaveda ») ; from *Ind. Stud.* 1,1, 1849, pp. 25-67.

20. F.A. Rosen, a student of Franz Bopp, was the first one who wrote an indological thesis for his doctor's degree in Berlin (1926: *Corporis radicum Sanskritarum prolusio*). He died as a professor in London at the age of 32. At the age of 29, in 1834, he had been elected Corresponding Member of the Berlin Academy. Rosen had begun with an edition of *Rigveda*, but only one part of it appeared.

21. Compare the reviews by Weber between the years 1850 till 1875 which were reprinted in the *Indische Streifen*. In *Ind. Str.* 2, 1869: 8-11, 1850, 93-97, 1856, 127-129, 1857, 233-234, 1863; in *Ind. Str.* 3, 1879: 10-13, 1870, 131-136, 1872, 179-185, 1873, 311-320, 1875.

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Part II: *The Śatapathabrāhmaṇa in the Mādhyandina-Śākhā with extracts made from the Commentaries of Sāyaṇa, Harisvāmin and Dvivedaganga*, Berlin/London, 1849-55.

Part III: *The Śrautra-Sūtra of Kātyāyana with extracts made from the Commentaries of Karka and Yājñikadeva*, Berlin/London, 1856-59.

The second volume was of special importance because it represented the first critical edition of that *Brāhmaṇa* which is particularly important from the aspects of language and content, although Weber's sources permitted only extracts from the commentaries.

After this edition Weber dealt with the legends contained in the text, and with the Vedic sacrificial rites. By way of translations, studies and collections of material he tried to make understandable the world of the middle-Vedic period which had been made accessible by him. Standing for many, only the following three should be mentioned: Two legends from the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* on the migration of the Aryans to India and their distribution, a geographical and historical sketch taken from the *White Yajus* included [22], *Collectanea über die Kastenverhältnisse in Brahmana Sutra* [23] (Collectanea on the caste system in *Brahmana sutra*) and *Zur Kenntnis des vedischen Opferrituals* [24] (On the knowledge of the Vedic sacrificial rites). The middle-Vedic epoch was known to be of great importance for the development of the original Indian culture.

« The development of the caste system, the strengthening of Brahmanism, the arrangements for complicated sacrificial rites which were believed to influence the course of events, the emergence of the concept of eternity in Vedic philosophy and of its mystic, fateful meaning understandable and beneficial only to religions insiders the onset of scientific thinking — all this happened in the time of the oldest stratum of the *Yajurveda*, the first literary representative ».

This correct statement made by E. Strohdal in his obituary on Weber [25] explains why Weber all his lifetime as an expert in this field had been a kind of strong link between the European school of Roth oriented towards the *Rigveda*, and the school of Bühler and Kielhorn which was based on Indian science.

Volumes 11 and 12 of Weber's *Indische Studien* comprised also his edition of the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* of the *Black Yajurveda* (1871-72), complemented by valuable indices. For this purpose Bühler and Whitney supplied him with material. This edition — though without Sāyana's commentary — is generally regarded as Weber's most mature philological work.

Weber was responsible for ritual literature even in the great Sanskrit lexicon published from 1855 onward in Petersburg by his friends

22. *Ind. Stud.* 1,2, 1850, 181-232.
23. *Ind. Stud.* 10,1, 1867, 1-160.
24. *Ind. Stud.* 10,3, 1868, 321-396.
25. Allg. Ztg., Munich, year 1901, Suppl. 298, p. 4 (28.12.1901).

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Böhtlingk and Roth. Apart from these two editors, it was Weber who had the largest share in this work, which is emphasized again and again in the prefaces to the volumes. The preface to the 6th and last volume reads as follows: « Those faithful contributors who had supported us from the very beginning remained the same, notably our friend A. Weber who unselffishly devoted precious time and energy to the collection from the genre of the *Brāhmaṇas* and Sūtras, which are lexically important and were partly accessible and known only to him [26].

The texts referred to in the preface as « accessible only to him » were contained in the Berlin Manuscript Collection which was set up in the twenties of the 19th century for supporting Bopp's research work and which was considerably enlarged in 1842 by the purchase of the Chambers' collection of manuscripts in the Vedic field [27]. On the basis of preliminary studies made by him and his teacher Stenzler, Weber undertook to caatalogise the manuscripts and, with this catalogue, he set up new standards for collecting and making available oriental manuscripts in Europe.

Die Handschriftenverzeichnisse der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, Erster Band. *Verzeichnis der Sanskrit-Handschriften*, von A. Weber, Berlin, 1853
(*The manuscript catalogues of the Royal Library of Berlin*, Volume I. *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts*, by A. Weber, Berlin, 1853).

From that time onward, Weber's work was concentrated on the scientific evaluation of the Berlin manuscripts the number of which increased once again in the 70s. (see below).

During the winter term of 1851-52, Weber read his memorable first lectures which he published in 1852 under the title

Akademische Vorlesungen über indische Literaturgeschichte
(Academic lectures on Indian literary history)

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26. According to the *Catalogue of the Library of the late Dr. A. Weber, Professor of Sanskrit at Berlin University*, Gütersloh, 1902, 117, there were five volumes with 3201 pages *Contributions to the Petersburg Dictionary* to be found in Weber's library which, from what was said by Dr. H. Parpola (Finland) have nowadays become part of the university library of Washington. The value of PW as repeatedly depreciated by Th. Goldstücker, M. Müller and M. Haug because it was influenced by v. Roth's views on the interpretations of *Veda*. Weber took actively part in the scientific dispute on the side of Roth and O.v. Böhtlingk.

27. Compare G. AUSTER: *Die deutsche Staatsbibliothek 1661-1961* (« The German State Library »), Leipzig 1961, 283; W. MORGENROTH: *Indische Handschriften, Wertvolles kulturelles Eigentum wissenschaftlicher Einrichtungen der DDR* (« Indian Manuscripts, Valuable Cultural Property of Scientific Institutions of the GDR »). Compare also TH. AUFRECHT: *Catalogus Catalogorum*, part I, Leipzig, 1891, IV: « This is a pattern of what a Catalogue ought to be, and it deals with MSS, which in their bulk are not surpassed in value by any other collection in Europe ».

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and which he wanted to be considered as a kind of commentary to his manuscript catalogue [28].

Indeed, it is amazing to see how much knowledge has been condensed on such little space, knowledge which is even valid today and which was obtained from manuscripts only. For many years Weber's book had been the only source of information for many things. Even Max Müller used it for his *A History of ancient Sanskrit literature so far as it illustrates the primitive religion of Brahmans* [29] published in 1859.

Unlike Adelung [30] who actually gave nothing else but a compilation of titles on the basis of secondary literature, Weber based his account on an exact knowledge of the original sources which at that time was an immense achievement which justifiably gained him the reputation of the founder of Indian literary history [31]. Weber was not very much concerned about a detailed description of the content of the works. It mattered more to him to study their relations with other works [32]. His research which was aimed at a relative chronology made it possible to emphasize names, legends and other factual details rather than the

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28. Compare the preface to the 1st edition, Berlin 1852. In 1849 already Weber had announced to read a lecture on the Indian history of literature. In the same year, in the first volume of his *Indische Studien*, Weber had already published a translation under the title *Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's Encyclopaedic Survey on the Orthodox Brahmanic Literature* which was to serve as the general outline for his lecture. Compare even Weber's review of J.G. Gildemeister: *Bibliothecae Sanscritas recensus librorum sanscritorum huisque typis vel lapide exscriptorum critici specimen*, Bonn, 1847, in: ZDMG 3 (1849), 375.

29. Weber in his review on M. Müllers *History of Literature* (LBC 1859, 735-736, reprint in *Ind. Str.* 2, 1869, 173-174) was diasppointed that Müller had dealt at great length only with the Vedic periods where it was possible for « the author to use already substantial preliminary works accomplished by other scholars... ». Although Weber had confirmed the independent scholarly work done by M. Müller, he would rather have liked him « to make still more direct reference to his predecessors ». The new ideas produced by Müller were « proportionately smaller in quantity than it was generally expected ».

30. F. Adelung: *Versuch einer Literatur der Sanskrit-Sprache* (« Outline Literature of Sanskrit »), St. Petersburg, 1830, where Adelung confessed in the foreword that « he hardly knows the first elements » of Sanskrit.

31. According to Moritz Winternitz (*Albrecht Weber*, from: Biogr. Jb. u. dt. Nekrolog 6 [1901], Berlin 1904, 347 ff.; ders., *Geschichte der indischen Literatur* [« History o fIndian Literature »], 1st volume, Leipzig, 1909, 21): « Albrecht Weber undertook the first attempt to publish a complete history of Indian literature. This publication does not only constitute a landmark in the history of Indology, but it is even today, irrespective of its shortcomings in style which make it virtually indigestible to laymen, the most reliable and the most comprehensive book on Indian literature we have ». This evaluation was made 57 years after the first and 33 years after the second edition of Weber's *History of Literature*!

32. Compare the preface to the 2nd edition, Berlin 1876, VI: « From the very outset the intention underlying my work was to collect critical data from the substance of Indian literature by establishing an internal chronology and history of same rather than a detailed exposition of the content of the individual works of literature, and this has remained the central idea of my work... ».

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substance. In his literary history Weber dealt especially with Vedic literature, but also with the epics and the classical Sanskrit literature as well as with Buddhist Sanskrit works. Weber had intended to continue his lectures by giving a more detailed account of post-Vedic Sanskrit literature; but this account did not come about neither in the form of lectures, nor in the form of a book.

Weber's literary history published also in French in 1859 was soon out of print [33]. A second edition appeared in 1876 (with supplements in 1878). This edition formed the basis for the English translation which appeared in London in 1878 and went through four editions until 1904, which underlined once again the importance of Weber's work [34]. This second edition came out at a time when Weber was engaged in getting acquainted with a new subject which we will discuss below: the Prākrit and the Jaina literature. This was the reason why the text appeared unaltered. The numerous results obtained meanwhile were given with detailed annotations which, though printed in petit, increased the scope of the work to almost double having the largest share in this expansion.

The progress made in the field of Indology in the period between these two editions was largely due to Weber's numerous publications, such as editions, translations, studies. What mattered most to him in his studies was to form, on the basis of the vocabulary of the texts, a picture of those far-away times and together with other facts, e.g. titles of works mentioned, or names of authors to use this picture for improving the knowledge of the relative chronology of the texts. In both respects he did outstanding work. What should be emphasized in this connection are, *inter alia*, his two voluminous treatises on *Pāṇini* (*Zur Frage über das Zeitalter Pāṇinis*, 1861) (On the problem of the epoch of Pāṇini) and on Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (1873). In both cases it was not so much his interest in grammar which motivated him to write them. For reasons of the chronological order of literary works Weber was repeatedly concerned with problems of astronomy. Out of the great many works dealing again and again particularly with the moon-houses, the *nakṣatras*, we shall single out but one because from the methodical point of view it is most interesting and because its findings are still valid. Arguing with the French scholar J. B. Biot, Weber in his two-part work *Die vedischen Nachrichten von den naxatra* (The Vedic news

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33. *Histoire de la litterature Indienne...*, traduit de l'allemand par Alfred Sadous, Paris, 1859.

34. Weber complained about the possibility in England to publish uncorrected second editions without the consent of the authors. Compare « Athenaeum Jg. » 1892 (London), 308 (March 5), 373 (March 19), 435 (April 2).

35. In exchange of sicentific arguments with Th. Goldstücker, in: *Ind. Stud.* 5,1, 1861, 1-176.

36. *Ind. Stud.* 13, 1873, 293-496; compare the discussion made in « Indian Antiquary » 5, 1876, 241-251 (F. Kielhorn); Weber's answer in 6, 1877, 301-307.

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of the Naxatra) (1860-61) [37] conclusively proved that there was evidence of the existecne of moon-houses in India at a much earlier period than in China and that this fact ruled out the idea that moon-houses originated from China. Having thouroughly studied the semantic development of this word in Vedic sources Weber came to the conclusion that the « moon-houses » had come to India under Babylonian influence since over a certain period Babylonian astronomy had strongly influenced India.

These considerations lead to another subject which permeated Weber's entire work, i.e. the question of West-East relations and influences. Again and again Weber turned to this subject: Apart from his literary history of 1852, he for the first time dealt with it in 1855 in his essays *Die Verbindungen Indiens mit den Ländern im Westen* [38] (The relations of India with the countries in the West) and the last time in his treatise *Die Griechen in Indien* (The Greeks in India) (1890). The period between these two publications comprised works on the relations between Greek and Indian fables [39], the treatise *Über die Krishñajanmāshtamī* (On the *Krishñajanmāshtamī*) (1868) [40] in which he detected Christian influences, and on the *Rāmāyaṇa* [41] where he believed to have found influences of Homer's Iliad since the earlier Buddhist *Dasarathajātaka* does not know of any rape of Sita. In his opinion this rape — just like the subsequent expedition to Laṅkā — is a parallel with the rape of Helen and with the expedition of the Greeks to Troy.

The findings of Weber's early work *Über den semitischen Ursprung des indischen Alphabets* (On the emitic origin of the Indian alphabet (1856) in later times formed the basis for G. Bühler's famous studies of the origin of Indian characters.

Even though Weber's conjectures often went far beyond existing findings, we must admit that no scholar other than Weber had so consistently investigated the relations between the works and between Indian literature and that of other peoples. « It is Weber's great merit in the history of science to have consciously applied apart from isolating studies also the comparative historical approach » [42].

In the two editions of his literary history Weber supposed that a certain Greek influence had been exerted also on the Indian drama which he derives — in the 2nd edition with Lassen — from religious

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37. AbhKAW 1860, phil.-hist. Klasse, Berlin, 1861, 283-332 and AbhKAW 1861, phil.-hist. lasse, Berlin, 1862, 267-400.

38. Reprint of this article in *Indische Skizzen* (Indian Sketches), Berlin, 1857, 69-124.

39. *Indische Studien*, 3, 1855, 1 ff.

40. AbhKAW 1866, phil.-hist. Klasse, Berlin, 1867, 217-366; translated into English in « Indian Antiquary », from 1874 onward, *passim*.

41. AbhKAW 1870, phil.-hist. Klasse, Berlin, 1871, 1-88; compare with it the tranlation into English as well as the critical discussion in « Indian Antiquary » 1, 1872, 120-126, 172-182, 239-253.

42. E. Windisch: *Geschichte der indischen Philologie und Altertumskunde II* (« History of Indian Philology and Antiquity II »), Strassburg, 1920, 340.

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plays [43]. As to the development of dramas in that perfect form which has been transmitted to us, Weber tends « to ascribe a certain influence to the sight of the performances of Greek dramas ». After the Indian drama had gone through various developments (*inter alia* into the domestic drama) it finally returned to the portrayal of mythological themes, he stated. By the way, Weber devoted a few works only to Indian classical poetry. The preface to his translation of the drama *Mālavikāgnimitra* is noteworthy. In contrast to what had been taught earlier Weber in this preface proved, that this drama's author was Kālidāsa; in addition, he was able to produce decisive facts for the correct dating of the life of that great Sanskrit poet [44]. Aspects of style made Weber come to the conclusion (which later was corroborated by Jacobi as well) that in the field of artistic novels the chronological order must be the following one: *Daśakumāracarita* (Daṇḍin), *Vāsavadattā* (Subandhu) and *Kādambarī* (Bāṇa) [45].

While never fully losing sight of the other fields of Indology, particularly the Vedic literature, Albrecht Weber was concerned primarily with Jaina literature and Prakrit in the 70s and 80s. Jaina literature became known in Europe as late as in the middle of the 19th century, and Weber was one of the first to deal with it.

His treatise on *Śatrunjava Māhātmyam* published in 1858, a competition song in praise of the mountain venerated by the Jains as a place of pilgrimage is a contribution towards the history of the Jains [46].

A few years later Weber published the two-part treatise *Über ein Fragment der Bhagavatī* (On a Fragment of *Bhagavatī*) which deals

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43. Weber came to recognize the theory by Chr. Lassen through the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañali, which testifies to such religious festivals. Weber in the first edition of the history of literature still denied the existence of this theory.

44. *Mālavikā and Agnimitra*, a drama in five acts by Kālidāsa, for the first time translated from Sanskrit by Albrecht Weber, Berlin, 1856, VI-XIII. This Sanskrit drama was put on the stage under the title *The Beautiful Mālavikā and the King* by the City Theatre of Plauen (GDR) in 1973/74. This theatre production was based on the translation of Weber and for this reason, on the occasion of the International Sanskrit Conference held by the department « Asienwissenschaften » of Humboldt-University in March 19-21, 1975 and in honour of Weber's 150th anniversary, the theatre of Plauen performed this drama in the Berliner Kammerspielen on March 20th, 1975. In an unpublished letter to his disciple and friend W. Pertsch dated 1.2.1856 (Research library Gotha B 2005, W 33) Weber who was busily preparing the edition of *Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra* announced this translation as follows: « Around Christmas I had wrested myself away from the *sūtra*, etc and had succeeded in making a translation of *Mālavikā*, thereby reproducing the metric lines accordingly: in addition I wrote a 2-3 sheetlong introduction on the authenticity of the drama and on the time of Kālidāsa... I was just reading the drama at the university, so it was relatively easy for me... ».

45. Compare *Kādambarī*, from: ZDMG 7 (1853, 582-584; *Vāsavadattā*, from: ZDMG 8, 1854, 530-538; *Daśakumāracarita*, from: MbKAW, 1859, Berlin, 1860, 18-56. These three papers are reprinted in: *Indische Streifen* 1, Berlin, 1869, 352-368, 369-386, 308-351.

46. AbhEM 1,4, Leipzig, 1858; in addition ZDMG 12, 1858, 186-189; translated in « Indian Antiquary » 30, 1901, 239-251, 288-310.

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both with the language and the substance inherent in this Jainist work. This treatise published in 1865-66 was the first comprehensive philological assessment of a Jaina text in Prākrit.

It was gratifying and decisive for the further studies made by Weber into Jainism that as a result of a search for manuscripts conducted all over India that began in 1868 with the participation of German indologists [47] 259 Jaina texts were sent to Berlin for evaluation which encompassed almost the entire Jaina-Canon, or more exactly the Śvetāmbara-Siddhānta.

Georg Bühler was granted the permission by the Anglo-Indian Government to purchase manuscripts for the Berlin library in the event of a sufficiently large number of doublets available. These shipments of manuscripts arrived in Berlin between 1973 and 1878 [48].

Weber again set to work immediately after arrival of the manuscripts. Based on the manuscripts available only, without the help of secondary literature, Weber elaborated a first comprehensive survey on the Canon of Śvetāmbara with the publication of the two-part treatise *Über die heiligen Schriften der Jaina* (« On the Holy Scriptures of the Jains ») which immediately after its publication in 1883-84 [49] appeared in an English translation even in India [50].

While the history of literature published in 1852 was the commentary on the catalogue of 1853 it was appropriate to regard the two-part treatise as the commentary to the catalogue of Jaina manuscripts published in 1888-92:

> *The Catalogue of Manuscripts of the Royal Library*, 5th volume. *The Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts*. Berlin, 2nd and 3rd departm, 1888-91/2.

The 259 manuscripts were dealt with at great length and the texts were given and interpreted in such great detail that it is safe to call these parts of the catalogue « edition » a fact that undoubtedly was even contemplated by Weber. He motivated his undertaking in general with the novelty of this literature and specifically with the grown interest in Indian literature.

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47. G. Bühler and F. Kielhorn, together with R.G. Bhāṇḍarkar, collected in the West of India; G. Oppert in the South of India. R.L. Mitra was responsible for the East of India. Weber had attentively followed the reports on the finds, compare among others the reviews by G. BÜHLER, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, in the private libraries of Gujarāt, Kathiāvād, Koch, Sindh and Khandeś; F. KIELHORN: *A Classified Alphabetical Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Southern Division of the Bombay Presidency* (both published in ICB Jg., 1872, 634-635); R.L. MITRA: *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Calcutta, 1871 (in LCB, 1872, 634). Reprints of these reviews are to be found in « Indische Streifen » 3, Berlin, 1879.

48. Compare Weber's information given in the third part of the second volume of the catalogue of manuscripts, Berlin, 1891 (with cover 1892), 1033.

49. *Ind. Stud.* 16 (1883), 211-479 and *Ind. Stud.* 17,1 (1884), 1-90.

50. « Indian Antiquary » 18 (1889), 21 (1892), *passim.*

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This rather exhaustive treatment was made possible by the understanding shown by the then librarian of the Royal Library R. Lepsius [51].

Like the 1853 edition, many references indicate to the origin of manuscripts (place and time), to the authors and their sponsor, to names and affairs mentioned in the manuscripts and all these facts serve as a guide to find the path through the works of literature collected in the catalogue. Alone the four quarto volumes (vol. I and vol. II, 1-3) of the catalogue of manuscripts betray the vast amount of energy, devotion and even renunciation shown by Weber in publishing them [52].

Weber, in the above mentioned treatise on Jaina literature and even in the catalogue of Jaina literature dealt exclusively with religious literature. However, he at the same time was concerned even with secular Jaina literature, as was shown by his works published in the seventies and eighties, which for the first time treated several secular Jaina texts written in poor Sanskrit. These were the treatise on *Pañcadaṇḍachatra prabandha*, a fairy-ale of King Vikramāditya (1877) [53] the *Simhāsanadvātriṃśikā* (1878) [54], the *Campakaśreṣṭhi kathānakam*, the story of the merchant Campaka (1883) [55] and the *Uttararāmacaritra kathānakam*, a story of Prince Excellent (1884) [56] and there were also works on the *Samyāktva kaumudī*, an Indian narrative that probably had the same source as the tales of the Arabian Night (1889) [57].

Indeed, Weber intensively promoted the studies on Jainism in the seventies and eighties, even supported by his pupils H. Jacobi and H. Leumann who later on continued his work successfully [58].

The treatment of Jaina literature resulted even in a revival of Prākrit studies which so far had been confined to the Prākrit of the dramas (especially the Śauraseni). In 1865 Weber in his treatise on *Bhagavatī* (see above) as the first scholar described the Prākrit of Jaina. He correctly interpreted it as a stage in the development of language standing right between Pāli and the Prākrit of the grammarians.

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51. Compare Weber's data contained in the third part of the second volume of the catalogue of manuscripts, Berlin, 1891 (wit cover 1892), preface, V.

52. Generally his later arising eye disease was ascribed to this overstress, compare also the welcome address to Weber's 5oth doctor's jubilee sent by the Berlin Academy on 18.12.1895, contained in SbKAW 1895, Berlin, 1895, 1138.

53. AbhKAW 1877, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Berlin, 1878, 1-104.

54. *Ind. Stud.* 15, 1878, 185-453.

55. SbKAW 1883, Berlin, 567-605.

56. SbKAW 1884, Berlin, 1884, 269-309.

57. SbKAW 18889, Berlin, 1889, 731-759.

58. E. Leumann recognized Weber's important role in Jaina research in ZDMG 45, 1891, 455: « The second volume of the catalogue is again of equally fundamental importance for Jaina studies as the survey on Jaina literature written and published by the same author in vol. 16 and 17 of the *Indische Studien*.

59. AbhKAW 1865, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Berlin, 1866, 392 ff., especially 396-397.

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Arguing with R. Pischel on the reviews of the drama *Śakuntalā* Weber with some justification demanded to take account of the forms used in the texts as compared with the standards maintained by the grammarians (Vararuci!) [60].

In contrast to Pischel who like Stenzler, his teacher, supported the Bengalī review, Weber together with Böhtlingk took the view that the Devanāgarī-version was the more original one.

Great importance has to be attached and ever-lasting value to be accorded to Weber's works on *Saptaśatakam* of Hāla which in 1870 was translated by him still incompletely, but in 1881 Weber was able to translate and publish it completely because of the availability of better manuscripts [61]:

Das Saptaśatakam des Hāla [62].

Two years later he dealt with Bhuvanapāla's commentary of Hāla's *Saptaśatakam* (1883) [63] by making a similar detailed description.

In the first edition of 1870 Weber gave a lengthy description of the language underlying this work; however, the second edition of 1881 included extensive discussions on the history of literature as well as an analysis of the manuscriptal traditions. The equalization of Hāla with Śatavahana that was somewhat hesitantly established already by Weber was later reaffirmed by Jacobi who continued the work commenced by his teacher even in the field of Prākrit studies.

Based on his studies on Prākrit Weber took increasing interest in the study of the new Indo-Aryan languages. Of course, Weber did not master any of these languages, a fact he himself occasionally deplored, but he followed attentively research into these languages, as evidenced by his reviews [64].

Weber hardly made any studies of his own beyond Pāli and Buddhism. A great number of reviews, of course, give evidence that he

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60. A. Weber: *The Śaurasenī of Vararuci and the Reviews of Śakuntalā*, contained in: *Ind. Stud.* 14, 1876, 35-96; compare R. Pischel: *The Reviews of Śakuntalā, an Answer to Professor Weber*, Breslau, 1875. Weber responded to it in *Ind. Stud.* 14, 1876, 161-311: *The Reviews of Śakuntalā.*

61. AbhEM 5,3, Leipzig, 1870.

62. AbhEM 7,4, Leipzig, 1881. Under the title *Indian Village Idyls. The 700 Sayings of Hāla* Weber published excerpts in a German prose translation in « Deutsche Rundschau » 42, 1885, 225-238.

63. *Ind. Stud.* 16, 1883, 1-204.

64. Compare among others the reviews: J. Beames: *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, 1875; S.R. Kellog: *Grammar of the Hindī Language*, 1877; E. Trumpp: *Grammar of the Sindhi Language*, 1875; J. Brigel: *Grammar of the Tulu Language*, 1873. These reviews first published in the « Literarisches Central Blatt » were reprinted in: *Indische Streifen* 3, Berlin, 1879, 156-165 (Beames); 555-562; (Kellogg); 145-145 (Trumpp); 196-197 (Brigel).

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followed the course of research [65] and his discussions on Buddhism show that he had always been up to date, irrespective whether he dealt with Buddhist Sanskrit literature in his history of literature (1852 and 1876), or with popular discussions made in lectures (1856) [66], or in articles published in encyclopaedia (1857) [67].

In all his publications Weber stood up against the privileges enjoyed by the Brahmins as a result of the caste system; the success of Buddha was explained by Weber as follows: « Buddha made himself a herald of general human rights already at a time and under circumstances when these rights were trampled upon more than ever before » [68].

Weber was accustomed to gaining new knowledge from so far unpublished manuscripts. However, this approach proved to be futile for Pāli and Buddhism. When Weber came across Pāli manuscripts, he used to devote to them the same attention as to Brahmin and Jaina manuscripts. But this happened only twice: In 1858 he was concerned with *Makasajātakam*, the text of which he got from Fausböll, the pioneer of Pāli studies [69] and in 1859 he dealt with the *Vairasūcī* of Aśvaghoṣa, a Buddhist pamphlet on the erroneous nature of the claims put forward by the Brahmin caste, on the basis of an Indian print that was made available for him by Wilson, the English scholar with whom he had been acquainted since his stay in England [70].

In the last years of his life Weber returned to the starting point of his scholarly studies, to the *Vedas*. In his treatises on the *Vājapeya* (1892) [71] and on the *Rājasūya* (1895) [72] he dealt at great length with two of the most important sacrificial rituals, whereas in the nine Vedic contributions made by him between 1894 and 1901 and published in the reports of the Berlin Academy he primarily treated the *Atharva*

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65. Compare among other the reviews: C.F. Koeppen, *Die Religion des Buddha* (« The Religion of Buddha »), 1857-1859; W. Wassiljew, *Der Buddhismus*, 1860; S. Beal, *Travels of Fah Hian and Sung Yun*, 1870; S. Beal, *The Buddhist Tripithaka in China and Japan*, 1876; V. Pausböll and R.C. Childers, *The Jātaka together with its Commentary, vol.* I, 1875; R.C. Childers, *Dictionary of the Pāli Language I*, 1873; these reviews taken from the « Litterarisches Central Blatt » are reprinted in « Indische Streifen » 2, 130-131 (Koeppen), 185-187 (Wassiljew) and in: « Indische Streifen » 3, Berlin, 1879, 53-57 (Beal), 480-483 (Beal), 373-77 (Pausböll), 145-151 (Childers).

66. Lecture *On Buddhism* read before the Berlin Scientific Association 1856, reprint in *Indische Skizzen*, Berlin, 1857, 39-68.

67. *Buddhism*, printed in *Bluntschli's State Dictionary*, 1857, 212-215, reprinted in *Indische Streifen I*, Berlin, 1868, 1-8.

68. *Indische Skizzen*, Berlin, 1857, 47; in this article Weber even opposed the views of Schopenhauer (50).

69. On the *Makasa-Jātakam*, printed in MbKAW 1858, Berlin, 1859, 265-270, reprint in *Ind. Stud.* 4,3, 1858, 387-392 and « Ind. Streifen » 1, Berlin, 1868, 387-392.

70. AbhKAW 1859, Berlin, 1860, 205-264, excerpts were reprinted in: *Indische Streifen* I, Berlin, 1868, 186-209. Additionally: *The Pāli Legend about the Origin of the Sākya- and Koliyageneration*, printed in MbKAW 1859, Berlin, 1860, 328-46, reprinted in *Indische Streifen* I, Berlin, 1868, 233-244.

71. SbkAW 1892, Berlin, 1892, 765-813.

72. AbhkAW 1893, Phl.-hist. Klasse, Berlin 1894, Abh. II, 1-158.

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Veda and the *Rigveda*. The 18th and last volume of his Indic studies included even commented translations of the 4th and 5th book of *Atharva Veda*.

Specific attention should primarily be paid to the 6th volume out of the Vedic contributions which dealt with the subject *The Elevation of Man above the Gods in Vedic Rituals and Buddhism*[73] which formed the connecting link to Weber's last publication, a comprehensive synopsis, that was not duly considered because of its publication in a popular-science journal in a language which was intelligible to everybody. This lengthy article is entitled: *Zur indischen Religionsgeschichte*. Eine kursorische Übersicht, Stuttgart, 1899[74] (« On the Indian History of Religion. A Cursory Review »). Soon after this, it was printed in English translation in India, too[75].

Weber's work comprizes many thousands of pages. It stands as a monument of scholarly diligence and erudition. Weber was extraordinarily meticulous in all his undertakings. Thus detailed indices established by himself even in the later years have made all his works easily readable and accessible. In the last few years only he was assisted by Leumann and Sieg.

Weber had never shied away from scientific disputes. The exchange of arguments with Höfer, Haug, Müller, Kielhorn and Pischel had shown that Weber was a fair combattant who was never at a loss for answering his opponents, neverimpinged upon the rules of decency and, notwithstanding his consistency, often permitted an air of friendliness to become noticeable in him[76].

Obviously Weber found it hard to withdraw from his views recognized to be correct and voiced accordingly, and heanxiously paid attention to his views and ideas to be correctly reproduced by his friends in the same way as he wanted them to be understood. But he was always prepared to stand up for his friends. He soon became and remained the centre of a circle of scholars who were responsible for the flourishing of Indian philology in the second half of the 19th century[77].

Weber had never seen India. However, he maintained an exchange of ideas even with Indian scholars, especially with Bhāṇḍarkar, and he took actively part in scientific discussions, e.g. the Indian Antiquary.

Weber's lectures read at the University were proportionately closely limited. His influence was above all based on the support and advice he

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73. SbKAW 1897, Berlin, 1897, 594-605.
74. « Deutsche Revue » 24, 1899, 199-229.
75. « Indian Antiquary » 30, 1901, 239-251 and 288-310.
75. Compare Haug's *Aitaraya-Brāhmaṇa*, printed in « Ind. Stud » 9, 1865, 177-380 and additionally « Ind. Stud. » 10, 1867, 16 0and 10,3, 1868, 441-442. *Herrn Höfer zur Antwort* (« Reply to Hoefer »), contained in « Ind. Stud. » 2,1, 1851, 149-155. *Zur Antwort* (Reply), printed in ZDMG 7, 1853, 599 (Dispute with M. Müller). The Review of *Śakuntalā*, in « Ind. Study » 14, 1876, 161-311 (Scientific dispute with R. Pischel).
77. R. Pischel about Weber in his commemorative speech before the Berlin Academy, in AbhKAW 1903, 4.

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Professors J. Filliozat, A. K. Warder, O. Botto, G. M. Bongard-Levin.

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gave at any time to the younger and older colleages who worked in the same field. R. Pischel's words, Weber's disciple, opponent and successor, sound conciliatory which were said by him in a speech in memory of Weber before the Academy:

« Everybody ... who came to Weber with the firm conviction to study Sanskrit will thankfully remember the hours of joint reading of Sanskrit texts, the Saturday walks to the Grunewald, the evenings at Tivoli... » [78].

Many honours were conferred upon him. He was member of a great number of Academies and Scientific Societes.

> Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Berlin, Member of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences in Munich, Member of the Institut de France, and of the Sociéte Asiatique in Paris. Member of the Royal Danish Society of the Sciences in Copenhagen, the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences in Amsterdam, the Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences in Prague, Honorary Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Vienna, honorary Member of the German Oriental Society, the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta, the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Società Asiatica Italiana, the Royal Society of Literature, the American Oriental Society, the Société d'Ethnographie Orientale et Américaine in Paris and he was member of the Koninklijk Institut voor de Taal-, Landen- Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie, corresponding Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, the Royal Academy of Sciences in Turin and the National Indian Association, full Member of the historisch-theologische Gesellschaft in Leipzig (position 1898) [79].

At the 5th International Congress of Orientalists held in Berlin in 1881 Weber was president of the Indo-Germanic section (to which Indology belonged at that time), and he acted as Vice-President at many other congresses [80]. At these congresses he always stood up forcefully for what he considered correct and decent and he took up all questions, even those of a more marginal nature with the same devotion and precision as if they were scientific problems [81].

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary since his doctor's degree friends and colleagues dedicated to him a commemorative publication: *Gurupūjākaumudī* in which no less a person than G. Bühler heartily congratulated him on behalf of all the others [82].

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78. R. Pischel, see above, 7.
79. Quoted according to the title-page of: « Ind. Stud. » 18, 1898.
80. 4th Congress 1878 (Florence), 6th Congress 1883 (Leiden), 7th Congress 1886 (Vienna), 8th Congress 1889 (Stockholm and Christiania).
81. Compare *Quousque tandem*, The 8th International Congress of Orientalists and the 9th Congress, Berlin, 1891. II. The Conclusion, Berlin, 1894.
82. Leipzig, 1896.

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Weber was an unswerving national-liberal democrat of humane persuasions who hald always openly expressed his ideas against everyone, even towards the Chancellor of the Reich personally. The collection of newspaper clippings in the « Protestantische Zeitstimmen » testifices to Weber's aversion to a dogmatic approach. Weber repeatedly stood up against anti-Semitism which he attributed to low motives and considered to be downright anti-national. The limitations of his bourgeois thinking, however, become noticeable in his evaluation of the then progressive social democracy [83].

In the last few years of his life Weber grew almost blind, and his letters became more and more illegible. An accident he suffered in 1897 exacerbated his complaints. On November 30th, 1901 Weber died in Berlin. Even those who were his strongest opponents in science paid him the last honour [84].

In March 1975 at the International Sanskrit Conference in Berlin the indologists of the GDR paid tribute to Albrecht Weber as a scholar who embodied the best traditions of the German Indology of the 19th century.

As a pioneer Weber did not only provide information on two subjects, i.e. in the field of Vedic literature and Jaina literature, but he also translated and interpreted the texts untiringly, he found solutions to many controversial questions which have proved to be of lasting value.

However, within this short appreciation, it was possible to deal with minor proplems only in passing. They will be realt with at great length in a volume dedicated to Weber, which is scheduled to appear in a publication of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR on the history of sciences. A complete bibliography of Weber will also be included in the same publication, arranged according to chronological aspects, but also classified according to several subject-oriented indices. Hitherto unpublished letters and documents will complete the picture.

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83. « Protestantische Zeitstimmen », Berlin, 2, 1883, 1-8; 6, 1892, 37, 56; 8, 1894, 7-11, 22-33; 9, 1894, 26-35; 10, 1896, 26-31.

84. Compare E. Strohal in Allg. Ztg., Munich, Jg. 1901, Suppl. 297, 3.

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ANGELO MORRETTA

SANSKRIT AND THE SACRED LANGUAGE

Some semantic aspect of the « language of the gods »

> « For the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life » (St. Paul, 2 Corinthians, 6).

Among the many analytical forms of contemporary linguistics which have developed into an extraordinary plethora of « sciences of the word » we are unfortunately obliged to register an almost total lack of research into a language which is undoubtedly peculiar, but certainly not to such an extent as to deserve to remain « off-side » in the field of specific studies. I refer to the language of the sacred, in particular, not mainly in a theologico-religious sense (as I. T. Ramsay has done in his *Religious Language* [1]), but rather as the reality and expression of a linguistic « activity » which was so important in the past and still is in human society.

This neglect on the part of scholars might be explicable if it were merely a question of a series of high-flown or formal concepts similar, for example, to the philological excogitations in which many apologetics of antiquity satisfy their own whims [2]. If we bear in mind, however,

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1. London, 1967. In fact, the analysis of the sacred in the book of Ian T. Ramsey is limited only to the sphere of Christian theology and in the direction of logical empiricism in a common sense. Nevertheless, the attempt to apply to biblical models such terms of meaning as « probability », « key-word », « total engagement », is if no little importance in connection with « revelation-intuition »: see, for example, the concept of « illumination » as « something that springs » — which is very similar to the Indian *sphoṭa*.

2. It is a question of that « verbal superstition » of which Ogden and Richards accuse medieval religious thought (Scholastics), in that it created artificial and conservative structures upon no valid « scientific » basis (*The Meaning of Meaning*, ch. 11, London, 1923). Indeed, the authors make fun of the magic languages of primitive peoples in which a certain link is pre-supposed between *nomina* and *numina*, on account of « the power of the word ». But they do not stop to ask themselves *why* mankind has been « hypnotised » by such language for thousands of years, down to the XX century — or whether this « obsession » may not contain some element that remains *indecipherable* for so-called « normal » language. Their passion for analysis leads them, in fact, to consider all the great concepts in the history of philosophy, from Heraclitus to Hegel, in the same way, without taking into account the fact that there may indeed be something man finds « inexpressible » in his

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that meanwhile and almost contemporaneously with the birth of the new linguistics and closely related to it, a new science, no less weighty and significant, has appeared in the West, the science of myths and symbols pertaining to « religious experience », as William James said — then this neglect becomes paradoxical, to say the least. In fact, nowadays we realise that all religions, whether primitive or cultured, written or unwritten, are founded on real and proper « primary structures », universally valid and semantically coherent. This fact leads, in the field of linguistics itself, to a better integration of what has been called metalinguistics [3] and to a deeper knowledge of some aspects of psycholinguistics in relation to the sacred. Indeed, we may affirm that the sacred itself was only waiting, as it were, for just this type of sonico-phonemathic analysis of words and signs, for now, in the light of the new linguistics, the very myths and symbols appear even more eloquent in content. The « power of the word », that is to say, is rendered even more effective, not only insofar as it constitutes a creative intuitive process in the sphere of mytho-poetics, — it is revealed in outward forms established in the sphere of « revelation », as being the expression of an innate tendency in man towards the « supra-natural », a term to be understood in its etymological sense. In fact, if « everything is language », as symbolic logic affirms, then a return to the sources of the sacred means the rediscovery — as I shall show — of a peculiar dimension of cognitive activity, split, as it is, into the formal and the informal or into the « physical » and « more-than-physical », which is, at bottom, the tendency to expand the frontiers of the real ever wider, precisely as modern philosophy of science is teaching. When this activity is translated in terms of « sacred » and « profane » perception Indian thought and the Sanskrit language call it *apara* and *para* cognition; the

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relationship to the Beings; neo-empiricism, whether logical or not, will never be capable of grasping what real religious language — (from that of primitive peoples up to the mystics) — is trying to express. The authors do grant some recognition to Indian thought, however, in which the « sacred » is represented as *experience* of the Beings; this is the point at which the analysis of the sacred requires another type of consideration, since in the intervening period the very language of the « primitives » has become an object of primary importance for modern linguistics, as I shall show.

3. I am using the term « meta-language » in its etymological sense and not as it appears in the analyses of Hilbert, Carnap or Tarski — that is, as a stage beyond or above « common » language, as in the expression « meta-history », « meta-empirical » and even « meta-physical ». A language dealing with the values which are contained in the sacred: in fact the ontic symbols in such a language are « covered » only in part by the signs, therefore they need a reference to sound-symbols beyond the uses of conventional linguistics, as is the case in the Indian *śabda-sphoṭa*. These are the terms every religion or « mystical » experience adopts to illustrate a kind of « crypto-type », as Whorf suggests (cf. note 24), but sacred metalanguage, in addition, expresses « total semantics ». It is synonymous with the Greek Logos, understood as the active principle of everything, that is, of meta-physical reality, and not only as « discourse », « reason » or « logic », as it was to appear later in Western thought.

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nāma-rūpa, the names and forms, appear simultaneously in the guise of models of « interior » and « exterior » languages, by means of a process which gathers from the « signs » one and the same meaning at the root of « events ». The foregoing observations, however, have brought us to the core of our subject, although it would require further preliminary suggestions on an historico-cultural basis.

Sanskrit and the Oral Tradition of the Vedas

The concept *deva-nāgarī* designates the written language of the gods, since its literal meaning is « urbane writting »: the *language* of the gods is known as *deva-bhaṣa*. This expression appears for the first time in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, a poem in which the action takes place during the period of Aryan expansion among the « monkey » populations of the South. This double nominal characterisation belongs to the age when Sanskrit had not yet been split into two branches, the archaic-vedic and « the perfect language » (*saṃskṛta*) of the classical era.

At one and the same time it defines, in India, the distinction between the cultured religion of the Aryan « nobles » and the beliefs of the native peoples. Within the intervening historical period we have to take into account at least three stages of stratification, and not only as the orthodox Hindus define them. In fact, we find the « primordial » stage of the conjectural Veda, in existence *before* the Aryans came down into the peninsular, a stage belonging to the Indo-European family, which had not yet divided into the avestic and vedic, etc.; we also find the sanskrit-vedic stage of the Hymns composed within the confines of the Aryavartha and then throughout India as a result of Rama's exploits, etc.; and finally the Brahmanic stage, that is to say, that of a tradition which appears in the *Purva-Mīmāṃsā* as a heritage of dogma to be preserved in a sacro-linguistic sense. For the purposes of the analysis now concerned the question is a generical linguistic problem, however, since it is impossible to state where, when and how the concept of a sacred spoken language or written tongue came into being. Nevertheless, we can proceed by means of « interior » analysis, and this is where modern linguistics can come unexpectedly to our aid.

At this point another aspect of the problem presents itself, one not taken very seriously by Western scholars. I refer to the « eternity of the *Vedas* ». Myths undoubtedly have their own validity even in the field of notions, as the « historiography » of the language teaches us. What does « the sacred word » represent if not its perennial quality, after all? All the languages of those peoples who have given great religions to the world are « languages of the gods » or of God himself. The word of Allàh is expresseed in Arabic, the sacred language *par excellence* of Islamic culture [4], Ancient Hebrew is the sacred language of the Old

4. See « *Ideals and Realities of Islam* » by Seyyed Hossein Nasr, London, 1966.

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Testament, of Moses and David. By means of an historical « translatio » Latin became the « perfect » language of the Christians, although Greek was the original language of the founder-fathers of the Gospel in expansion. Homer's gods speak Greek, an Indo-European language, as are both Latin and Sanskrit. The gods of the vedic pantheon and later Buddha himself, spoke Sanskrit, which only a little later became « democratic » in the *prakṛti* and the *pāli*. The highest philosophies elaborated around the *Logos*, from the pre-Socratics to Plato, are conceived in the same Indo-European idiom.

As far as Sankrit is concerned, however, we must point out at the very beginning that it is not only the twin or at least the oldest cousin among the Indo-European languages but is also the one richest in expressions and representations of the sacred — and to such an extent that it has been more able to preserve its original concepts [5] than any other historically recorded language. This language contains an astonishing sacred and profane literature, still not easily assimilable in the West. The *devanāgarī* characters (born of the older *Brāhmī* writting, possibly mesopotamian), have transmitted for 4000 years, without a break, thousands of philosophical, juridical, social and even medical texts, almost all of them in verses with an unmistakable rhythm [6].

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5. Zimmer writes as follows upon the philosophical quiddities of Sanskrit: « The gist of any system of philosophy can best be grasped in the condensed form of its principal terms... Indian thought is excellently adapted to such an approach; for all of its terms belong to Sanskrit and have long served in the everyday language of poetry and romance as well as in such technical literatures as that of medicine. They are not terms confined to the strange and unfamiliar atmosphere of the specialised schools and doctrines.

The nouns, for example, which constitute the bulk of philosophic terminology, stand side by side with verbs that have been derived from the same roots and denote activities or a process expressive of the same content. One can always come to the basic meaning through a study of the common uses of the word in daily life and by this means ascertain not only its implied shades and values, but also its suggested metaphors and connotations.

All of which is in striking contrast with the situation in the contemporary West, where by far the greater number of our philosophical terms have been borrowed from Greek and Latin, stand detached from actual life and thus suffers from an inevitable lack of vividness and clarity... Each case, each authority for the term, every author, period and school, must be taken by itself. But the Indian vocabulary is so closely connected with the general usage of the civilisation that it can always be interpreted through the way of the general understanding. By reviewing the whole range of the values covered by any Sanskrit term one can watch Indian thought at work, as it were from within... It is only by referring continually to the Sanskrit dictionary that one can begin to perceive something of the broader backgrounds of the phrases that for centuries have served to carry the living burden of Indian thought » (*Philosophies of India* Part I, pp. 42-43, Cleveland, 1956).

6. In order to appreciate *fully* the contribution made by Indian culture see *The Concept of Culture* by V. RAGHAVAN (Bangalore, 1971) and also his *Sanskrit, Essays on the Value of the Language and Literature* (Madras, 1972).

For a more specialised treatment see ch. III and IV. « The Legacy of Sanskrit » and « The role of Sanskrit in Indian Culture ». The concept of culture, in fact, is connected in India with the formation of the notion of the *Ṛta-Dharma* and therefore of the *Saṃskāras* (cf. *Hindu Saṃskarās* by RAJ B. PANDEY (Delhi, 1969).

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Finally, Sanskrit is the depositary of a grammatical science whose philological and linguistic richness cannot be capped by any other language in ancient civilisations.

We are therefore faced with the following question: *what* has made all this possible? Is the notion, popular or not, of a « language of the gods » merely formal, or does it conceal some element which defies linguistic analysis? It is an undeniable fact that not even the comparative method of studies of Indo-European languages, practised so eagerly and so skilfully by the founders of Indology, have sufficed to resolve the enigma. It has left in the dark a vast area of the *mnemonic* contents of archaic vedic, a field which can be illuminated nowadays thanks to the semantics of sound [7].

One of the few recent scholars of sacred language, Walter J. Ong, offers us some support for the elucidation of the problem in his book *The Presence of the Word* [8]. The roots of sacred language lie even deeper than the history of religions and grammar in a classical sense can grasp. Even religions are transient if we compare them with the Logos-*Vāc*, the Word which transcends all the diachronic-synchronic delimitations of the spoken-written message. We are carried back, by no means fortuitously, to the language of primitive peoples, to the cultures Ong calls audio-oral, in whose genuine *humus* the word was a direct and living process « from the voice to the ear », whereas after the invention of the alphabet in Western civilisation human « sensory » perception was transformed into a perception-communication of the « visual » or optical, a perception strongly indebted, in its turn, to objective externalisation. Ancient peoples, that is, derived their « revelations » directly from sound. This fact explains the semantics of the sacred which linked the *word* to the *sign* in a conative proces of the image or rite, as being at one and the same time « significance » and « significant » [9].

This theory of the « sensory », which partly precedes the specific *forma mentis* of every culture in the history of civilisation and even the philosophy of various human groups without the art of writting, is more or less a continuation and amplification of Benjamin Lee Whorf's intuitions in *Language, Thought and Reality* [10], where his elucidation of the Hopi pueblo leads him to conclude that in the sphere of notion-speech there are no « cultured » and « primitive » modes in the act of coining metaphors or general knowledge of the world-as-reality. Everything depends upon the particular formation of the concept of space

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7. Such *comparative* metode is best illustrated, for example, in the work of E. Benveniste « *Origines de la formation des noms en indo-européen* », Paris, 1935. See also « *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes* » by A. Meillet, Paris, 1936.

8. New Haven, 1967. See also: « *In the Human Grain* », New York, 1967 and « *The Barbarian Within* », New York, 1962.

9. « *Le language cet inconnu* » by J. Joyaux, Paris, 1969. II Part, ch. 1.

10. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1956, with a rich introduction by John B. Carroll.

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and time, which are translated differently in the mind of the Hopi or the mind of the common Western man. A European, for example, views time as past-present-future and we believe that this view is based upon an intuition which is universally valid. Ong, on the contrary, shows that this view is still due to the ancient heritage of universals of Aristotle, corresponding with the concept of objective and objectivating *physis* whose image — (« nature viewed as a mass of objects ») — is handed down as far as Newton [11]. In the wake of Sapir-Whorf's hypothesis [12], Ong avoids the danger of losing himself in that agnosticism which is concealed behind the scenes of this type of mentalistic-linguistic relativism. On the contrary, he siezes the occasion to afford us a proficuous illustration of sacred language. Indeed, he shows that if « the history of religion, so far, has contributed relatively little to the study of the word as such », we should do all we can and as quickly as possible, to deepen our knowledge of oriental religions, which are of major importance for the elucidation of the subject.

To what conclusion are we led when we consider similar theories concerning audio-oral or mnemonic cultures in the ancient world and among primitive peoples? First of all, we may sum the matter up by saying that they represent a kind of « archaelogy of the word », not as a « nostalgia for the origins » (Eliade, etc.), but as a real and proper semantic rediscovery of the « all-living » in nature-reality. This reverses the classical tag *verba volant scripta manent* (which is the formula of a written culture). On the contrary, it is the *spoken* word which better preserves the continuity of a tradition, while the *written* word not only weakens it but also falsifies it. Returning once again to the multi-millenarian continuity of Vedism-Hinduism we are now able to evaluate both the myth of the « language of the gods » and the so-called « eternity of the *Vedas* », in a more articulated and pertinent fashion than before.

We must state in advance that these concepts, however, rest in their turn upon three further realities with a linguistic significance that is modern even for us today. The first concerns the oral transmission of the *Vedas*, a transmission carried down unerringly even to our own times,

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11. W. J. Ong, *op. cit.*, ch. « Obiectivity and Subjectivity ».

12. This is the name given to the ethno-linguistic theory of the two scholars, which leads to mentalistic relativism. It was Sapir — a great student of Americo-Indian cultures — who urged Whorf to study the Hopi. In our day these ideas have been developed by Geneviève Calame-Griaulle in the essay *Ethnologie et langage: la parole chez les Dogons*, Paris, 1965. Dominique Zahan, the socio-linguist, in his essay *La dialectique du verbe chez les Bambara*, Paris, 1963, states that the Sudanese Bambara « consider language a physical element », etc. Whorf devoted himself largely to Indian disciplines during his last years: he lived in India and was a friend of Fritz Kunz, an expert on Indian philosophy, who encouraged him to write the essay *Language, Thought and Reality*, pub. in the review « The Theosophist », Madras, Jan. 1942.

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a phenomenon which has astonished the students of Indology [13]. The second leads us to that « obsession » of the exact pronunciation of the vedic *mantrà* which takes a concrete form in a real and proper sonic grammar (*chanda and śikṣā*). The third records that strange transformation which the *śabda*-sound undergoes in the Darshana systems as it becomes a category of proper thought, that is, a *pramāṇa.* In Nyāya logics the *śabda-pramāṇa* is, in fact, not only a « verbal testimony » of the sacred — (as in the Mīmāṃsā) — but is a valid source of knowledge in general and even a component part of the Indian form of the syllogism.

All this has been possible because, first of all, the Aryan-Hindu tradition has always preserved the « primitive » method of oral and direct communication from master to pupil. That is to say, « verbal testimony » lies at the basis of a mnemonic culture which considered its sacred texts « eternal », and therefore in no need of writting as a transmitting sign (indeed, it abhorred the written word). There is a functional relationship between these three realities, with the synonymity of a « word » and « sign » at its source; the word « primordial », considered as among primitive peoples a synonym of a physical element, suffices in itself, possessing, as it does, the capacity to model a certain « truth » without any extraneous formal ingredient. This is how Sanskrit, as a *medium*, appears to traditionalistic Brahmans (and possibly also to the native peoples), to be a « sacred language », the language, if not of the gods, at least that of the « initiated » in a people which has imposed upon the world such a unique thematic of the sacred as « total semantics ».

In other words, we are faced with a « primitive-cultured » religious framework which, nevertheless, is expressed in a *conscious* manner, in a surprisingly organic kind of *grammatical gnosis.* This may possibly explain why vedism has attracted and is still attracting so many scholars, to such an extent that it has become a specialised branch in the study of Hinduism, whereas the *Vedas* have been considered by some literal translators of the texts as a kind of « shapeless and fantastic mass of ritual imaginings » (Bergaigne, Oldenberg, etc.). This heritage also explains the existence of grammarians of Panini's standing and, later, the many theorists of the *śabda-sphoṭa* or the *Śabda-Brahmavāda,* such as Patañjali, Bhartṛhari, Mandana Miśra and others, who carried the *śruti* of the Indian *logos* to unimaginable heights which are scarcely to be scaled even in India; in our opinion, however, it is of prime importance in modern linguistics.

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13. See the extracts translated from Max Müller concerning the exact pronunciation of the *Vedas* in my book *Il pensiero Vedanta,* pp. 111-13; *idem, Lo spirito dell'India,* ch. *Civiltà mnemonica,* pp. 43-59.

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The basis of the Word-Vāc

By no mere chance do the 16 volumes of the *Études védiques et paninéennes* [14], by the great and impassioned master of Vedism, Louis Renou, begin with a chapter dedicated to the « Power of the word in the *Ṛgveda* »: this is almost a programme in itself and is a reply to whose who have doubts concerning the importance of the vedic tradition based upon the *Verb-Logos*, deliberately designated by the *ṛṣi* as the foundation of all human knowledge. Since, if Hinduism is founded upon the *Vedas* [15], we may affirm that the *Vedas* themselves are based upon the *Vāc* as substance of the sacred sound. The poetical inspiration of the *Vedas* is, in fact, an « audio-visual » revelation, experienced by the *Ṛṣi*-seers, as their very name implies. At this point another dispute arises in India itself, between traditionalistic Brahmans and cultural pandits concerning the *ṛṣi* themselves who, just because they appear to be mere « vehicles » (*vahana*) of the primordial tradition, are considered *anonymous*, even though the name of each one of them is given, by himself, in the texts. This is only another way of saying that the Word is not dependent upon the person uttering it, even if the « inspired » are the tutelary geniuses of a sacred element which has had such resonance throughout the ages.

In order to understand this conflict of notions we must go back once again to the languages of the « primitives ». The thought of the *ṛṣi* is undoubtedly an « elementary » or « pantheistic » representation of the world-as-reality but by now other paths have taught us the difference between « primitive » and « modern ». If Sapir-Whorf's hypothesis, linked with Ong's notion of the « sensory » is true, then, in the light of the new school of linguistics, we are now in a position to be able to penetrate the synchronic-descriptive image of the sacred language in the *Vedas*. As it is, in the very oral-audial cultures themselves the sacred and profane are not separate, for the « magic word » plays a primary role even in everyday life, in work, agriculture, hunting, not to mention the ceremonies connected with birth, initiation, marriage and death. What were the effects of such a « linguistic creation » in the area of « primordial » Sanskrit? The concepts of the *Vedas* provide a rare synthesis between the « animistic naturism » of the primitives and a « cultured » philosophy on an extremely high intellectual level: this is due to the fact that the *Manas* (Mind) has always been considered a sixth sense by the Indians. The *Vāc*, therefore, expresses at one and

14. Louis Renou: *Études védiques et paninéennes*, Paris, 1955-67.

15. See the somewhat embittered observations by Louis Renou in *Le Destin du Veda dans l'Inde, Etudes*, VI. The essay was also publ. in India, *Destiny of the Vedas in India*, Delhi, 1965.

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the same time the world-as-reality and the faculty of speech [16]. For example — if Time for the Hopi is a kind of « eternal present », that is, a system of unfixed relationships (as it is with the mystics) [17], then the eternal itself is not that « pre-established harmony », set up once for all, as it was conceived to be from the time of Aristotle until the discovery of generalised relativity in our own day: on the contrary, it is a « virtual eternity », always in act, in the process of becoming. In the field of linguistic morphology this leads not only to different temporal-spatial configurations, but also to a greater number of grammatical forms of the descriptive-expressive view of Nature and the Real. The infinite of the vedic-archaic verb possesses no fewer than 11 synonyms, whereas it is reduced to *one only* [18] in the « perfect » Sanskrit of the classical and post-paninian period. Our languages, « cultured » and rationalised to the fullest extent, have been impoverished by the invention of writting and the alphabet, as Ong never wearies of telling us. The new linguistics, which emphasise the spoken word, have led to a revision of the illusion of the « alphabet», a revision beginning with De Saussure and continuing even in the field of philosophy (Wittgenstein, Ryle, etc.). « Without writting » says Coomaraswamy, « the memory is perfect » [19].

The intensive objectivation of a civilisation orientated wholly towards the outward appearance of things has reduced the semantics of inward perception to very little, in an inverse ratio to the invention of the myriads of artificial objects produced by technology, objects whose names are merely *descriptive*. For this reason, if we want to rediscover the authentic value of words and speech, we are obliged to go back to the « primitive » languages, there, where we may hope to exhume the « origin » of speech itself *in illo tempore* [20].

This is the reason why such students of Vedism as Renou insist upon analysing the poetico-sacred concepts implied in the « strange » tradition of the *ṛṣi*-seers, for whom « the word... is... *rāṣṭrī devānām*...

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16. Cf. *Etudes*, I. 1: « Words indicating the act of 'thinking' are usually adopted to designate the product of such thought in the poem, in the words uttered: for instance, *mati and dhī* ('to say' and 'to think') are united in the *vācō matim* (I.8.56,6)... and in the *vācāh... masīya* » (10.53,4).

17. Whorf, *op. cit.*: « *A model of the universe of the Americo-Indians* ». « For the Hopi the objective-subjective causal world is re-united in a spiritual and not a spatial sphere ». « We are accustomed to consider these ideas as forming part of animistic or vitalistic beliefs, or of the transcendental unifications of experience, or the intuition of these ultraperceptible manifestations the mystic experiences, or which are employed in mystic and occult systems of thought ».

18. Cf. my book *La Parola e il Silenzio*, Rome, 1970, note on p. 217.

19. Cf. Coomaraswamy: *Oriental Visdom and Western Culture*, New York, 1975.

20. Ong, however (*op. cit.*), has an optimistic view of the « destiny of the word » in the coming Western civilisation, tending, as it does, towards the « transformation of the sensory » into a totally sonic or « electronic » culture; this phenomenon is already under way with the gradual supersession of our merely technical civilisation. Indeed, he believes that even the sacred will be invigorated when the crisis of written froms and visual culture has been successfully solved.

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mandrā, or the ancient *vāco daīvyam*, the miraculous, immortal Word which will resound anew in every generation (*yād vas citrāṃ yugēyuge nāvyaṃ ghōṣad āmartyam*), and which the poet requires us to keep within ourselves, to preserve (*didhṛytā*) (1.139,8) [21].

The term *maniṣā* indicates inspiration as *prā-vāc*, that is, revelation or human utterance manifested through Agni, the god of revelation *par excellence*; this revelation of the Vāc, however, is suitable only « to the advised man » (*gṛtsa*) and « strong » (*tavās*); but it is the root of the verb *dhī* « which is called the creator of all forms » (1-2-3). The *ṛṣi* (Rishi) are always careful to point out that their chant is a *nāman*, an hereditary and memorised poem, as in the Hymn 8.21,2, where the word *gir* (actual) is in contrast with the *pitṛnām... mānabhiḥ* (the ancestor-fathers). The authors of the *Vedas* distinguish their own new chant (*nāvya*) from that of the ancients, whose ideal model they follow: the opposition between the « ancient » and the « new » is made even clearer in the verse 1.110,1... *tatām/tāyate* and through the contrast between the epithet *jāmi* in the *jāmi brāhmāṇi* (7.72,3), that is, « the poem of tradition » (*idem* 2).

But the *ṛṣi* presents vedic thought as light, above all. Therefore « the problem of certain synonyms is not merely one of linguistics » (*idem*, 3, p. 6). In disputing certain interpretations of a limited literal scope Renou emphasiss « the ambivalence... to be found at the basis of Vedic thought and semantics ». That is: is it possible to rediscover the genuine meaning of the magico-ritual inspiration of the *ṛṣi* in terms which are purely tecnico-verbal? This is what the undoubtedly illustrious grammarians in the West were doing during the first phase of discovery of the *Vedas*, and even in India itself Pāṇini did so, preceded by Sāyaṇa. For this very reason they failed to discover clearly the revealed semantics of the chants and often stumbled over « obscure » verses, which they considered to be mere verbal tricks. If, on the other hand, « the concept of *arkā* (light or song) and *arkaśokā* (flame in the form of hymns) clearly indicate that Agni is the matrix of spiritual light = *ketū*, then words are *mātāraḥ*, « creative mothers » (8.6,20) and the *ṛṣi* « are those who attain their own poetical inspiration by *ṛtam, ṛtam āśuṣāṇāḥ* ». The language of the *Vedas* is therefore *gūhya*, i.e. secret. Therefore the word is *ājara*, that is, not subject to ageing, it is *akṣāra*, undying, « the mighty vocal found at the origin of time ». Renou goes on to say, however, that it is the word *brāhman* which characterises the esoteric composition of the *Vedas*; the *raūdram... brāhma* (10.61,1) is « the formidable word »...; *brāhman* and *vāc* are coextensive, « the first understood... as the prototype of the *sphoṭa* in comparaison with *pada* » (10,

21. We quote from Renou's text because in a certain sense it is the most recent and the most « modern ». As he says himself, one may also go back to the interpretations of Thieme, Dumézil, Benveniste or Gonda. For the *Vedas* in the original see the re-print in 3 vols. with confronted texts, ed. by Griffith (Varanasi, 1960-61), or texts publ. and ed. by the Vedic Research Society.

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p. 12). « In a work of this kind it is silence, the inexpressible, which is more important than the thing uttered, whence derives the essential role of the *brāhman* as the « officiant of silence » (*idem*).

Before being *saṃskṛta* the Vedic tongue was rich in a diversified symbology, superior to rational perfection, and therefore abounded in images, conceits and metaphors organically implicit in both visible and invisible — or rather, formal and informal — reality. Gonda, in fact, has restored their sacred aura to the various key-words of the *Vedas* which, apparently being obscure, transcend even the « aesthetic » form in which they are expressed [22].

Much else may be clarified in the light of a similar reconstruction of the « crypto-typical » language, as Whorf says [23]. The Word has its roots in Being and it is the Word which « becomes » being and existent, *Dasein*, as Heidegger would say. Therefore, Renou concludes, « to translate the *Vedas* is not only to betray them, but certainly means to belittle or diminish them » (*idem* 19, p. 22). The Sanskrit in which they were conceived, with its phonic-semantic abundance, truly appears to be the most suitable among ancient tongues for the representation of the sacred word on the brink of the hermetic (and the hermeneutic): not only as a formal manifestation, that is, but also « as a real and proper science of language » (Renou, ch. entitled « The problem of the elipse in the *Ṛgveda* », p. 29, vol. 1).

The creative word and sonic-linguistic monism

There is still another aspect of the sacred linguistic of the *Vāc* which we shall only touch upon, since it permeates as a norm the bases of the whole philosophy of the monistic Vedanta up to the undying *Phonema* of Bhartṛhari. Once again — if the symbolic logic connected with Whorf's hypothesis implies that every form of human knowledge may be reduced, at bottom, to a linguistic modality, including science with « the logical syntax of the real » as its base (Carnap), then the conception of the One-All (advaitic or not) is a co-participator in this vision of the *Vāc*. In India, however, we find the concept so specifically and abundantly illustrated that it goes beyond the boldest flights of Graeco-Christian thought. In the essay which lends its title to the collection Whorf writtes: « The idea, so extraneous to the modern world, that nature and language are intimately related, was known for centuries to nu-

22. Cf. GONDA, *The Vision of the Vedic Poets*, The Hague, 1963.

23. Cf. WHORF, *op. cit.*, the essay *Linguistic Analysis of the Thought of Primitive Communities*, pp. 50-72. Also *Grammatical Categories*, pp. 73-88. Here we find the theory of the *crypto-type*, a perfect model of which would be the OM, for instance.

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merous high cultures whose historical continuity has been more lasting than that of Western culture. One of its aspects in India is the idea of the *mantram* and *mantric* art »[24].

We must return, therefore, to that synonymity between *Vāc* and *Ātman-Brahman*, whose connection Renou confirms as « revealed » in the thought of the *ṛṣi*, in order to assure ourselves that a structural synthesis does exist between them; in the *Vedas*, in fact, the word is incarnated in the elements manifesting the cosmos, including the human senses, in a hierarchy of invisible beings who descend towards those actualiting the visible. Thought is therefore synonymous with breath, which in its turn renders possible a correspondence between body and cosmos on the one hand and between the elements and the gods themselves on the other hand (who are the *Arūpa* of the *Rūpa*, as Whorf rightly observes).

The Word of the Mesopotamic-Jewish Genesis is only *descriptive*: that of St. John is escatologico-prophetic. The *Vāc*, the creator of the One-All, on the other hand, is analytico-functional, coinvolved as it is in a general philosophy of being. In Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadiya* it becomes *Sphoṭa-Brāhman*, the essence of the world-as-reality. The emanation of the ancient *Puruṣa* in the Sāṃkhya is duplicated in the *Prakṛti*, as a direct heritage from the Vedic *Puruṣa-Sūkta*. But there is a subtle vibration descending from the *Mahat* (the Mind of Brahman), which subsequently becomes the world, and at the same time « speaks » in the vibrations of the human *manas*, and therefore of the *buddhi*, the cognitive intellect.

This sonic-spiritual monism is « all-pervading », and it is by no mere chance that the supreme name of Viṣṇu derives from the root *viṣ*-to expand. The « three steps » of the Vedic Viṣṇu (*trivikrama*) is transformed in some texts into three syllables: « Viṣṇu with three syllables conquered the three world »[25]. For Bhartṛhari the *Sphoṭa* will be the OM itself, « the highest unity of Sounds ». In this way, one may finally conceive of the *Vedas* as eternal, together with the *Kalpas*, which are everlastingly reconstructed (with the same *ṛṣi*), after each *pralaya*-destruction of the world. There is one single « speaking chain » in every reborn generation, which « realises » the sacred *mantras* (the *Gāyatrī*, etc.), and the *ṛṣi* — even if they are identified — remain anonymous, just as our medieval artists did. The *Vāc*, having become the super-entity *Sphoṭa* « sprays » out both the Manifestation and the Word, simulta-

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24. See the observations on this theme, ch. « Language Mind and Reality », *op. cit.* But his stringent analysis of the matter should be read as a whole.

25. J. Gonda, *Aspects of Early Vishnuism*, ch. VII « The three strides ».

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neously [26]. The Puranic ideas amphasise this onto-cosmological function, renewed in the universal and individual-collective *Karman* [27].

The « total » semantics of the sacred is therefore a coherent constant in Indian thought, capable of uniting religion and philosophy, linguistics and cosmology, « common » language and « revealed » language. In fact, there are three more aspects of the *Śabda-Sphoṭa's* symbol of the One-All and of the Sanskrit alphabet with its sonico-phonic basis. The structure of sound in the tantric texts (which retrace the ancient quadruple angle of the *Vāc* of the *Ṛgveda* 1.146 (verses 46-64) is divided into four distinct models: *Para-Pasyanti-Madhyana-Vaikhari.* The *Para-pada* is the sound without vibrations (*anahata*) and corresponds to the state of *samanyaspanda*, pre-creative or potential-virtual; the *Pasyanta-Pada* is sound already mental, of the causal *manas*; the *Madhyana-Pada* is the subtle-median sound associated with the human *buddhi* and is expressed in language in general through the *buddhi*; the *Vaikhari-Pada*, finally, is the « normal » *śabda*-sound, the means of communication and the concrete aspect of speech.

This is the way by which the language of the sacred becomes a thought-and-spoken activity, then written, with « spaces » between its intimate and secret components, which unfold but also re-unite the various superior and inferior levels of the Indian *Vāc-Logos.*

In order to grasp the existence of these intermediate spaces it is necessary to return to Yoga techniques or to Zen practices, in which the « silences » have their own peculiar character. What does « to make thought silent », or « to empty one's mind » mean? When the speaking-chain of the single individual ceases, the resultant silence in meditation — *dhyāna*, « awakens » the *siddhi*-powers concealed in the informal *logos*. From this proceed or flow the germ-word, the seed-word, of the OM and the Vedic chant [28], as well as certain forms of rhythmical hypnosis, as in the Indian *japa* [29] or in the repetition of the sacred name of some favourite god (Rām-Rām, Allā-i-Allā, etc.). The discipline of the rosary among Christian and Buddhist monks, the Amen chanted at the beginning and the end of every prayer, as well as the psycho-physical healing magic of the Shaman, etc. derive from the same source.

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26. The word *sphoṭa* is derived from *sphuṭ* meaning to erupt, spray or explode, cf. K. KUNHANNI RAJA, *Indian Theories of Meaning*, Madras, 1963, ch. *The Theory of Linguistic Symbols*, pp. 95-148.

27. « *The Indian Theogony* » (A comparative study of Indian Mythology from the *Vedas* to the *Purānas*) by SUKUMARI BHATTACHARIJ, Cambridge, 1970. Also, in italian: « *Mito e filosofia nella tradizione indiana* » by CATERINA CONIO, Milano, 1970.

28. For the Vedic chant cf. MARIUS SCHNEIDER: « *Il significato della musica* » ital. version Milano, 1970. For « primitifs », Part III deals with the « music of things, the drum » and « harmony between man and nature ». For the *Vedas idem*, 3: « Joy and Praise: the essence of the hymn ». « The real creative force » or « the primordial sonorous substance » is the *Vāc*, the Latin *vox*, etc.

29. *Yoga-Sūtra* I,28: *taj -japas tad -artha -bhavanam.*

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All this is possible in Indian linguistics of the sacred only because, on the one hand, at the foundations of « crude » reality there is a vibration of energy-matter (the *Śakti* and the *Praṇa* [30]), and, on the other hand, because the human being — like every other being — is linked with the principle of physical and supra-physical synonymies which govern the whole universe. In other words, there is that archi-original harmony between the creative word on the different planes of reality and the ontico-psychic « sacred » language, capable of expressing this same reality in revelation. The embryo of every grammar of being is jalously concealed in the imponderable quality or essence of the living spirit, which links up the One with the All: woven not idealistically but unifyingly into the world of phenomena.

If there were no such harmony neither revelation nor common practical cognition would be possible. It is sound-vibration (*śabda-spanda*) which rules supreme over every language, whether interior or exterior, sacred or profane, communication between the individual and the beings or among the « many ». In the ancient substrata of speech there is no clear differentiation between the « primordial » word and the word of discourse: the Indian concept of the *Vāc-Śabda-Sphoṭa integrates* mytho-poetical linguistics with historical and socio-relational linguistics. By so doing it restores the dignity of audio-oral or mnemonic semantics, but by no means eliminates the other types of classical linguistics.

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30. The great theory of vibration reappears even in the most recent researches of Western science, cf. HANS JENNY: *Cymatics, the Structure and Dynamics of Waves and Vibrations* (English-German text), Bâle, 1967. The author writes: «Everything, both in inert matter and in the living world, exists in a state of vibration, oscillation, pulsation ». This theory is consistent with the whole tendency of the sciences of sound and with astro-physics, which define the universe as formed, not of « raw materials » but of « fluid events », as Whitehead would say.

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JEAN NAUDOU

L'ANALYSE DE L'ENTITÉ PSYCHOSOMATIQUE EN CORPS-PAROLE-PENSÉE DANS LE BOUDDHISME INDIEN TARDIF

Un jour, où il entreprenait de tenter une religieuse, nommée Vajirā, en lui posant des questions sur « l'être vivant » (*sattva*), le Malin se fit vivement rabrouer par la nonne: il n'y a pas d'être vivant, mais seulement un assemblage de composés, de la même manière qu'un char est un assemblage de pièces! La comparaison est classique. Elle est reprise en détail dans les *Questions de Milinda*, qui la développent et citent Vajirā:

kinnu satto ti paccesi
māra diṭṭhigataṃ nu te
suddha saṅkhārapuñjo yaṃ
na-y-idha sattūpalabbhati
yathā hi aṅgasambhārā
hoti saddo ratho iti
evaṃ khandhesu santesu
hoti satto ti sammuti[1].

Mais on mentionne rarement, semble-t-il, que la comparaison — et donc l'idée — ne sont pas exclusivement bouddhiques. On les trouve en effet dans une bien curieuse *Upaniṣad*, la *Chāgaleya*.

Ainsi, le fait que ce qui nous semble une personne est un assemblage plus ou moins fortuit apparaît comme une idée répandue dans l'Inde à l'époque où s'élaboraient les *Upaniṣad* et les textes canoniques bouddhiques. Mais ce sont les bouddhistes qui en ont fait un des fondements essentiels de leur doctrine: car, au contraire des *Upaniṣad*, ils nient l'existence de tout élément unificateur indépendant de l'ensemble et assurant sa cohésion. Aussi se sont-ils refusés à employer non seulement le mot *ātman*, entâché de méthaphysique, mais même des mots tels que *pudgala* désignant l'individu. Il en résulte des difficultés

1. *Saṃyuttanikāya* I, 135.

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d'expression fort gênantes, et c'est pourquoi, sous peine de tomber dans l'hérésie, il a bien fallu donner à cette communication un titre pédant, au lieu de parler tout simplement de l'analyse de la personnalité ou de l'individualité humaine.

Or tout un certain bouddhisme a résolu la difficulté grâce à un moyen commode que lui offrait le génie de la langue sanscrite: la fabrication d'un mot composé copulatif, en accolant côte à côte les mots Corps, Parole, Pensée, *kāya, vāk, citta.* Ce mode d'expression est constant, même, semble-t-il, lorsqu'est plus ou moins perdue de vue l'intention initiale, qui est de refuser personnalisme et essentialisme. On dira par exemple que l'*Ādibuddha,* le Bouddha primordial, est *Sarvatathāgatakāyavākcittavajrādhipati.* Le *Guhyasamājatantra* commence ainsi: *evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavān Sarvatathāgatakāyavākcittahṛdayavajrayoṣidbhageṣu vijahāra.*

C'est ainsi que plusieurs cycles du Véhicule de Diamant s'appuient sur une méthode de purification de l'entité psychosomatique en 5 degrés qui sont [2]:

kāyaviśuddhi	: purification du corps
vāgviśuddhi	: purification de la parole
cittaviśuddhi	: purification de la pensée
sukhābhisaṃbodhi	: éveil total dans la joie
(ābhāsvara)	: (rayonnement)
yuganaddha	: fixation du joug

Bien avant cette méthode de purification des trois composantes de l'individualité illusoire, le *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* [3] recommande le *kāyavāṅmanaḥsaṃvara* (contrôle, maîtrise), qui peut en apparaître une anticipation.

Cette analyse de la personnalité en corps-parole-pensée fait, bien sûr, penser à l'Iran. Elle évoque en effet un mode d'expression constant dans les textes zoroastriens, où il est à tout propos question d'action, de parole, de pensée bonnes (ou mauvaises): la tripartition est la même, l'expression identique, à cela près que l'action répond au corps. Il est donc légitime d'envisager une influence possible de l'Iran sur le bouddhisme tardif. Mais poser le problème n'est pas le résoudre, et c'est ici que doivent intervenir des considérations de méthode: car si la tradition indienne nous fournit pour un fait quelconque attesté tardivement une origine possible, il est inutile de rechercher une influence étrangère. Mieux vaut suposer un développement proprement indien. Dans le cas atcuel, le bouddhisme tardif a seulement emprunté à la tradition nationale un procédé commode pour son propos et lui a donné une vogue jusque là inconnue.

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2. L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Le Pañcakrama,* Gand, 1896.
3. E. Lamotte, *L'Enseignement de Vimalakīrti,* Louvain, 1962.

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La division de la personnalité apparente en Corps, Parole, Pensée, se rencontre en effet dans les différentes branches de la tradition bouddhique, en sanskrit, en pāli et dans les autres langues du bouddhisme [4]. Citons à titre d'exemple les trois caractéristiques suivantes, parmi les dix-huit *āveṇikā buddhadharmā*: tous ses actes corporels, de parole et de pensée découlent de la connaissance et se rapportent à la connaissance: *sarvaṃ kāyakarma* (*vācakarma, manokarma*) *jñānapūrvaṃgamaṃ jñānānuparivarti* [5].

Ailleurs le *Mahāvastu* déclare: « Des êtres comme lui possèdent l'excellence de l'action corporelle, de l'action verbale, de l'action mentale » (*evaṃrūpāḥ satvāḥ kāyakarmasampannā vācakarmasampannā, cittakarmasampannā bhavanti*) [6].

La même division sert de fondement à une classification des *saṃskāra*. Le *Majjhimanikāya* reconnaît trois ordres de *saṅkhāra*: *tayo 'me saṅkhārā kāyasankhāro vacīsankhāro cittasankhāro ti* [7]. Cette classification, qui double celle plus usuelle d'après les six sens, n'est pas exceptionnelle. Sans en dresser un inventaire, citons encore l'*Aṅguttaranikāya*: *idha bhikkhave ekacco puggalo savyāpajjhaṃ kāyasankhāraṃ, vacīsankharaṃ, manosankhāram abhisankharoti...* [8].

Comme le *Mahāvastu*, le bouddhisme Theravāda applique cette division tripartie de la personne humaine au domaine moral. Une stance pālie ressassée, que l'on trouve jusque dans les précis destinés aux novices, s'exprime en ces termes:

kāyakammaṃ tidhā vuttaṃ
vācākammaṃ catubbidhaṃ
manasā tividhaṃ ceti
dasakammapathā ime.

Le texte poursuit en énumérant les dix types d'action bonne et les dix types d'action mauvaise.

Or un ouvrage sanskrit attribué à Aśvaghoṣa, le *Daśākuśalakarmapāthanirdeśa* [9] énumère aussi trois actes de corps, quatre actes de voix, trois actes d'esprit en utilisant presque exactement les mêmes termes que le pāli:

kāyikaṃ trividhaṃ karma
vācikaṃ tu caturvidham
mānasaṃ triprakāraṃ ca
das'aite 'kuśalāḥ smṛtāḥ.

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4. Par exemple en agnéen: *kektseñ reki palsko.*
5. *Mahāvastu* I, 160.
6. *Ibid.* II, 288.
7. *Majjhimanikāya* I, 301.
8. *Aṅguttaranikāya* I, 122. On pourrait aussi citer le *Ratanasutta* etc...
9. S. Lévi, *Autour d'Aśvaghoṣa*, in « Journal Asiatique », octobre-décembre 1929, pp. 268-271.

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La même liste se rencontre dans le *Mahākarmavibhaṅga* [10].

C'est également dans une perspective morale que l'épopée, les *Purāṇa* et les écrits de *dharma* font appel à la même analyse de la personne qui n'est pas inconue de la tradition brahmanique, ni d'ailleurs de la littérature profane. Là aussi, contentons-nous de picorer quelques références parmi beaucoup d'autres.

Le *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, par exemple, recommande au *sannyāsin* de s'abstenir de mal en acte, parole et pensée à l'égard de toutes les créatures, homme ou animal [11]: les mots *manas* et *vāc* sont ici les mêmes que dans les textes précédemment cités, mais *karman* répond à *kāya*, l'action par excellence étant l'action corporelle. De même un maître de maison doit cultiver en actes, parole et pensée ce qui est bon pour les êtres vivants dans ce monde et dans l'autre.

La *Manusmṛti*, en général, fournit de longues énumérations des fautes que chaque catégorie sociale doit éviter. Pourtant elle résume les qualités de la femme vertueuse en disant que ses pensées, ses paroles et son corps sont « contrôlés » (traduction usuelle: « chastes », « purs »):

patiṃ yā nābhicarati manovāgdehasaṃyatā
sā bhartṛlokam āpnoti sadbhiḥ sadhvīti cocyate
anena nārī vṛttena manovāgdehasaṃyatā
ihāgryāṃ kīrtim āpnoti patilokaṃ paratra ca (V, 165 et 166).

Dans le livre XII, l'action qui produit les fruits et entraîne les réincarnations procède de l'esprit, de la parole ou du corps:

śubhāśubhaphalaṃ karma manovāgdehasaṃbhavam (XII, 3).

Le commentateur Kulluka, qui sent l'ambiguïté du mot *karman*, précise:

karma śābdaścātra na kāyaceṣṭāyām eva.

La stance 8 revient sur la même idée:

mānasaṃ manasaivāyam upabhuṅkte śubhāśubham
vācā vācā kṛtaṃ karma kāyenaiva ca kāyikam.

Le corps, la parole, l'esprit sont les trois « sièges », les trois *adhiṣṭhāna* dont il est question au *śloka* 4:

tasyeha trividhasyāpi tryadhiṣṭhānasya dehinaḥ
daśalakṣaṇayuktasya mano vidyāt pravartakam.

Quant aux dix *lakṣaṇa*, mot qu'il faudrait ici traduire par « catégories », ils sont inventoriés dans les *śloka* 5, 6 et 7: c'est l'énumération fournie aussi par les textes bouddhiques, à quelques différences près. Le matérialisme des *nāstika* est évidemment pour la *Manusmṛti*, sous le nom

10. Ed. et trad. S. Lévi, Paris, 1932, LI-LXII, pp. 141-143.
11. *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* L. III, ch. 9.

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d'erreur (*vitatha*), une faute provenant de l'esprit, alors que c'est la croyance en l'*ātman* et plus généralement toute *mithyādṛṣṭi* qui constitue pour les auteurs bouddhiques la faute correspondante.

Aussi ne faut-il pas s'étonner de trouver interpolée dans plusieurs manuscrits, entre les *śloka* 8 et 9, une variante de la stance déjà citée sous deux formes:

trividhaṃ ca śarīreṇa vācā caiva caturvidham
manasā trividhaṃ karma daśādharmapathāṃs tyajet.

Enfin voici qui rappelle le *saṃvara* du *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*:

vāgdaṇḍo 'tha manodaṇḍaḥ kāyadaṇḍas tathaiva ca
yasyaite nihitā buddhau tridaṇḍīti sa ucyate (XII, 10).

Tant qu'à citer des textes très célèbres, on ne peut moins faire que de rappeler au passage une stance de Bhartṛhari: ainsi le *kāvya* ne sera pas absent de ce tableau:

manasi vacasi kāye puṇyapīyūṣapūrṇās
tribhuvanam upakāraśreṇibhiḥ pūrayantaḥ
paraguṇaparamāṇūn parvatīkṛtya nityaṃ
nijahṛdi vikasantaḥ santi santaḥ kiyantaḥ
(*Nītiśatakam, paropakārapaddhatiḥ*)

« Les hommes pleins en pensée, parole, corps du nectar des mérites, qui comblent le triple monde de leurs bienfaits, qui ne se lassent pas d'ériger en montagnes les corpuscules infinitésimaux des vertus d'autrui s'épanouissent en leur cœur. De tels saints sont rares ».

Nous avons jusqu'à présent laissé de côté l'épopée et les textes védiques. La *Bhagavad-gītā* décrit l'ascèse de corps (*śārīraṃ tapas*), de parole (*vāṅmayaṃ tapas*), de pensée (*tapo mānasam*) [12].

Dans un épisode touchant du *Mahābhārata*, afin d'obtenir du dieu de la mort la vie de son époux, Sāvitrī récite (ou sans doute chante) un certain nombre de stances. L'une d'entr'elles loue l'absence de malignité à l'égard de tous les êtres, en acte, esprit et parole:

adrohaḥ sarvabhūteṣu
karmaṇa manasā girā
anugrahaśca dānaṃ ca
satāṃ dharmaḥ sanātanaḥ

L'emploi de la racine *DRUH*, et non d'une racine plus fréquente en sanskrit classique, telle que *HAN*, donne au premier demi-*śloka* un certain caractère archaïque et évoque l'Iran, où la *druj*, le désordre, le mal (et en particulier le mensonge) s'oppose plus régulièrement à l'*arta/aša*, l'ordre, qu'en Inde la *druj* à l'*ṛta*. La *Bhagavad-gītā* emploie les expressions *nirvairaḥ sarvabhūteṣu* et *advestā sarvabhūtānām* [13].

12. *Bhagavad-gītā* XVII, 14-16.
13. *Ibid.* XI, 55 et XII, 13.

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Mais ce n'est pas la première fois, dans cet épisode, que Sāvitrī fait appel à la tripartition de la personne. Déjà, lorsque son père la presse de renoncer à épouser Satyavant, elle déclare pour affirmer sa résolution:

manasā niścayaṃ kṛtvā
tato vācābhidhīyate
kriyate karmaṇā paścāt
pramāṇaṃ me manas tataḥ

Or cette formulation rappelle de très près un passage qui proviendrait de la *Taittirīyopaniṣad*, que cite Kulluka en commentant *Manu* XII, 4 [14]:

tasmād yat puruṣo manasābhigacchati
tad vācā vadati
tat karmaṇā karoti.

« C'est pourquoi ce que l'homme décide en esprit, il le dit par la parole, il le fait en acte ».

C'est là un des très rares passages — peut-être l'unique passage — où un *Brāhmaṇa*, un *Āraṇyaka* ou une *Upaniṣad* fait état d'une division de la personne contingente en corps, parole et esprit (ou pensée). Cette analyse, dont les exemples, somme toute, pullulent, est exceptionnelle dans les textes qui aux origines de la spéculation indienne, s'emploient, à propos du rituel, à une recherche quasiment scientifique en de nombreux domaines, en particulier en matière de physiologie et de psychologie humaines. Il y a là un problème qui, pour l'instant, demeure sans solution.

Car ces textes raffolent d'énumérations de ce type, à trois ou à cinq termes. La *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* (II, 7; II, 11; III, 18) et la *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* (I, 3; VI, 1) offrent un inventaire à cinq termes: esprit, parole vue ouie, souffle. Ces mêmes *Upaniṣad*, en VI, 6 pour la première et en I, 5 pour la seconde, présentent une division ternaire qui n'englobe pas la totalité de l'homme: parole, souffle, esprit, associés aux 3 niveaux du cosmos. Pensée, parole et corps sont énumérés par la *B.A.U.* (II, 4), mais il s'y ajoute souffle et ouie.

Aux termes de cette enquête très rapide, on peut donc conclure que l'analyse de la personnalité humaine en trois composantes, corps, parole et pensée, répondant à trois domaines moraux, bien qu'elle soit en Inde moins banale qu'en Iran, se rencontre de manière assez fréquente dans les textes sanskrits et pālis, et qu'elle n'est même pas tout-à-fait inconnue des textes védiques. Il y a donc lieu de la considérer comme indo-iranienne.

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14. En fait ce passage ne se rencontre pas dans les éditions de la *Tait. up.* Par ailleurs, contrairement à ce qu'affirme G. Widengren, il n'y a pas dans la *Kauṣitakī-Upaniṣad* de termes qui rappellent *humat, hūxt, huvaršt*, mais, en I, 4, un enseignement tout différent sur le dépassement du *karman* bon ou mauvais: *sa eṣa visukṛto viduṣkṛto brahma vidvān brahmaivābhyupaiti.*

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Pour l'Iran il suffit de rappeler le texte le plus vénérable où elle apparaît: le *Yasna* 30 l'applique aux deux Esprit primordiaux. C'est la stance la plus célèbre de cette *gāthā*:

aṯ tā mainyū paouruyē yā yəmā xafnā asrvātəm
manahicā vacahicā syaothanoi hī vahyō akəmcā...

Le sens en est clair, si on laisse de côté le mot *xafnā*:

Toute la morale zoroastrienne en découle et oppose la pensée bonne, la parole bonne, l'action bonne à la pensée mauvaise, la parole mauvaise, l'action mauvaise, en avestique *humata, hūxta, huvaršta* à *dušmata, duzuxta, duzvaršta.* L'homme juste est celui qui est riche en bonnes pensées, en bonnes paroles, en bonnes actions. La formule est banale dans les différents rituels, lors du *naozot*, de la cérémonie nuptiale, de la cérémonie funèbre, etc...

Trois aspects de la vie morale dépendent donc des trois composantes de la personne humaine, et, lors du voyage eschatologique, l'âme des justes, après la redoutable traversée du pont Cinvat, rencontre successivement, d'après *Yašt* 22, 7-15, trois paradis, qui précèdent les lumières éternelles: celui de la bonne pensée, celui de la parole de Dieu, celui de l'action bonne. Trois niveaux paradisiaques correspondent donc à trois niveaux de l'excellence morale en rapport avec les trois domaines de la pensée, de la parole et de l'action [15].

Ainsi, grâce aux affinités iraniennes, il apparaît que l'expression *kāvavākcitta* du bouddhisme tardif est une résurgence d'une spéculation archaïque qui cherche des homologies entre les différentes manifestations, toutes triparties, de la création, depuis le cosmos jusqu'à l'homme, en passant par le Panthéon et la société. Cette attitude mentale remonte, c'est aujourd'hui certain, aux temps de l'unité indo-européenne.

Il resterait à vérifier que les trois composantes de l'individualité (factice et illusoire selon le bouddhisme) répondent bien aux trois fonctions définies par Georges Dumézil. Ce ne serait possible que grâce à un examen minutieux et comparatif des équivalences proposées par les *Upaniṣad*. Il n'est pas question d'esquisser ici cette démonstration. Tout au plus peut-on constater que la troisième fonction est caractérisée dans l'*Upaniṣad* par la nourriture qui est d'abord l'aliment du corps. La voix, si importante à cause de la liturgie, est régulièrement mise en correspondance avec l'atmosphère, second niveau du cosmos, répondant à la deuxième fonction. Que l'esprit réponde à la première fonction, rien d'étonnant: il suffit de reprendre dans le chapitre III de *Naissance d'archanges* l'étude que Georges Dumézil consacre à la Bonne Pensée. Le scandale est que l'*Upaniṣad* le ravale au troisième niveau: on en devine les raisons, liées à ce qu'il n'est pas excessif d'appeler la révolution oupanishadique.

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15. Voir *Mēnōkē xrat*, chap. 2, § 145 et chap. 57, § 13.

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ASKO PARPOLA

SANSKRIT *KĀLÁ-* « TIME », DRAVIDIAN *KĀL* « LEG », AND THE MYTHICAL COW OF THE FOUR YUGAS

With some reservation expressed through the word « wohl », Manfred Mayrhofer in his *Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary* [1] decides for the Indo-European etymology of the Sanskrit word *kālá-* m. « time » proposed by F.B.J. Kuiper, referring in support of this view also to the publications of V. Machek and H.W. Bailey. The said explanation derives *kālá-* from the Indo-European root **q^{w}el-* « to move », under the hypothesis that « time » was conceived as « turning around »: Old Church Slavonic *vrěmę* « time », which is a derivative of the root **wert-* « to turn » is quoted as an analogy, and reference is also made to phrases mentioning the turning of the wheel of time in Indian literature, e.g. *kālacakraṃ pravartate* in the *Mahābhārata* (4,1607). In addition to this etymology, Mayrhofer mentions (in smaller print) a number of other explanations which, however, seem to him for one reason or another less preferable. In this paper, I am not going to discuss the Indo-European etymologies in any greater detail, nor to adduce arguments against them other than the general remark that they all suffer from the lack in the other Indo-European languages of cognate works having the meaning « time », as well as from the absence of this word in the old portions of the Ṛgveda. The word *kālá-* is namely attested in the *Ṛgveda* only once, in the tenth book, which is admittedly much later than the main body of the collection [2].

Instead, my intention is to present some positive evidence in favour of a Dravidian derivation which was suggested by H. Gundert in a

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1. Manfred Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Sanskrit*, I, Heidelberg, 1956, p. 202 f.

2. Cf., e.g., Jacob Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik: Introduction générale*, nouvelle édition du texte paru en 1896, au tome I, par Louis Renou, Göttingen, 1957, p. 4 ff., with the notes a.l.

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footnote to his paper entitled « Die dravidischen Elemente im Sanskrit », which was published over a century ago in 1869[3]. Gundert remarked:

> « S. *kāla* schwarz, im Süden immer *kāḷa* gesprochen, stammt von D. *kāλ* " Schwärze ", dem Verbalnomen von √ *kar*, schwarz sein. Anders erkläre ich *kāla* Zeit, welches einfach aus D. *kāl* " Fuss, Viertel, Ort, Zeit " (*orukāl* einmal, je) entlehnt scheint. » (p. 520, n. 1)

Mayrhofer refers to this note with the following words:

> « Ansprechend, aber wegen des Alters und der schwerlich entlehnten Bedeutung von *kālá-* kaum vertretbar ist Gunderts Herleitung (ZDMG 23, 520, Anm. 1) aus drav. **kāl* (kan. *kāl* usw.) " Fuss, Viertel, Zeit "; für dravidische Herkunft von *kālá-* auch M. Collins, Dravidic Studies (Univ. of Madras) 4, 7 » (I, p. 203).

I shall here pass by the major part of Marc Collins' paper mentioned by Mayrhofer, which is entitled *On the Octaval System of Reckoning in India* (Madras, 1926, Dravidic Studies, I). Collins' suggestions on the etymological connection between a large number of words supposedly derived from Dravidian *kāl/kal* (p. 3-16) in my opinion remain unconvincing; his conclusion that the word *kāl(am)* « time » originally stood for the moon as the great time measurer also differs from my contention.

Some statements by Collins[4], however, give occasion to remarks concerning the phonetic and morphological shape of the respective Dravidian words *kāl* and *kālam* meaning « time », which will be listed below. *Kāl* is in full agreement with one of the basic types of Proto-

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3. « Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft », Bd. 23 (1869), pp. 517-530.

4. Because Collins' study is not so easily accessible, I quote the respective passage here in extenso: (p. 6 f.) « Then there are the words *kāl* and *kālam*, meaning 'time'. The first of these is hardly an independent word. It is used either (1) as a particle which, in composition with a preceding verbal form, becomes a substitute for what in an Indo-germanic language would be a conjunction ('when' etc.), or (2) in composition with *oru*, 'one', with the meaning 'once, sometimes': in Malayalam this last appears also as *ori-kkal*, with *kāl* shortened to *kal* [footnote omitted]. The second, *kālam*, is the ordinary word for 'time', and denotes also 'day-break'. This word, however, unlike *kāl* (*kal*), which can hardly be regarded as other than purely Dravidic, is ambiguous. The termination *-am* is, of course, not to be confounded with the similar neuter termination of Sanskrit. It belongs certainly to Tamil and has counterpart in the other Dravidic languages. It forms primary and secondary derivatives such as *nil-am* 'ground, land, earth', from *nil*, 'stand'; *maṟ-am*, 'evil, sin', by the side of *maṟu*, 'spot, blemish'; *iṉ-p-am*, 'delight', by the side of *iṉ-pu*, 'delight', from *iṉ*, 'sweet'; *nēr-am*, 'time' from an early *ñāyiṟ*[*u*], later *nāyiṟu*, 'sun'. It is also made the distinctive ending of nouns denoting inanimate objects borrowed from Sanskrit, when the Sanskrit noun ended in the nominative singular in *-as* (in pause *-aḥ*) whether they were neuter, as *manam*, 'mind' [footnote omitted], from Skt. *manas*, or masculine, as *pākam*, 'share', from Skt. '*bhāga*'. It is clear that *kālam* might well be a tatsama of Skt. *kāla*, 'time'. But whether it is a tatsama of this word or not, it cannot, I feel, be separated from *kāl*, 'time': in other words Skt. *kāla* (like Skt. *kalā*) must be regarded as Dravidic in origin ».

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Dravidian roots (which may function as both verbs and nouns), namely CV̄C, occurring normally free in this particular shape [5]. Also all its phonemes are reconstructed for Proto-Dravidian, and can there occur in these very positions [6]. These points are most eloquently proved by the entirely homophonous word *kāl* meaning « leg », which occurs in practically all Dravidian languages and which will be discussed in a moment. With regard to *kālam*, Collins is certainly right in observing that the ending *-am* is a genuine Dravidian suffix of non-rational nouns: it can be shown to go back to Proto-Dravidian [7]. Normally, « when a derivative vowel is added to [the root of the type] (C)V̄C-, the radical vowel is shortened and the type falls together with (C)VC- », which « can occur free and bound »; « this morphophonemic shorteming of long radical vowels occurs in most Dr. languages » [8]. Yet there are numerous parallels to show that also *kālam* in spite of its long vowel can be genuine Dravidian, cf. e.g. *kōl* « raft, float » and *kōlam* « id. » (*DED* 1853) [9], or *nāṇ* « sense of shame, bashfulness » and *nāṇam* « id. » (*DED* 3014).

The chronological difficulty that restrained Mayrhofer from accepting the possibility of a Dravidian etymology has effectively been set aside in the meanwhile, for it has been proved beyond doubt that the Vedic texts, including the family books of the *Ṛgveda*, bear evidence of a Dravidian substratum influence [10]. Both textual-linguistic and archaeological evidence suggest that the Aryans who brought the Ṛgvedic poetry to India were preceded by earlier waves of Aryan immigrants who had arrived at India many centuries earlier. The Dravidisms of the *Veda* seem to be derived from the speech of these earlier Aryans, who had fused with the North-Dravidian speaking descendants of the Indus civilization: this hybrid tradition of pre-Ṛgvedic India seems to be represented by the new clements that come to the surface in the second phase of the Vedic literature (i.e. the late books of the *Ṛgveda*, the *Atharvaveda*, and the *Brāhmaṇa* texts, including the *Saṃhitās* of the *Yajurveda*) as well as the much later fixed Epic texts. These new elements are both ideologically and dialectally different from the old

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5. Cf. KAMIL ZVELEBIL, *Comparative Dravidian Phonology*, The Hague, 1970 (Janua Linguarum, Series practica 80), p. 35, and id., *Problèmes fondamentaux de phonologie et morphologie des langues dravidiennes* in « Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient » 60, 1973, p. 1-48, esp. pp. 25-35 « Les racines dravidiennes monosyllabiques ».

6. Cf. ZVELEBIL, 1970 (n. 5), p. 35 f., 76 f.

7. Cf. S. V. SHANMUGAM, *Dravidian nouns* (*A comparative study*), Annamalainagar, 1971 (Annamalai University, Department of Linguistics, Publication No. 25), p. 244 f

8. Cf. ZVELEBIL, 1970 (n. 5), p. 35 and 36. Cf. also ZVELEBIL, 1973 (n. 5), pp. 36-48 « Alternances morphophonemiques dans les bases radicales du dravidien ».

9. *DED*(*S*) = T. BURROW AND M. B. EMENEAU, *A. Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, Oxford 1961; id., *Supplement*, Oxford 1968. Cf. also T. BURROW AND M. B. EMENEAU, *Dravidian Etymological Notes: Supplement to DED, DEDS, and DBIA*, Pt. 1-2, in « Journal of American Oriental Society », 92, 1972, pp. 397-418 and 475-491.

10. Cf. particularly F. B. J. KUIPER, *The genesis of a linguistic area*, in « Indo-Iranian Journal », 10: 2/3, 1967, p. 81-102.

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Ṛgveda. I cannot here go further into these questions, but refer the reader to a more extensive discussion published elsewhere [11].

From the phonetical, morphological, and chronological point of view *kāl* and *kālam* could, hence, be genuine Dravidian words and forms, while the semantic aspect about which Mayrhofer also had qualms will be the chief issue of this paper. However, if one accepts an Indo-European derivation (which has its weaknesses, as noted above), it is possible to consider both forms only as Dravidian adaptations of the borrowed Indo-Aryan word. This is, in fact, the point of view adopted by T. Burrow and M.B. Emeneau, who have excluded the etymon *kāl/kālam* « time » from their *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* [9], and grouped it separately in the publication entitled *Dravidian Borrowings from Indo-Aryan* [12] as item no. 97. We shall in a moment return to the attestations recorded there from eight Dravidian languages which in addition to the purely Southern group comprise also Tuḷu and Telugu; at least the latter is a Central Dravidian language heavily influenced by South Dravidian [13].

On the other hand, the homophone *kāl* « leg, foot, quarter » mentioned in this connection by Gundert, has been recognized by Burrow and Emeneau as a different etymon of genuine Dravidian origin and included in the *DED* (item no. 1238), which together with its two supplements [9] provides us with the following material:

Tamiḻ *kāl* leg, foot, base (of tree), quarter, family, relationship
Malayāḷam *kāl* leg, foot, stem, pillar, quarter
Kōta *kāl* leg, foot, base (of tree), quarter
Toda *kōl* leg, foot, quarter, family; *mēṇ gōṣ* shade (lit. foot) of tree; *kōlk ïr-* (child) sits on mother's leg to defecate; *kōṣ* excrement
Kannaḍa *kāl* foot, leg down to the knee, quarter
Koḍagu *kālï* leg, foot, quarter
Tuḷu *kārụ* leg, foot; *kālụ* quarter
Telugu *kālu* leg, foot, quarter; *kālari* foot-soldier [14]
Kōlāmī (Kin.) *kāl* leg, foot
Parjī *kēl* (pl. *kēlul*) leg
Gabdā (Oll.) *kāl* (pl. *kālgil*) leg

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11. Cf. Asko Parpola, *On the protohistory of the Indian languages in the light of archaelogical, linguistic and religious evidence: an attempt at integration*, in *South Asian Archaeology* 1973, ed. by J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw and J. M. M. Ubaghs, Leiden, 1974, pp. 90-100.

12. *DBIA* = M. B. Emeneau and T. Burrow, *Dravidian Burrowings from Indo-Aryan*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1962 (University of California Publications in Linguistics, Vol. 26).

13. Both Tuḷu and Telugu have, until recently, been considered as Central Dravidian languages, though with some reservation in regard to Tuḷu; cf. e.g. M. B. Emeneau, *The South Dravidian Languages*, in *Proceedings of the First International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies, Kuala Lumpur - Malaysia*, April 1966, Vol. II, Kuala Lumpur, 1969, pp. 563-571, p. 563. P. S. Subrahmanyam, *The Position of Tulu in Dravidian*, in « Indian linguistics » 29, 1968, pp. 47-66, however, argues that Tuḷu is in fact the earliest offshoot of South Dravidian.

14. Cf. also Ta.Ma.Ka. *kāl-āḷ* 'foot-soldier, infantry', and Ta. *kālōr* 'infantry'.

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Gōṇḍī *kāl* foot, leg
Koṇḍa *kāl* leg
Pēngo *kāl* leg
Maṇḍa *kāl* leg
Kuī *kāḍu* leg, foot
Kuvi (P.) *kālu* (pl. *kālka*) leg
? Brāhūī *trikkal* tripod of three sticks on which tent its hung.

Kāl « leg » is thus known from 18 Dravidian languages representing all the principal branches, which shows beyond any doubt that this word is very ancient in Dravidian. In the Indo-Aryan languages, on the other hand, there is no similar word with these meanings, so that the possibility of a borrowing from Indo-Aryan is in this case totally excluded. This fact is important, for my endeavour in the following is to show that *kāl* (and *kālam*) « time » is a derivative of this word, and hence originally Dravidian.

The meaning « leg », which is attested for all the languages, is obviously the primary one. The meaning « quarter » is clearly also relatively old. In Tamiḻ it occurs already in the Caṅkam texts composed during the first half of the first millennium AD, cf. e.g. *Paripāṭal* 3, 77-80:

pāḻeṇak kāleṇap pākeṇa voṉreṇa
iraṇṭeṇa mūṉreṇa nāṉkeṇa vainteṇa
āreṇa vēḻeṇa veṭṭeṇat toṇteṇa
nālvakai yūḻiyeṇ ṇaviṟṟuñ ciṟappiṇai
« O (lit., emptiness), 1/4, 1/2, 1,/
2,3,4,5,/ 6,7,8,9,/: (you, Tirumāl, have)
the excellence expressed by the numbers of
the ages [Skt. *yuga*] of four kinds ».

The word *kāl* is commonly used for any sort of quarter, and it is attested in this meaning in all the six purely South Dravidian languages from which the word is known, and in addition in Tuḷu and Telugu. Since evidence from North Dravidian in particular but also from Central Dravidian, which both consist of tribal languages, is very scanty, it is in my opinion not quite legitimate to draw the conclusion that this semantic development has taken place in South Dravidian only. I think some indirect evidence can be adduced to testify the presence of the meaning « quarter » in early North Dravidian as well. I mean the evidence supplied by what seems to be a calque or translation loan in the second layer of the Vedic literature. Before proceeding to the examination of this evidence, I should like to draw attention to a Dravidian word which the *DED* (no. 1243) has listed separately, but which appears to be a derivative of *kāl* « leg ». This word, so far attested from Tamiḻ and Malayāḷam only, is *kāli*, which in Tamiḻ means « cow [15], herd of

15. According to the *TL* = *Tamil Lexicon* published under the authority of the University of Madras, 6 vols. and supplement, Madras, 1924-1939, attested in *Tēvāram* 745,3.

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cows (as being quadrupeds)[16] », and in Malayāḷam « cow, cattle, she-buffalo ». Cf. also Tamiḻ *kāl-māṭu* « cattle [= *māṭu*] as distinguished from *māṭu* meaning gold »[17].

It seems obvious to me (as it apparently has seemed to Burrow and Emeneau) that *kāl* « quarter » is derived from *kāl* « leg », and that the semantic connection is provided by cattle and other quadrupeds having four legs. The word *catuṣpad* « quadruped » is a regular name for animals in all parts of the *Ṛgveda*, where it is often contrasted with *dvipad* « biped » denoting human beings[18]. In the *Brāhmaṇa* texts four-footed cattle is the standard symbol for number four, cf. the following passages:

catuṣpādo vai paśavaḥ, Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā 1,5,10; 3,2,1; 3,7,5
catuṣpādā vai paśavaḥ, Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa 5,3; *Aitareya-Āraṇyaka* 1,1,2
catuṣpadā vai paśavaḥ, Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa 1,160
catuṣpādaḥ paśavaḥ, Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa 2,1,3,5
catuṣpādāḥ paśavaḥ, Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa 3,8,3; *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* 2,18; 3,31; 5,17; 5,19; 6,2
atho catuṣpādaḥ paśavaḥ, Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa 2,1,4; 2,3,16
catuṣṭayā vai paśavo 'tha catuṣpādāḥ « cattle are fourfold and also four-footed », *Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa* 16,3,11; 16,28,10; 16,29,8
tad ye catuṣpādāḥ paśavas, tair..., Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 6,8,2,7
catuṣpadā[19] *vā aśvās santaś catuśśaphāḥ; te ye catuṣpadāḥ*[19] *paśavaś catuśśaphās tān evaitenāvarunddhe... catuṣpadā*[19] *vai paśavo vairājāḥ; te ye catuṣpadāḥ*[19] *paśavo vairājās tān..., Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa* 2,173
somaś caturakṣarayā (°reṇa TS*) catuṣpadaḥ paśūn udajanat, Kāṭhaka* 14,4; *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* 1,11,10; *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* 1,7,11,1
catasro diśaś, catuṣpadāḥ[20] *paśavaḥ, Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa* 1,131; 2,431
diśaḥ pādāḥ « the (four cardinal) directions are the feet (of the cosmic sacrificial horse) », *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* 7,5,25,1
ṛtubhir iti catuś, catuṣpada eva paśūn prīṇāti... ṛtubhir iti catus, tasmāc catuṣpādaḥ paśava ṛtūn upa jīvanti « 'For the seasons', four times (he says); verily he delights

16. Note this explanation given in *TL* but omitted in *DED*.
17. *TL* citing *S.I.I.* II, 2, 49.
18. Cf. Hermann Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*, Leipzig, 1873 (-1875), and A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, London, 1912, s.v.
19. *Jaiminiya-Brahmana of the Samaveda*, complete text critically edited for the first time by Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, Nagpur, 1954 (Sarasvati-Vihara Series, 31), reads *catuṣpādā(ḥ)* in these cases, but in all except the first of them the MSS. Kha and Ga are recorded to have the reading *catuṣpadā(ḥ)*
20. In 1, 131 the ed. (n. 19) reads *catuṣpādāḥ* against o *padāḥ* in the MSS. Ya, Va, Sa.

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four-footed cattle... 'For the seasons', four times (he says); therefore four- footed cattle depend upon the seasons » (transl. A. B. Keith), *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* 6,5,3,2.

It is but natural to call cattle or horse « four-footed », and the parallel expressions in other Indo-European languages such as Latin *quadrupes* m.f. « four-footed animal, esp. horse » and Greek τετράπους « four-footed » (used of cattle and other animals, and as n. subst. « quadruped, beast ») make it likely that Vedic *catuṣpad* is an old inherited word. It is, on the other hand, interesting and significant to note that Latin *pes* « foot (of men and animals) » and Greek πούς « id. » do *not* have the meaning « quarter »[21], which Sanskrit *pad-*, *pada-* and *pāda-* « foot » have, and which is first attested in the late books of the *Ṛgveda*. *Here* (1,164,23) as usually in the later *Veda*, these words are used in the restricted meaning of a « quarter of a *verse* »[22]. This seems to stay in relation to the fact that the Indo-European cognates (Lat. *pes*, Gr. πούς, etc.) do have the meaning of « prosodical or metrical foot » and « foot » as a measure of length. Already in the famous *puruṣa* hymn (*Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā* 10,90,3-4: *Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā* 19,6,3.2), however, « foot » clearly means « quarter » in general: *pā́do 'sya víśvā bhūtā́ni, tripā́d asyāmṛ́taṃ diví* « a foot of him is all beings; three feet of him are what is immortal in the sky » (transl. W. D. Whitney). Similarly, in *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* 11,3,3,3, it is said of a *Brāhmaṇa* entering on a *Brahmacārin's* life: *caturdhā bhutāni praviśati: agniṃ padā mṛtyuṃ padācāryaṃ padātmany evāsya caturthaḥ pādaḥ pariśiṣyate* « He enters beings in four parts: with one fourth part (he enters) the fire, with another part death, with another part his religious teacher; and his fourth part remains in his own self » (transl. Eggeling). There are plenty of further references, but I would like to quote just two more from the *Veda*. One is Yāska's *Nirukta*, where we are expressly told that the word *pādaḥ* also signifies a quarter of division and that from the analogy of a quadruped: *paśupādaprakṛtiḥ prabhāgapādaḥ* (2,7).

Another very interesting reference is the bargain for soma in the course of the soma sacrifice[23], where the « monetary » unit is a cow. The respective passage of the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (3,3,3,1 ff.) reads in Eggeling's translation as follows:

« 1. He bargains for the king (Soma)... He says, 'Soma-seller, is thy king Soma for sale?' — 'He is for sale', says the Soma-seller. — 'I will buy him of thee!'. — 'Buy him!' says the Soma-seller. — 'I

21. Cf. e.g. Hermann Menge, *Menge-Güthling: Enzyklopädisches Wörterbuch der lateinischen und deutschen Sprache* I, 11. Aufl., Berlin, 1959, and H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, new ed. by Jones and R. McKenzie, Oxford, 1940, s.v.

22. References in O. Böhtlingk and R. Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, 4. Theil, St. Petersburg, 1865, s.vv.

23. Cf. W. Caland and V. Henry, *L'agniṣṭoma*, Paris, 1906-07, § 33.

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will buy him of thee for one-sixteenth (of the cow)'. — King Soma, surely, is worth more than that!', says the Soma-seller. — 'Yea, King Soma is worth more than that; but great, surely, is the greatness of the cow', says the Adhvaryu.

2. 'From the cow (comes) fresh milk, from her boiled milk, from her cream, from her sour curds, from her sour cream, from her curdled milk, from her butter, from her ghee, from her clotted curds, from her whey'.

3. 'I will buy him of thee for one hoof!'. — King Soma, surely, is worth more than that!' says the Soma-seller. — 'Yea, King Soma is worth more than that, but great, surely, is the greatness of the cow', replies the Adhvaryu; and having (each time) enumerated the same ten virtues, he says, 'I will buy him of thee for one foot' — 'for half (the cow)' — 'for the cow!'. — King Soma has been bought!' says the Soma-seller...

4. And as to his bargaining five times: the sacrifice being of equal measure with the year, and there being five seasons in the year, he thus obtains it (the Sacrifice, Soma) in five (divisions), and therefore he bargains five times ».

Kātyāna's *Śrautasūtra* (7,8,6-10), of course, records the same series: 1/16 (*kalā*), 1/8 (*śapha*), 1/4 (*pad*), 1/2 (*ardha*), 1/1 (*gauḥ*). The *Taittirīya Sūtras* (e.g. *Āpastamba* 10,25,4-9) have a slightly different practice: 1/16 (*kalā*), 1/12 (*kuṣṭhā*), 1/8 (*śapha*), 1/4 (*pad*), and 1/1.

The above evidence clearly proves the intimate relationship between the meaning « quarter » and « leg » or « foot », especially cow's foot. But let us now turn to the Dravidian attestations of the words *kāl* and *kālam* « time » collected by Emeneau and Burrow (*DBIA* no. 97)[24]:

Tamiḻ *kālam, kālai* time, season, opportune moment; *kāl* time; bloom, freshness, beauty; turn
Malayāḷam *kālam* time, season, year; *kāl* time
Kōta *kālm* (obl. *kālt-*) time, opportunity
Toda *kōlm* (obl. *kōlt-*) time; *mun gōṯk* in ancient times
Kannaḍa *kāla* time, year, season; *kāl* time, opportunity
Koḍagu *kāla* year
Tuḷu *kāla* time, season
Telugu *kālamu* time, season, opportunity.

It may be noted that *kāl* « time » is known in Tamiḻ from the earliest lexicographer Piṅgala (latter part of the first millennium AD), but in the sense of « Kāla, Yama » already from the Caṅkam texts (*Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* 116,4); in modern Tamiḻ *kāl* normally occurs only as an ending of the

24. There are no additions in the supplement of JAOS 92 (n. 9).

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verbal participle, meaning « if, provided, while, when »[25] (cf. Pāli *tassa āgatakāle*, the well known example of a non-Indo-Aryan construction, which has been compared with Tamiḻ *avaṉ vanta poḻutu*[26]: but for *poḻutu* it seems more appropriate to say *kāl*!) and in the idiomatic compound with numeral one, *oru-(k-)kāl* « once, sometimes, perhaps »[27]. The word *kālam* is attested from the Old Tamiḻ text *Cilappatikāram* (16, 167 and 184).

I place much importance on the fact that out of the eight Dravidian languages from which the word *kāl/kālam* « time » is known, five at least use it also in the specific meaning « season ». Compare further the following Tamiḻ expressions[28]:

kāla-k-kuṟi « seasonal indications, signs of weather »;

kālattāl adv. « seasonably, in proper time » (*Kuṟaḷ* 686);

kālam « wet-season, crop, opposite to *kōṭai* » (local usage);

kāla-p-payir « lit., seasonal crop, wet-season crop, opp. to *kōṭai-p-payir*;

kāla-pōkam « crop of grain, fruit, etc., proper to a season »;

kālam-pār « to look out for a suitable time, watch for an opportunity » (*Kampa-Rāmāyaṇa*);

kālam-peṟa adv. « at the right time; early in the morning »;

kāla-mayakku « (gramm.) deviation in the use of tenses sanctioned by usage; (akap.) theme of a confidante convincing the heroine that the winter season when her lord should return has not arrived, though it is actually otherwise »;

kālam-allā-k-kālam « unseasonable, improper time »;

kāla-maḻai « seasonal rain »;

kāla-v-āku-peyar « (gramm.) noun literally signifying time or season used figuratively to denote anything connected therewith, as the month *kārttikai* for a plant which blossoms in that month ».

The meaning « season » figures fairly prominently also in Indo-Aryan. In the Neo-Indo-Aryan languages, meanings of *kāl(a)* which have a large distribution are « time, year, season, famine, death », and of these the meaning « season » is recorded for Kasmiri, Nepali, Assamese and Bengali[29]. In the following I quote all the meanings of Sanskrit *kāláh* « time » given by Monier-Williams's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (2 ed., Oxford, 1899), leaving out only some constructions, examples and references:

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25. *TL* s.v. *kāl*[5]: 2, citing Nālaṭiyār 123; cf. also Collins, quoted above, n. 4.
26. Kuiper, 1967 (n. 10), p. 83.
27. Several Tamilians known to me consistently make the mistake of saying « sometimes » (= *orukāl*) in English when they mean « perhaps» .
28. Cited from the *TL*.
29. Cf. R. L. Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, London, 1966, no. 3084.

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« a fixed or right point of time, a space of time, time (in general), *AV.* xix, 53 & 54; *ŚBr.* & c.;
the proper time or season for (...) *ŚBr.*; *MBh.* & c.;
occasion, circumstance, *MBh.* xii, 2950; *Mṛcch.*;
season, *R.* & c.;
meal time;
hour;
a period of time, time of the world (=*yuga*), *Rājat.*;
measure of time, prosody, *Prāt.*, *Pāṇ.*;
a section, part, *VPrāt.*;
the end, *ChUp.*;
death by age, *Suśr.*;
time (as leading to events, the causes of which are imperceptible to mind of man), destiny, fate, *MBh.*; *R.*, & c.;
time (as destroying all things), death, time of death (often personified and represented with the attributes of Yama, regent of the dead, or even identified with him) ».

Compare further the following compounds and derivatives:

kāla-jña- adj. « knowing the fixed times or seasons », *Mn.* vii, 217; *Ragh.* xii, 33;
kāla-jñāna- n. « knowledge of the fixed times or seasons », *Jyot.*; *VP.*;
kāla-dharma- m. « the law or operation of time, death, dying, *MBh.*; *Hariv.*; *R.*; line of conduct suitable to any time or season; influence of time, seasonableness; effects suited to the time or season »;
kāla-prabhāta- n. « the dawning of the best season, i.e. the two months following the rainy season, autumn », *L.*;
kāla-vidvas- « knowing the season, a maker of calendars », *Var. BṛS.*;
kāle-ja- « born or produced in due season », *Pāṇ.* vi, 3,15;
kālotpādita- « produced in due season »;
kālopta- « sown in due season », *Mn.* ix, 39;
kālika- « relating to or connected with or depending on time », *Bhāṣāp.*; « fit for any particular season, seasonable », *MBh.* iii, 868; lasting a long time, *Pāṇ.* v, 1,108;
kālya- « timely, seasonable », *Pāṇ.* v, 1,107; « being in a particular period », *Gaṇap.*; n. « day-break », acc. loc. ind. « at day-break », *R.*; *Suśr.*

As already pointed out in the beginning, there is only one single Ṛgvedic occurrence, in the late 10th book, a fact that strongly suggests that this word *kālá-* has intruded into the language of the Ṛgvedic poetry only after its introduction into India. The context in the first

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half of the verse 10,42,9 which with slight variants recurs in the *Atharvaveda* (7,50,6), is the dice-playing: *utá prahâm atidîvya jayāti kṛtáṃ yác chvaghnî vicinóti kālé* (*AS utá prahâm atidīvā jayati kṛtám iva śvaghnî vicinóti kāle*). Even if there are differences of opinion regarding the detailed interpretation of this verse, largely conditioned by the difficulties encountered in understanding the Vedic game of dice [30], the meaning of *kālé* seems to be here either « in time » or « at proper time », or « when it is his (the gambler's) turn ». In the *Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā*, the word *kālá-* is found in addition to the variant of this verse otherwise in two hymns only. One is the famous *Kālasūkta*, *AS* 19,53-54, which praises Time as the highest divinity; the word is attested here 41 times. The other is *AS* 13,2,39, in which the sun as the ruddy one (*róhita-*) is said to have become Time (*kālá-*) and Prajāpati in the beginning, etc. In the *Brāhmaṇa* texts, *kālá-* becomes a commonly used word, as it still is in the Indo-Aryan languages. Böhtling and Roth in their *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch* [31] point out that the older term which *kālá-* thereby replaces is *ṛtu* « season, proper time ».

The meaning « season », which is well attested, could well have been the primary one, developing first to denote any « particular (period of) time » or « proper time », and then « time » in general [32]. The specialized meaning « season », moreover, makes it possible to trace the word further back to Dravidian *kāl* « leg > quarter », for its original meaning seems to have been « quarter of the year ».

It is true that the Vedic texts divide the year into three, five, six or oven, but not four seasons. Particularly the division into three seasons is well in agreement with the actual climatic conditions in India (hot season, rainy season, and cool season), and it is also reflected in the Vedic ritual in the *cāturmāsya* sacrifices performed at four months intervals. The most common division into six seasons, again, is apparently only a later development which integrates in itself also the division of the year into 12 months [33].

Even though the Vedic year did not consist of exactly four seasons, the length of one season, be it 1/3 or 1/5 or 1/6 of the year, very nearly agrees with that of 1/4 of the year. A semantic shift from « quarter of the year » into « season », therefore, does not seem at all unreasonable to me, provided, of course, that the concept of a « quarter of the year » is otherwise justified. And it is, for the year is quite naturally divided into four equal parts (quarters) by the turning points of the sun, the

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30. Cf. the works listed in J. C. Heesterman, *The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration*, s-Gravenhage, 1957 (Disputationes Rheno-Trajectinae, 2) p. 143 n. 16.

31. 2. Theil, St. Petersburg, 1858, col. 248, 1. 27.

32. Cf. especially the compounds cited above from Tamiḻ. Prof. Hermann Berger has kindly drawn my attention to the fact that i.a. in the Burušaski language words originally denoting a particular limited time are used in the general sense of 'time'.

33. Cf. e.g. Macdonell and Keith, 1912 (n. 18), I, p. 110 f., and G. Thibaut, 1899 (Grundiss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde III: 9), pp. 10 f.

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solstices and equinoxes. Even peoples at a relatively low cultural level, but especially sedentary peoples, have observed that at the time of the equinoxe the sun rises from due east, while during one half of the year it rises more and more towards the north from due east, returning backwards again after the solstice, while during the other half of the year it similarly rises south of due east [34]. We have a direct statement in the late *Ṛgveda* according to which 360 days of the turning wheel of the year were in fact divided into four quarters of 90 days each: *RS* 1,155,6 ab *catúrbhiḥ sākáṃ navatíṃ ca nāmabhiś cakráṃ ná vṛttáṃ vyátīṁr avīvipat* « with four times ninety names has he made the pairs (?) to move like a rolling wheel »: thus according to Geldner, who comments: « Die 360 Tage, bez. Tage und Nächte, wenn der Sinn von *vyáti* richtig vemutet ist. Jeder Tag hat seinen " Namen " (1,123,4)... » [35]. The round year of 360 days (12 months of 30 days each) is very frequently referred to in the Vedic texts, starting with the late books of the *Ṛgveda*, cf. particularly *RS* 1,164,11-15 and 48 [36]. The last mentioned hymn also speaks in connection with the year of « 720 sons in pairs » (verse 11), which clearly refers to 360 days and 360 nights [37]. These passages show that the quarter of the year played some role in the reckonings of the ancient Indian calendar. On the other hand, passages such as *Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa* 19,3 quoted below in A.B. Keith's translation [38] prove for certain that the turning points of the sun were observed in Vedic times, and that they played an important role in the sacrificial calender:

> « ... He (the sun) goes north for six months; him they follow with six-day periods in forward arrangement. Having gone north for six months he stands still, being about to turn southwards; these also rest, being about to sacrifice with the Viṣuvant day; ... He goes south for six months; him they follow with six-day periods in reverse order. Having gone south for six months he stands still, being about to turn north; these also rest, being about to sacrifice with the Mahāvrata day... ».

In this connection it is appropriate to point out that the four turning points of the sun were apparently related to the four cardinal directions. According to the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (14,3,1,17), the sun is

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34. Cf. F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, I, Leipzig, 1906, p. 67. For the observation of the solstices and equinoxes among various peoples cf. Martin P. Nilsson, *Primitive time-reckoning*, Lund, 1920, pl 311 ff.

35. K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt*, I, Cambridge, Mass., 1951 (Harvard Oriental Series 33), p. 214.

36. Cf. Albrecht Weber, *Die vedischen Nachrichten von den* naxatra (*Mondstationem*), *Zweiter Theil*, in « Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin », Aus dem Jahre 1861, Berlin 1862, p. 288, n.

37. Cf. e.g. Geldner (n. 35) a.l.

38. A. B. Keith, *Rigveda Brahmanas*, Cambridge, Mass., 1920 (Harvard Oriental Series 25), p. 452.

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quadrangular (*catuḥsrakti*), the four directions being specified as his corners. While the connection of the solstices with north and south is clear from the above quotations, *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* 2,1,2,3 seems to connect the vernal equinox in particular with the east. It is said here of the *kṛttikās*, the stars of the Pleiades, that « they do not move away from the eastern quarter, whilst the other asterisms do move from the eastern quarter » (Eggeling's transl.). Compare also *Kāṭhaka* 8,1, where the *kṛttikās* are said to have made the eastern direction agreeable to Agni, while before that the directions had not been fixed nor recognized: *diśo vai nākalpanta na prājñāyanta, tata etām agnaye prācīṃ diśam arocayan yat kṛttikāḥ*. As noted above, the sun rises due east at the time of the vernal equinox, which e.g. in Mesopotamia since about 2000 BC has marked the starting point of the yearly calendar [39]. The sun is also daily « born » in the east. In the present instance, we are particularly interested in the sun's yearly « birth », which undoubtedly lies behind the myth of Skanda's birth, and its connection with the *kṛttikās*. The newly born Skanda, also called Kārttikeya because he was nursed/born by the *kṛttikās*, is directly compared with the rising sun shining in the red clouds (*Mahābhārata* 3,224,14318 *lohitābbhre sumahati bhāti sūrya ivoditaḥ*). The asterism of the Pleiades occupies the first place in the oldest list of lunar mansions in the *Atharvaveda* and other Vedic texts, which indicates that it marked originally the beginning of the year. The sun, i.e. Agni « fire » who figures also in the myth of Skanda's birth, was in the asterism of the Pleiades (which « are doubtless Agni's asterism », *ŚB* 2,1,2,1) at the vernal equinox in 2260 BC. Moreover, the stars of the Indian and the related Chinese lunar zodiac agree more closely with the celestial equator of the 24th century BC than with that of any later time. These and other reasons suggest that the *nakṣatra* calendar was compiled around 2400 BC [41]. This date and the need for a solar calendar imposed by the urbanization process (which is absent in China at this time) in their turn imply that the creators of this calendar most probably were the Indus people [42].

There is also some linguistic evidence pointing to a North-Dravidian origin of the *nakṣatra* calendar. The word *bhekuri*, *bekuri* or *vekuri* is said to be the name of the asterisms as the damsels of the moon in *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā* 18,40, *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* 3,4,7,1, and *Kāṭhaka* 18,14,

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39. Cf. A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, 2 Aufl., Berlin und Leipzig, 1929, p. 186; Ginzel, 1906 (n. 34), I p. 125.

40. Cf. e.g. Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, *Asceticism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Śiva*, London, 1973, pp. 94 ff.

41. Cf. Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, Vol. III, Cambridge, 1959, pp. 246, 250.

42. Cf. A. Parpola, *Harappan Roots of Ancient Indian Astronomy and Cosmic Speculation*, to appear in the *Proceedings of the XXIXth International Congress of Orientalists* (cf. *Abstracts of Papers*, Paris, 1973, Sections 6-7, p. 76).

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while *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* 1,3,1 provides the variant *bekurā* [43]. A good etymology to this mythical and apparently very ancient name of the *nakṣatras*, which has long remained unexplained [44], seems to be supplied by the Dravidian root *vaiku* = North Dravidian **beku* « to stay, pass the nigth, to protract till dawn, to dawn » (*DED* 4570), from which Tamiḻ *vaikuṟumīṉ* « morning star » (*Akam* 17), Gōṇḍī *viyā sukum* « morning star » and Kuī *vēgam boḍuṛi* « morning star » are derived. In Tamiḻ at least, the root also means « to cohabit » (*Cīvaka*. 586), a meaning suiting the myth of the *nakṣatras* as the moon's mistresses. Compare also the meanings of the root *uṟu* or *uṟai*, which according to the *Tamil Lexicon* makes the latter part of the word *vaikuṟu* « dawn »: « to be, exist, stay, dwell, abide, be close together, be joined, come in contact with, to have sexual intercourse with » (*DED* 608). This root fits excellently the « conjunctions » of the moon with the asterisms. The changes *b* < *v* and **ey* < **ay* which are reflected in the Sanskrit forms are characteristic to North Dravidian [45].

It is well known that similarly pronounced words with different meanings have often led archaic and primitive peoples to invent aetiological stories in order to explain the mystical identity of the concepts concerned. In the Finnish folk songs of Kalevala (50,1-350) describing Jesus' birth, virgin Mary (Marjatta) is told to have become pregnant from a berry which jumped into her mouth in the forest. This version, which is in striking contrast with the original story well known to us, finds a natural explanation in the similarity of Mary's name *Maria* and the Finnish word *marja* « berry ». The pictographic script based on the rebus principle may have given the Indus priests a special reason to cultivate such a « punning » mythology. In any case it seems quite probable to me that the quasi-etymological speculations of the *Brāhmaṇa*-texts may ultimately be descended from Indus traditions, which in a number of cases seem to have been preserved more prominently in the Epic and Puranic text [46]. Thus the well known myth of Kṛṣṇa's *rasa-līlā*, the nocturnal circular dance which this « full » incarnation of

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43. Cf. Weber, 1862 (n. 36), p. 274.

44. Cf. Mayrhofer, (n. 1) II, Heidelberg, 1963, pp. 448 f. for previous explanations: the present one has been briefly indicated i.a. in the papers cited in notes 11 and 42.

45. Cf. M. B. Emeneau, *Brahui and Dravidian Comparative Grammar*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1962 (University of California Publications in Linguistics 27), pp. 62 (§ 5.2), 15 ff. (§ 2.19 & 21). The latter change is not restricted to North Dravidian.

46. The epic tradition goes back to the *vrātya* people of the Vedic times (cf. Paul Horsch, *Die vedische gāthā- und śloka-Literatur*, Bern, 1966), who seem to be descendents of Aryans who came to India before those Aryans who brought there the Ṛgvedic poetry (cf. A. Parpola, *Arguments for an Aryan origin of the South Indian megaliths*, Madras, 1973).

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Viṣṇu [47] performs with beautiful cowherdesses on the banks of the river Yamunā [48], may perpetuate an originally Harappan myth preversed in a simpler form in the above Vedic references to the full moon as the lover of the asterisms as heavenly damsels (*ap-saras*, literally « water-pond »), who bathe (cf. the myth of the *Kṛttikās* and that of Kṛṣṇa stealing the cloths of the bathing *gopīs*) in the heavenly river, Sarasvatī « full of ponds », which according to the *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa* is « Bekurā by name » [49].

One Hindu myth is of particular interest to us in this connection because it seems to support the above suggested etymology of the word *kāla* « time, season ». Manu, who in another place (8,16) mentions *Dharma* (righteousness) as an ox (*vṛṣa*), includes the following verses in his account of the creation:

> 1,81. In the *Kṛta* age *Dharma* is four-footed [*catuṣpād*] and entire, and (so is) truth; nor does any gain accrue to men by unrighteousness.
>
> 82. In the other (three ages), by reason of (unjust) gains (*āgama*), *Dharma* is deprived successively of one foot, and through (the prevalence of) theft, falsehood, and fraud merit (gained by men) is diminished by one fourth (in each) » [50].

It seems to me that we have here an old Dravidian aetiological myth which had been invented to account for the identity of the words *kāl* « quarter (of the cycle), season, age » and *kāl* « leg ». This linguistic association is not found in Sanskrit, into which the myth was translated when the language spoken in North India shifted, through a period of bilingualism, from Dravidian to Indo-Aryan. The first word was bor-

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47. In a forthcoming book on the religion of the Indus civilization, I intend to present more arguments for considering the « full » incarnation (*pūrṇāvatāra*) of Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, as representing the full moon, or the dark half month (*kṛṣṇapakṣa*), while his elder brother, the white Balarāma, would represent the crescent moon and the light half-month (*śuklapakṣa*). Moreover, these two aspects of the moon seem to be represented by the green planet Mercury and the white planet Venus respectively. Of course, these deities are complex figures, and this astral explanation explains only part of their character.

48. Cf. *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* 5,13 and H. H. Wilson's translation (3 ed., Calcutta, 1961), pp. 425 f.

49. *PB* 1,3,1.

50. Transl. G. Bühler, *The Laws of Manu*, Oxford, 1886, (Sacred Books of the East, 25), pp. 22 f. — With regard to the four feet of *Dharma* compare also the legal concept of the four-footed process (*Nārada*, Introd., 1,10 *dharmaś ca vyavahāraś ca caritraṃ rājaśāsanam / catuṣpād vyavahāro 'yam uttaraḥ pūrvabādhakaḥ /*; also in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* 3,1,39, and elsewhere) which is discussed in detail by R. Lingat, *Les quatre pieds du procès*, in « Journal Asiatique », 250, 1962, pp. 489-503. Compare also *Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa* 2,2,5, where the sacrifice as based on the *four Vedas* (i.e., including the semi-orthodox *Atharvaveda*) is said to be « four-footed (and hence) complete » (*catuṣpāt sakalo yajñas...*). This statement is found in a *śloka* (cf. Horsch, 1966 [n. 46], p. 148) and is thus related to the *vrātya* traditions (cf. n. 46).

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rowed into Sanskrit as *kālá-* « time, season », but not the basic word for « leg, foot », for which there was such a well known counterpart in *pad-* etc. For this reason the original « meaning » of the myth was forgotten, as happened in the case of the biblical myth of Eve's creation from Adam's rib, based on a Sumerian « pun » that could not be preserved when the myth was translated into Hebrew, an entirely different language [51]. Many other « odd » myths of the Indian religions can probably be explained in this way.

The myth of the four ages is, however, known from relatively recent sources only, and therefore it is necessary to demonstrate that it can really go back to pre-Vedic times. Within the limits of this paper, however, certain topics can be only cursorily touched. The same myth is told also for example in the account of the four world ages by Hanūmān in the 149th chapter of the *Vanaparvan* in the *Mahābhārata* (3,11234 ff.), where each age is, moreover, correlated with a particular colour assumed by Viṣṇu: he is white in the *kṛtayuga*, red in the *tretāyuga*, greenish-yellow in the *dvāparayuga*, and black in the *kaliyuga*. These same colours are elsewhere associated with the four social classes, the *brāhmaṇas*, *ksatriyas*, *vaiśyas* and *śūdras* [52]. Out of these, the first three classes are correlated in the *Veda* with the spring, the summer, and rainy season respectively [53]. I shall not go here further into the matter of this classificatory system, which comprised also the directions of space (with their guardian deities) [54] which in the classical Hindu cosmology had the same symbolic colours [55]. In a previous paper I have already put forward the suggestion that the *cross* of the four directions formed a conceptual frame for the ancient Indian cosmic speculation, and that a sort of primitive Sāmkhya philosophy involving the theory of elements was created by the Harappans operating with systematic correlations of this kind [56]. Here I would only like to draw attention to the parallelism between the fourfold division of the *mahāyuga* with its colours and the fourfold solar cycle. The four *sandhyās*, morning, noon, evening and midnight play an integral part in the Hindu ritual [57]. This diurnal cycle has a parallel in the four « quarters » of the year. The symbolic colours seem to be derived from both of these two solar cycles: thus *red* is the colour of *fire*, ie. hot noon and summer, *green* is the colour of *water* and the rainy season (producing greenness), and *black* the colour of the darkness of the *midnight* corresponding to winter, while

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51. Cf. S. N. KRAMER, *The Sumerians*, Chicago, 1963, p. 149.

52. Cf. A. WEBER, *Collectanea über die Kastenverhältnisse in den Brāhmaṇa und Sūtra*, Indische Studien 10, 1868, pp. 10-24.

53. Cf. ibid., p. 20.

54. Cf. W. KIRFEL, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, Bonn und Leipzig, 1920, pp. 7 f., 10.

55. Cf. ibid., p. 93 (the four sides of Mt. Meru).

56. Cf. the paper cited in n. 42. I shall try to substantiate this hypothesis in a more comprehensive work in preparation (cf. n. 47).

57. Cf. e.g. C. G. DIEHL, *Instrument and purpose*, Lund, 1956 (thesis), p. 80.

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white is left to the light of morning, the counterpart of spring which starts the yearly cycle.

There is no certain reference to the four *yugas* in the sense of « world ages » in the older Vedic literature; a doubtful one is *Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā* 8,2,21 ab *śatáṃ te 'yútaṃ hāyanān dvé yugé trîṇi catvāri kṛṇmaḥ* « A hundred, a myriad years, two periods (*yugá*), three, four, we make for thee » [58]. According to the *Purāṇas*, the total length of the great cycle of the four *yugas* (which are not of equal length but have the ratio 4:3:2:1) is 4.320.000 years or 12.000 divine years (*divyavarṣa*) [59]. Also these figures support the hypothesis that the great cycle was originally the year, which according to the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (10.4.2.2 ff.) has 432.000 moments (*muhūrta*), and consists of 12 months. The world ages of the classical texts would, then, have developed out of the four quarters of the year, « seasons », defined by the solstitial and equinoctial points.

Although the four ages as such do not figure in the early Vedic texts, their names do occur there, but as those of the four throws of dice, *kṛta* being the best and *kali* the worst [60]. Many dice have been found in the excavations of the Harappan sites [61]. My intention is to discuss in another paper in detail their relation to the later Indian game of dice, but the connection with four *yugas* makes it necessary to go briefly into this matter here also. The oblong type of Harappan dice with only four (!) marked sides has survived to the present day in India and the Indianized parts of Asia, while it seems to be unknown elsewhere in the world; in Indo-Aryan it is called *pāsa(ka)* in Pāli and *pāśa(ka)* in (classical) Sanskrit [62]. Heinrich Lüders [63] has suggested that the much later attested *prāsaka* (Hemacandra & Bower-Ms.) preserves a trace of the etymology, the root *pra-as-*, which Karl Hoffmann has shown to have the meaning of « laying a wager » (*aṃśam pra-as-* in *PB* 14,3,13 and *aṃśa-prāsá-* in *MS* 1,6,12) [64]; this explanation is accepted by

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58. The translation is W. D. Whitney's (*Atharva-Veda-Saṃhitā translated into English*, edited by Ch. R. Lanman, Cambridge, Mass., 1905, Harvard Oriental Series 7-8), who comments: « The 'periods' here are not at all likely to be those of the later chronology, though the commentator naturally thinks them so ».

59. Cf. Kirfel, 1920 (n. 54), p. 334.

60. Cf. the literature cited in n. 30 especially H. Lüders, *Das Würfelspiel im alten Indien*, Berlin, 1907 (Abhandlungen des Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil. -hist. Kl., NF 9:2).

61. Cf. George F. Dales, *Of Dice and Men*, in JAOS, 88, 1968, pp. 14-23; Dales's study is limited to the cubical dice of the Indus civilization. For examples of the Harappan oblong dice cf. particularly E. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, Delhi, 1938, II pl. CXXXVIII: 41, 43, 48 and pl. CXLIII: 41, 43, 47, 51.

62. Cf. Lüders, 1907 (n. 60), p. 16 f. and W. Norman Brown, *The Indian Games of Pachisi, Chaupar and Chausar*, in *Studies in Indian Linguistics* (Prof. M. B. Emeneau Ṣaṣṭipūrti Volume), ed. Bh. Krishnamurti, Poona and Annamalainagar, 1968, pp. 46-53, pp. 50 f.

63. Lüders, 1907 (n. 60), p. 16.

64. K. Hoffmann, *Mārtāṇḍa und Gayōmart*, in « Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft » 11, 1957, pp. 85-103, pp. 88 f. and n. 12.

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Mayrhofer, too [65]. Rather than taking *pāsa(ka)* and *pāśa(ka)* as Prakrit forms (the latter hypersanscritized) of *prāsa(ka)*, I would like to derive these words from the Dravidian root *pāy* « to spring, to leap, to jump over », from which we have in Tamil the derivatives *pāyccu* and *pāyttu* « spring, leap, throw (as of dice) » (*DED* 3362). From the *Vidhurapaṇḍitajātaka* [66] and *Atharvaveda* 4,38 [67] we know that these oblong dice were thrown up into the air here they were « dancing » with the *apsarases*. In the Vedic ritual there are two occasions for a ceremonial game of dice, one at the establishment of the sacred fires (*agnyādheya*) [68] and another at the royal consecration (*rājasūya*) [69]. It is interesting to observe that in both cases there are *four* players — according to *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* 4,4,6 a *brāhmaṇa*, a *rājanya*, a *vaiśya*, and a *śūdra* —, and that they play for (the parts of) a four-year old cow. Held [70] has already related the game of dice with a system of classification of the kind discussed above. The stake, a cow, reminds us of the divisions of the cow in the bargaining of the *soma*. In the later dice game the two playing parts had to submit before the game 5 stakes each, and a *kali* throw gave 1, a *dvāpara* 3, a *tretā* 6, and a *kṛta* 10 stakes [71]. The sum of the different throws is also 10 (4+3+2+1), as is the number of Viṣṇu's *avatāras* in the various *yugas* in the Puranic mythology [72]. It remains to note that since there are four players, the word *kālá-* « time » in its first, Ṛgvedic, occurrence might well have been « turn », from the basic sense of « quarter of the round or cycle ».

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65. Mayrhofer (n. 1 & 44), II, p. 265.
66. Cf. Lüders, 1907 (n. 60), p. 6.
67. Cf. ibid., p. 8.
68. W. Caland, *Über das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana*, Leipzig, 1903 (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 12:1), p. 17; G. J. Held, *The Mahābhārata*, Amsterdam, 1935 (thesis Leiden), pp. 266 ff.
69. Cf. Heesterman, 1957 (n. 30), pp. 143 ff. and also *ŚB* 5,4,4,6 ff.
70. Cf. Held, 1935 (n. 68), pp. 248 f., 253, 265 ff.
71. Cf. Lüders, 1907 (n. 60), p. 61.
72. Cf. also the *Paripāṭal* passage cited above, p. 365.

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STEFANO PIANO

NOTE IN MARGINE AL VIṢṆU-MĀHĀTMYA

Il mondo religioso della *bhakti*, che informa di sé tutto l'Induismo recente, è caratterizzato da una imponente opera di reinterpretazione del *dharma* condotta non soltanto in modo diretto, ma anche attraverso l'utilizzazione, con uno spirito nuovo, dei moduli espressivi del passato; ed è naturale che i ferventi devoti di Śiva, di Viṣṇu o della Dea — nella loro opera di divulgazione dell'atteggiamento religioso devozionale come nuova « via di salvezza » — si siano valsi preferibilmente di quegli strumenti letterari che, per diverse ragioni, avevano ottenuto larghi consensi ed una indiscussa popolarità.

Abbiamo avuto altrove occasione di rilevare come i *bhakta* visnuiti utilizzarono il genere letterario dei *dūta-kāvya* — sorto ad imitazione della illustre e fortunatissima opera di Kālidāsa e rapidamente divenuto assai fiorente — reinterpretandone le motivazioni e i temi in chiave devozionale: il *Manodūta* di Tailaṅga Vrajanātha (composto nel 1757) ce ne ha fornito un validissimo esempio in quanto esso segna, per così dire, il culmine del processo di interiorizzazione del genere letterario dei *dūta-kāvya* e della loro utilizzazione ai fini di una propaganda religiosa [1].

Rimanendo nell'ambito delle correnti devozionali del Visnuismo, ci proponiamo ora di mostrare — sulla scorta di esempi tratti dalla letteratura puranica — come la stessa trasformazione sia stata operata dai *bhakta* — in epoca assai più antica — nei confronti di altri testi estremamente popolari, i *māhātmya*, in origine « testi di glorificazione » di luoghi santi (*tīrtha*), di culti locali e delle relative pratiche religiose e rituali. Era naturale che i *bhakta*, i quali avevano fatto del proprio cuore un *tīrtha* santificato dalla perenne rievocazione (*smaraṇa*) della presenza del loro dio, non solo proponessero la loro pratica di devo-

1. Cfr. S. Piano, *Il Manodūta di Tailaṅga Vrajanātha*, in « Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti della classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche », serie VIII, vol. XXVIII, fasc. 7-12, 1973 (Roma, 1974), pp. 953-999.

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zione come sostitutiva del compimento di ogni altra opera pia (compresi i pellegrinaggi), ma anche facessero proprie — reinterpretandole e vivificandole con un nuovo spirito — quelle « magnificazioni » tradizionali dei santuari e dei luoghi sacri quale strumento di glorificazione del proprio personalissimo pellegrinaggio interiore verso l'unica autentica mèta che è il *mokṣa*, conseguibile per intervento diretto del dio che è presente nel cuore dell'uomo.

Il narratore puranico Sūta afferma nel *Garuḍa-purāṇa* che « sessanta migliaia di *tīrtha* e sessanta centinaia di *tīrtha* non valgono la sedicesima parte della devozione a Nārāyaṇa »[2], e insiste poi sulla netta superiorità del « ricordo » (*smaraṇa*) e della meditazione (*dhyāna*) rivolti a Viṣṇu rispetto a tutte le pratiche di pietà e di penitenza, comprese le visite ai luoghi santi. E' ancora il medesimo narratore che, nel *Padma-purāṇa*, sostiene che l'uomo può ottenere il frutto di tutti i *tīrtha* con la semplice contemplazione di un'immagine di Hari[3]; infine, sempre nel *Padma-purāṇa*, è lo stesso Śiva Mahādeva che, richiesto da Pārvatī di illustrarle « l'azione più eccellente, che procura la liberazione »[4], conclude il suo elogio della *bhakti* per Viṣṇu con le seguenti parole: « La Gaṅgā, Gayā, la foresta Naimiṣa e Puṣkara, Kāśī, Prayāga e Kurujāṅgala stanno nel corpo di coloro che, con animo pieno di devozione, praticano la *bhakti* per Govinda »[5].

Questo particolare atteggiamento devozionale — che viene spesso presentato come unica possibile via di salvezza nell'attuale e corrotta èra Kali[6] — sta dunque al centro dei contenuti dei testi puranici che stiamo prendendo in esame e che consistono in « glorificazioni » del dio Viṣṇu. Tali testi, che hanno assunto il titolo di *Viṣṇu-māhātmya*[7] (con le varianti *Viṣṇubhakti-māhātmya*[8], *Viṣṇusmaraṇa-māhātmya*[9], *Bhagavadbhakti-māhātmya*[10], *Śrīkṛṣṇa-māhātmya*[11], ecc.), sono piuttosto frequenti e ricorrono nella maggior parte dei *mahāpurāṇa*, quale che sia la loro preminente tendenza settaria. Diversi fra loro per caratteri-

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2. *Garuḍa-purāṇa* (sampādakaḥ: Rāmaśaṅkara Bhaṭṭācāryaḥ, Kāśī Saṃskṛta Granthamālā, N. 165, Vārāṇasī, 1964) 222,3.

3. *Padma-purāṇa* (Ānandāśrama-saṃskṛta-granthāvali, N. 131, 4 voll., 1893-94) I,50,7a: *pratimāṃ ca harer dṛṣṭvā sarva-tīrtha-phalaṃ labhet.*

4. *Ibidem* VI,126,1.

5. *Ibidem* VI,126,17.

6. Si vedano, ad esempio, *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (Gorakhpur, VIII ed., 1965) I,1; XII,3; *Nārada-purāṇa* (Bombay, 1905) I,40-41; *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* (Bombay, 1910) VI,2; ecc.

7. Come in *Garuḍa-purāṇa* 222; *Kūrma-purāṇa* (ed. with Engl. transl. by A. S. Gupta, Varanasi, All-India Kashi Raj Trust, 1972) I,49; *Liṅga-purāṇa* (Calcutta, 1885) II,2; *Matsya-purāṇa* (Calcutta, 1876) 244; *Nārada-purāṇa* I,37-40; *Padma-purāṇa* VI,81; *Vāyu-purāṇa* (Bombay, 1933) II,36.

8. Come in *Padma-purāṇa* I,50 e VI,126; *Vāmana-purāṇa* (ed. with Engl. transl. by A. S. Gupta, Varanasi, All-India Kashi Raj Trust, 1968) 68.

9. Come in *Padma-purāṇa* VI, 128.

10. Come in *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* I,1-2.

11. Come in *Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa* (Ānandāśrama-saṃskṛta-granthāvali, N. 102, 2 voll., 1935) I,29 e IV,55.

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stiche, contenuti ed estensione, hanno in comune lo scopo di esaltare le pratiche devozionali e, in particolare, l'eccezionale potere salvifico del *nome* divino. In quest'ultimo caso essi assumono anche il titolo di *Harināma-māhātmya* (con le varianti *Bhagavannāma-māhātmya, Harināmakīrtana-māhātmya*, ecc.) o anche semplicemente di *Nāma-māhātmya*: se, in alcuni casi, si tratta di *sahasranāmastotra* con diverso titolo [12], per lo più essi consistono in una enunciazione delle caratteristiche dei vari *yuga*, seguita da una descrizione delle terribili condizioni dell'uomo nell'èra Kali e, infine, da una fervente esaltazione del merito religioso connesso con la pronuncia del nome di Viṣṇu [13].

L'esame di questi testi (*Viṣṇu-māhātmya* e *Nāma-māhātmya*) si rivela assai interessante, nella misura in cui essi sono in grado di illuminare, sotto diverse angolazioni, i vari aspetti della *bhakti* visnuita, a partire dalla *pūjā* compiuta con devozione davanti ad un'immagine divina o dalle donazioni offerte ai brahmani, o ancora dalla pia opera di costruire o anche solo tinteggiare un tempio, per giungere sino a quella pratica del *nāma-smaraṇa* che tanta fortuna ebbe, in seguito, presso i Sant e i Sādhak del Medioevo indiano [14].

Ci soffermeremo qui, in particolare, su un fatto che assume netto rilievo in quanto coinvolge una delle idee fondamentali di tutta la tradizione religiosa indiana: si tratta del superamento dell'unico privilegio da essa concordemente riconosciuto all'uomo nei confronti delle altre creature e della natura. Tale privilegio consiste nel fatto che il *mokṣa* era ritenuto conseguibile solo al termine di una esistenza umana.

Tale superamento avviene per gradi.

In primo luogo, si sottrae a poco a poco ogni merito all'uomo in relazione al conseguimento della salvezza — o, comunque, di un premio nell'aldilà o in una vita futura — e si attribuisce contemporaneamente una funzione sempre più determinante alla grazia divina. Si sostiene che è sufficiente pronunciare il nome di Hari con devozione [15], o semplicemente richiamare il dio alla memoria [16], o ancora ascoltare o leggere un *nāma-māhātmya* [17] o uno *stotra* [18] per ottenere la mèta suprema. Non solo, ma tale pur piccolo merito dell'uomo viene poi annullato del tutto, e la salvezza — e con essa il conseguimento di qualunque

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12. Così accade, ad esempio, per il *Nāma-māhātmya* di *Padma-purāṇa* VI,72.
13. Esempi di tali testi si trovano in *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* VI,1-3 e XII,3; *Nārada-purāṇa* I,41; *Padma-purāṇa* II,73-75; *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* VI,2.
14. Una strofa del *Viṣṇu-māhātmya* del *Nārada-purāṇa* (I,38,9) costituisce — non solo grazie ai concetti che esprime, ma per l'uso stesso di una ben caratterizzata terminologia — una premessa evidente di questa corrente di pensiero filosofico-religioso: « Quella che è la tua forma pura, inaccessibile libera dalla *māyā*, priva di attributi e di nascita, senza impurità (*nirañjanam*) e senza macchia, incommensurabile, che ha per nome la verità suprema, quella vedono i buoni (*santaḥ*) ».
15. *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* I,1; XII,3; *Padma-purāṇa* VI,81,164; *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* VI,2.
16. *Matsya-purāṇa, adhyāya* 244.
17. *Padma-purāṇa* VI,81,167.
18. *Nārada-purāṇa* I,38,53.

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altro bene — diventa prerogativa esclusiva della grazia divina: è il caso della ben nota leggenda del brahmano Ajāmila [19], la quale conferma che anche la pronuncia del tutto involontaria del nome di Hari-Nārāyaṇa è sufficiente per procurare la salvezza. E il testo dice espressamente che l'uomo « pronunciando il nome del Signore di Vaikuṇṭha sia alludendo ad altra persona sia per scherzo o derisione, o in un canto o in negligenza, distrugge tutti i peccati » [20].

Un esempio altrettanto probante, ma — credo — non altrettanto noto è costituito dalla storia di Daṇḍaketu, narrata nel 3° *adhyāya* del *Viṣṇu-māhātmya* del *Nārada-purāṇa* (I,39,23-45), storia che riassumeremo brevemente. Il devoto sovrano Jayadhvaja, sempre dedito alla *bhakti* di Hari e, in particolare, alle umili cure del tempio, narra al proprio *purohita* Vītihotra come, in una precedente esistenza, egli fosse nato come *caṇḍāla* dalla vedova sciagurata di un altrettanto sciagurato brahmano. Quel *caṇḍāla*, di nome Daṇḍaketu, si era macchiato di ogni sorta di colpe, dimostrandosi sempre violento e malvagio. Una volta, provando il desiderio di giacere con una donna di piacere, entrò con quella, di notte, in un tempio deserto di Viṣṇu. Per potersi preparare un giaciglio, Daṇḍaketu aveva accuratamente ripulito un piccolo spazio con l'orlo della propria veste, ed aveva inoltre acceso una lampada. Sorpreso colà dalle guardie, fu ucciso insieme con la donna; ma subito intervennero i messaggeri di Viṣṇu, che portarono l'uomo e la donna al supremo mondo del dio. Tale è la forza di un semplice atto di devozione come quello di ripulire il suolo di un tempio o di accendere una lampada, anche se tale atto è compiuto senza alcuna buona intenzione. E il pio re Jayadhvaja conclude con queste parole: « O brahmano, io avendo agito solo per il piacere, ho ottenuto un tale sommo bene; non posso immaginare il bene di quei virtuosi che si dedicano alla *bhakti* » [21].

Avocata la salvezza, con ogni altra acquisizione, al solo ed esclusivo intervento del dio e della sua grazia, si giunge ad ammettere che anche creature non umane possano conseguire senza merito alcuno una condizione più elevata, se non l'immediata liberazione. Nel *Viṣṇu-māhātmya* del *Garuḍa-purāṇa* si legge che « anche per le folle di insetti e uccelli che hanno la mente abbandonata in Hari si verifica una condizione elevata; e che dire degli uomini sapienti? » (222,30).

Esempi di animali che conseguono in questo modo una condizione elevata si trovano nel secondo libro (*Vaiṣṇava-khaṇḍa*) dello *Skanda-purāṇa* e, in particolare, nella sezione IV (*Kārttikamāsa-māhātmya*), particolarmente ricca di materiale narrativo. Nel settimo *adhyāya* di

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19. *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* VI,1-3.

20. *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* VI,2,14; trad. di J. M. Sanyal (Delhi, 2nd ed., 1973), vol. I, p. 537.

21. *Nārada-purāṇa* I,39,42. Affine a questa leggenda è la storia di Guṇanidhi, che si svolge però in ambiente *śaiva*, ed è riportata nell'*adhyāya* 13 del *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* dello *Skanda-purāṇa*; cfr. M. Vallauri, *Sommari dello Skandapurāṇa - II Kāśīkhaṇḍa*, in « Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino », serie 2ª, tomo 71, pt. II, p. 6.

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tale sezione, intitolato *Dīpadāna-māhātmya*, si afferma che « anche il ravvivare l'altrui lampada è cosa meritoria, come lo prova la storia della cortigiana Indumatī e del topo »[22]. Il testo non aggiunge altro, ma la *ṭīkā* di Harikṛṣṇa Śāstrin, che correda tutta la sezione IV del *Vaiṣṇava-khaṇḍa* nell'edizione di Bombay, espone per esteso — in questo come in altri casi — il contenuto della storia cui il testo allude, citandolo dal *Saroddhāra*. Esso è, in breve, il seguente: la cortigiana Indumatī, dopo essere rimasta a lungo e invano davanti alla porta di casa, rientra contrariata e, offerta una lampada al dio, s'addormenta. Ora accade che un topo si avvicina per bere l'olio della lampada e contemporaneamente quella per caso si ravviva e il topo si sposta con essa davanti al dio, secondo quella che è la norma reverenziale. Per la forza di tale merito, subito il topo abbandona il proprio corpo e — rinato sotto *spoglie umane* — consegue, al termine di una vita felice, la liberazione[23].

Nello stesso libro dello *Skanda-purāṇa* troviamo molte altre storie edificanti atte ad illustrare questo stesso assunto, come quella della lucertola che assume corpo divino e ascende al cielo perché aspersa con gocce d'acqua da un asceta[24], o quella del topo cui tocca la stessa sorte per aver sentito casualmente illustrare da Viśvāmitra la santità del mese Kārttika[25], o ancora quella dell'elefante e del leone che assumono corpo divino per aver ascoltato — sempre casualmente — da un asceta la glorificazione del mese Vaiśākha[26].

Dagli esempi citati si può vedere come l'aspirazione ad una universale salvezza operata dalla grazia divina non riguarda solo gli uomini, ma coinvolge in un unico destino tutte le creature[27]. Quella suprema mèta che consiste nell'annullarsi nel dio e nell'identificarsi con lui diventa accessibile ad ogni forma di vita, poiché la grazia di Viṣṇu, nel suo misterioso operare, va ben al di là delle intenzioni delle creature. Se tale intervento della grazia divina non sempre conferisce immediatamente il *mokṣa*, in ogni caso, comunque, esso offre della liberazione garanzia certa e sicura, dando inizio ad un processo irreversibile[28].

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22. Cfr. M. VALLAURI, *Sommari dello Skandapurāṇa, II*, in « Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana (GSAI) », n.s., III,2, 1935, p. 190.
23. Cfr. M. VALLAURI, *op. cit.*, pp. 190 e sg.
24. *Skanda-purāṇa* (Bombay, 1910) II,i,16.
25. *Ibidem* II,iv,12.
26. *Ibidem* II,vii,17; cfr. M. VALLAURI, *Sommari dello Skandapurāṇa, III*, in GSAI, n.s., III,3-4, 1935, p. 267.
27. Si veda, in proposito, il motivo della « apoteosi collettiva » che ricorre in *Rāmāyaṇa, Uttarakāṇḍa*, 110. Ancor più significativa ci sembra un'affermazione del *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* dello *Skanda-purāṇa* (27,134): « I vermi, gli insetti alati e simili, i quali muoiono sulla riva della Gaṅgā e gli alberi che cadono dalle sponde, essi pure raggiungono la suprema beatitudine »; cfr. M. VALLAURI, *Sommari dello Skandapurāṇa - Il Kāśīkhaṇḍa*, p. 10.
28. Non ci proponiamo in questo contesto di discutere in dettaglio i molti problemi che riguardano le modalità ed i gradi dell'attingimento del *mokṣa*, né le relative posizioni delle diverse scuole filosofiche. Per una sintesi su questo argomento si veda M. PIANTELLI, *Kramamukti. A few notes*, in « Indologica Taurinensia », II, 1974, pp. 259-278.

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I *Purāṇa* riportano numerose leggende di animali che ottengono questo insperato successo; particolarmente significativa ci pare la storia narrata nel già citato *Viṣṇu-māhātmya* del *Nārada-purāṇa* (I,40,42-47). Un certo Sudharma narra ad Indra di essere stato un tempo un avvoltoio assai malvagio: fermatosi sul muro di cinta di un tempio di Viṣṇu, fu colpito da un cacciatore e cadde all'interno del recinto. Qui fu azzannato da un cane che, correndo via, girò attorno al tempio dando la destra, come si suol fare in segno di rispetto. Tale gesto esteriore, e per di più inconsapevole, provocò immediatamente l'intervento salvifico della grazia divina a favore dell'avvoltoio e del cane. Tale racconto non è, ovviamente, isolato, giacché storie consimili sono frequenti nei testi puranici. Ricorderemo soltanto, quale esempio, due porzioni narrative del già citato *Vaiṣṇava-khaṇḍa* dello *Skanda-purāṇa*. Nella sezione seconda, denominata *Puruṣottamakṣetra-māhātmya*, nell'*adhyāya* 2, si narra la storia di una cornacchia che, fatta un'abluzione nello stagno del *Puruṣottamakṣetra* e contemplato il supremo dio, abbandona le spoglie animali e — assimilata al dio stesso — consegue la liberazione [29]. Sempre nel II libro dello *Skanda-purāṇa* (sez. IV, *adhyāya* 7) si narra la storia di un gatto e di un avvoltoio: quest'ultimo beve l'olio di una lampada offerta a Viṣṇu, dopo averla sollevata sulla cima di un albero. Un gatto a questo punto lo ghermisce ed entrambi cadono a terra: muoiono e, assunto corpo divino, ascendono al cielo di Viṣṇu.

Il segreto del *bhakta* sta dunque nell'abbandonarsi con fiducia alla divinità; non solo, ma — come abbiamo visto — eccezionali risultati sono ottenuti, anche senza merito, dalle più svariate creature non solo umane. E il commento dei vari narratori, pur con alcune varianti, esprime sempre lo stesso concetto, alludendo ai vantaggi infinitamente più grandi che non è possibile non ottenere con una devozione sincera. Così Sudharma, dopo aver narrato la storia dell'avvoltoio, esclama: « Se si ottiene un tal frutto grazie al semplice gesto esteriore della *pradakṣiṇā*, che cosa non si otterrà, o eccellente fra i saggi, con un sincero omaggio? » [30].

Tale omaggio — che nel *Kaliyuga* è considerato, se non l'unico, almeno il più valido strumento di salvezza [31] — trova una sua peculiare espressione nella ripetizione e nel culto del *nome* divino; ed è pertanto naturale che all'indirizzo di tale pratica si pronuncino gli elogi più ferventi. Nel *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (XII,3) si afferma che « nel *Kaliyuga* la sola ripetizione del nome di Viṣṇu conferisce salvezza a tutti », e in *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* VI,2: « Ciò che si ottiene nel *Kṛtayuga* con la meditazione, nel *Tretā-* col sacrificio, nello *Dvāpara-* con l'adorazione, lo si ottiene nel *Kaliyuga* col solo recitare il nome di Keśava »; ancora, nel

29. Cfr. M. VALLAURI, *Sommari dello Skandapurāṇa, II*, pp. 168 e sg.

30. *Nārada-purāṇa* I,40,47.

31. Cfr. *Garuḍa-purāṇa* 222,23: « Vi è il *Kṛtayuga* nel *Kali* per colui nel cui cuore è Govinda; vi è il *Kali* nel *Kṛtayuga* per colui nel cui cuore non è Acyuta ».

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Padma-purāṇa (VI,81,164) si dice che « colui che pronuncia una sola volta le due sillabe di 'Hari' è pronto a raggiungere il *mokṣa* »[32]; nello stesso *purāṇa* (I,50,7) si afferma che « l'uomo ottiene il frutto di tutti i *mantra* col solo mormorare l'eccellente nome di Viṣṇu »[33].

Gli esempi potrebbero continuare all'infinito, e lo spirito che li anima ci sembra toccare uno dei suoi vertici nell'affermazione che conclude un elogio del nome di Viṣṇu contenuto nel *Nāma-māhātmya* del *Nārada-purāṇa* (I,41,114): *harernāmaiva nāmaiva nāmaiva mama jīvanam / kalau nāstyeva nāstyeva nāstyeva gatiranyathā.* Non solo, ma anche l'ascolto di una glorificazione del nome divino è ritenuto altamente profittevole, secondo quanto si afferma, ad esempio, in *Padma-purāṇa* VI,81,187: « Coloro che ascoltano questo *nāma-māhātmya* realizzano senza dubbio il *dharma*, l'*artha*, il *kāma* e il *mokṣa* ».

Non occorre sottolineare quanto questa pratica sia feconda di sviluppi: cogliamo soltanto l'occasione per mettere ancora una volta in rilievo il fatto che in quelle immense enciclopedie religiose e culturali che sono i *Purāṇa* sono contenuti in germe tutti gli aspetti e gli sviluppi ulteriori dell'Induismo sino ai nostri giorni.

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32. Questo vale, come s'è visto, anche nel caso che tale nome sia pronunciato senza intenzione alcuna di rendere omaggio al dio. Cogliamo qui l'occasione per ricordare che si trovano esempi consimili anche in ambiente *śaiva*, come la storia del re Indrasena che ascende al cielo di *Śiva*, pur essendo un malvagio cacciatore grazie all'abitudine di pronunciare parole come *āhara* (=porta qui!) e *praharasva* (=colpisci!), parole che contengono le due sillabe del nome di Śiva (Hara); cfr. *Skanda-purāṇa, Maheśvarakhaṇḍa, Kedārakhaṇḍa, adhyāya* 5.

33. *Viṣṇu-nāma paraṃ japtvā sarva-mantra-phalaṃ labhet.*

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MARIO PIANTELLI

ATTENTION AND COMMUNICATION: SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE CONTRIBUTION OF ŚAṄKARA TO THE LEXICON OF SANSKRIT AS A METALANGUAGE IN *TAITTIRĪYOPANIṢADBHĀṢYA* 2,1,1

If we consider metalanguage in a somewhat more elastic way than that in which logical Semantics uses it, namely as compassing not only fully formalized languages as its object languages, but also the whole range of facts, processes and problems relating to the relationship between verbal signs and their referents in daily uses, it is possible to discover many an interesting contribution on the part of Indian thought in such a field, albeit the central interest from which such contributions happen to develope themselves is often quite far from the motives governing modern logicians' and linguists' attitude in regard of such matters.

I propose here to discuss in its general outlines a particularly stimulating instance of these contributions, which is represented by the configuration of relationship verbal sign-referent in the double mode of *Viśeṣaṇa* and *Lakṣaṇa* on the part of Śaṅkarācārya in his *Taittirīyopaniṣadbhāṣya*, 2,1,1. We owe the introduction of this distinction to a conundrum arisen from the apophatical approach of the great *advaitin* to the core of Upaniṣadic teaching about *Brahman*.

In fact, the problems implied by negative theology possess a sort of family-likeness even across the wide gaps separating different civilizations and cultures: we are usually confronted by a more or less rich series of descriptions of a Divine *Quid* in terms of actual daily human experience, simultaneously with the peremptory denial that such a *Quid* can ever be the referent of any word, due to its being over and above human verbally-coloured articulate process of understanding and reconstructing the world of perception. Such a denial can be a purely metalinguistic proposition, as in the case of e.g. *Kenopaniṣad* 1,4, or a device of extolling the Divine *Quid*, in a way somewhat similar to the likewise denial of expressibility in the case of feelings connected with aesthetic or erotic experience: such is apparently the case of e.g. *Ecclesiasticus* 43,30 ff. It is also possible that both these functions coexist, as in the pseudo-Aeropagitical *Mystic Theology*. The very fact that

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denial may be taken as praise, while does not necessarily prejudice the possibility of an exegetical construction of it as an epistemological limitative statement, shows that a strong emotional aspect may be involved and explains the equally powerfully emotional reactions to negative theology from anthropomorphically-oriented exegetes in all cultures. The conflict is between the noble urgency to destroy every human limitation and misery on one side, and the preoccupation to save the letter of the sacred utterances to whose authority one is committed on the other one. When such a conflict takes place inside the mind of a single thinker of great ingenuity and intelligence, the necessity of bridging somehow the abyss between the two diverging exigences can bring him to interesting achievements like the Scholastic theory of analogical application of positive predicates to the Divine *Quid* or the Palamite distinction between trinitary incomprehensible essence and kataphatical communicable energies in the same. It is a riddle of such kind that confronts Śaṅkara in dependence upon his peculiar treatment of *Nirguṇatva* in the Divine *Quid*, engaging him in a fight to stretch the limits of the expressive powers of human language. On one hand, he is bound by his deepest experience to take in their full import the *vākya*-s stating the inaccessibility of *Brahman* to the scope of linguistic facts; on the other hand, his sense of concreteness in face of exegetical reading of *Śruti* combined with his epistemological doctrine, recognizing *Śabda* as an independent *pramāṇa* in its own right, compels him not to desert the traditional positive descriptions. Śaṅkara's general position is made clear in this connexion by a very important passage of his *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣadbhāṣya* (2,3,6). Here he maintains that the operational efficacity of a verbal sign (*śabdapravṛtti*) can subsist, or come into being, only through its association to some specific individuating feature (*viśeṣa*) of the referent: to witness, either through association with a designation possessed by the referent (which seems to be different from, albeit intimately connected with, the verbal sign expressing it, like De Saussure's signified in respect of signifier), or through association with the peculiar appearance of the referent as apprehended by human perception, or through association with a specific connection with a known activity on the part of the referent, or through association with some distinctive character possessed by the referent in respect to other referents lacking it, or through association with the belonging of the referent to a class (this being only one instance of *viśeṣa*, and not the only mode of it, as it would seem from Śaṅkara's discussion of proper names in his *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*, 1,3,28), or, again, through association with some intrinsic quality of the referent (« ... *nāma vā rūpaṃ vā karma vā bhedo vā jātir vā guṇo vā* »). Such an inventory of the correspondences between the verbal sign and the topological features of the object-

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world is obviously indebted in some degree to the linguistic categories implicit in the morphological structure of Sanskrit (for a Western parallel, cfr. Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, 5,11,81,3). It is instructive the comparison with Śaṅkara's *Bhagavadgītābhāṣya* (On whose authorship cfr. our *Śaṅkara e la rinascita del Brāhmanesimo*, Fossano, 1974, pp. 193 f.; additional evidence, triumphingly proving the correctness of traditional attribution, is given by V. Raghavan, *Bhāskara's Gītābhāṣya*, in *Beiträge zur Geistesgeschichte Indiens, Festscrift für Erich Frauwallner*, WZKSO Band XII-XIII [1968-1969] pp. 281 ff.) 13,12, where the same list is to be found with minor changes: leaving aside designation, appearance and distinctive characters, Śaṅkara puts forth the association with a connection or relationship (*saṃbandha*) of the referent with some other referent already known, exemplified as possession of wealth or cattle (*dhanī gomān*). When the verbal sign helps us in individuating a significative component in the external objective world, when it is somehow iconical (not in the sense of an onomatopoeia) in respect of such component, the primary function of the sign, viz. communication, is possible: when heard (*śrūyamāṇaś ca śrotṛbhiḥ, Bh.Gī.Bh.* 13, 12) it leads attention towards the referent, ascertaining it through a notion (*arthaṃ pratyāyayati, ibidem*). It is to such an end, that Śaṅkara considers as an illumination of the referent, brought into the field of attention as something suddendly lighted up against a background in dimness (*arthaprakāśanāya, ibidem*), that the verbal sign is uttered. What in Semantics is known as motivation in relationship between verbal sign and referent is apparently all-important in the outlook of the great *advaitin*. The referent is object, in the process of verbal enunciation, of a descriptive specification (*nirdeśa, Bṛ.Up.Bh.* 2,3,6). To utter is to describe, from the point of view of Śaṅkara. Now, all these features are grasped by linguistic knowledge in objects inside the scope of normal dual epistemological pattern, but such a scope is not ultimate, such a pattern is but a temporary building of *avidyā*. *Brahman*, albeit a condition of every epistemological level in human apprehension of the world, which cannot in any case be done away with, does not fill up an objectificable position in the dual pattern. Since in the case of *Brahman* the perception of their very ground is impossible, individuating features are not susceptible of discovery, to serve as *points d'appui* to a meaningful verbal portrayal. Verbal signs purporting to be *nirdeśa*-s of the referent *Brahman*, being unanchored to actual experience of the object, can be taken only as dispensable articial disguises (*upādhi*-s) put on it. The actual *svarūpa* of *Brahman* is not to be descriptively specified in any way (« ... *yadā punaḥ svarūpam eva nirdidikṣitaṃ bhavati nirastasarvopādhiviśeṣaṃ tadā na śakyate kenacid api prakāreṇa nirdeṣṭum* », *ibidem*). The fact that the referent

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is to be linguistically comprehended in its *svarūpa*, as Śaṅkara seems to imply with his denial of such a possibility in regard of *Brahman*, is quite important: it shows that the function of verbal sign is already in itself what in Indian theory of definition is normally the function of *Lakṣaṇa*: hit the mark of the object by catching its *svarūpa*, intended not as essence like in Aristoteles' Real Definition, but as a structural configuration of experience in presence of the object, according to which the object is recognizable without errors (on this theory, cfr. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, vol. II, London[7] 1962, pp. 47 f.; M. Biardeau, *La définition dans la pensée indienne*, in *Journal Asiatique* 245 [1957], pp. 371 ff.; J. F. Staal, *The theory of definition in Indian Logic*, in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 81 [1961], pp. 122 ff.).

It is keeping in mind this at least semi-definitional function of verbal sign, that we can better understand the reading of « *Neti neti* » on the part of Śaṅkara: recurring to a metalinguistic approach, and treating as an object language the normal semantic level referring to dual experience of any given language, he employs as a device of *nirdeśa* the very denial of applicability of verbal signs in their normal relationship of linguistic description to *Brahman* as a referent. He constructs a second level relationship between this negation at the metalinguistic level and *Brahman* as a referent, understanding the fact of being a referent as the fact of being individuated in the semi-definitional way in which normally verbal signs should point out objects. *Brahman* can be recognized as it were by eliminating all other referents at the first level, that of object language. Instead of guiding the attention to a certain section of the world of objects, the *vākya* extrudes from the field of attention severally each object of such world, leaving *Brahman* alone as a not-objective subject. The warding off of all the descriptive specifications which may be given and of their referents (*prāptinirdeśa-pratiṣedha, Bṛ.Up.Bh.* 2,3,6) is the only ascertainable detail of the Divine *Quid*. It is possible that Śaṅkara be indebted for this delimitative function of negation to the *Vijñānavāda* semantic doctrine of *Apoha*, rediscovered at phonemic level by De Saussure in the West, since the *advaitin* makes use of this very term in our context to express the removal of any objectual disguise suggested by verbal signs as operational value of the Upaniṣadic negative statement (*sarvopādhiviśeṣā-pohena*). But we must be cautious in the acknowledgement of this coincidence of approach between Śaṅkara and Buddhists: in fact, he is prepared to take *Apoka* only in this specific connexion. Śaṅkara refuses to accept its application whenever the individuating function through negation is to be exercised by a not negative verbal description. It is only the fact that *all* possible variables are included into refusal by « *Neti neti* », that legitimates us in taking it as a *nirdeśa* of a sort (« *... Yad yat prāptaṃ tat tat niṣidhyate tathā ca sati anirdiṣṭāsaṅkā brahmaṇaḥ parihṛtā bhavati anyathā hi nakāradvayena prakṛtadvaya-pratiṣedhe yad anyat prakṛtāt pratiṣiddhadvayāt brahma tan na nirdi-ṣṭam kīdṛśaṃ nu khalu ity āśaṅkā na nivartiṣyate tathā ca anarthakaś*

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ca sa nirdeśaḥ », *ibidem*), whereas the alleged individuating efficacity of *Apoha* in other, and less comprehensive, instances, covering but an indefinite multitude of variables without any guarantee of all-inclusiveness, is a logical impossibility. To quote Śaṅkara's *Upadeśasāhasrī* 2,18,148):

Apoho yadi bhinnānāṃ vṛttis tasya kathaṃ gavi /
nābhavā bhedakāḥ sarve viśeṣā vā kathañcana //

Such being the general perspective of his approach in regard of negative theology, Śaṅkara is confronted in *Taittirīyopaniṣad* 2,1,1 with the famous *vākya* « *Satyaṃ jñānam anantam brahma* ». He has to bring out the distinctive flavour of each designation in the Upaniṣadic description, being well conscious that only one of them is susceptible of being constructed as a negative individuation (« ... *Tatra anantaśabdaḥ antavattvapratiṣedhadvāreṇa viśeṣaṇam / satyajñānaśabdau tu svārthasamarpaṇenaiva viśeṣaṇe bhavataḥ //* »), and in the same time to keep on denying the applicability of these designations to *Brahman*. He succeeds in this difficult task *inter alia* by sketching the distinction between the two different modes of relationship between verbal sign and referent about which we are concerned here.

Śaṅkara begins with pointing out that the verbal signs in the *vākya* are normally associated with individuating features (« ... *Viśeṣaṇārthāni padāni* », *ibidem*). As referent (*viśeṣya*) of them, *Brahman* can be object of a legitimate psychological pulsion to apprehend it by verbal means (*vivakṣitatva*), and so the *Śruti* is in its own right meaningful. As in worldly contexts, we are here in a situation in which our attention is brought on the referent by distinguishing it from a background of other referents (« *viśeṣyāntarebhyo nirdhāryate* », *ibidem*), and such is the proper function of every verbal description. The difficulty is, as Śaṅkara himself admits, that we cannot treat the relationship between *Brahman* and its background as the one between other referents and the same: *Brahman* is not on the stage, if we can use this metaphor, but the spectator of it, and the only one besides that. The so-called *viśeṣya* is such in a way so wholly different from other ones, that one might even doubt its being a *viśeṣya* at all. As Sureśvarācārya cleanly puts it,

Nanu vyabhicarad vastu syād viśeṣyaṃ viśeṣaṇaiḥ /
brahmāntarād ṛte tv atra kuto brūhi viśeṣyatā //

(*Taittirīyopanisadbhāṣyavārtika* 2,49). The *pūrvapakṣin* in Śaṅkara contends that there can be meaningfulness in the operation of verbally enucleating a referent (*viśeṣaṇasyārthattvam*) when, and only when, our attention is thereby fixed on a member of a given class, arresting, as it were, our scanning over the class as a complex of possible referents, each one susceptible of being individuated by apt specification (« *yadā hy anekāni dravyāṇi ekajātīyāny anekaviśeṣaṇayogīni ca* », *Tai. Up. Bh.* 2,1,1). But *Brahman* is totally set apart, as the sun in respect of the objects that it illuminates. The *uttarapakṣin* answers by introducing

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the distinction between *Viśeṣaṇa* and *Lakṣaṇa*. With *Brahman* we have not an instance of simple de-finition, individuation, taking away of the referent from a collection of more or less similar objects, it is true. We must apprehend it in itself, without any reference to background, in its concrete irreplaceable peculiarity. And whereas the normal function of communicating individuating features, *viśeṣaṇa*-s, as performed by verbal signs in regard of objects correlated to them as *viśeṣya*-s, would have been sufficient to distinguish *Brahman*, if it could be brought inside the field of attention like any other referent, the actual impossibility of such en epistemological operation makes necessary to construct a new function, more wide in its scope and application, to conserve the meaningfulness of verbal signs in respect of the Divine *Quid*. Śaṅkara is quite aware that every possible positive predicate is susceptible to be read just as the negation of the symmetrically contrary negative predicate, without implying any adfirmation of its own (such is the case with the instrumental *pratijñā* on the part of *Mādhyamika*-s, and we find the very same negative approach in *Kevalādvaitavāda*, for instance in Vācaspatimiśra's treatment of *ananyatva* in *Bhāmatī*, 2,1,14), and he suggests that even in this way the Upaniṣadic descriptions could be disentangled by the riddle of the apparent application to *Brahman* on their part of illegitimate *viśeṣaṇa*-s, conveyed through verbal signs. But such an exegetical treatment, so like the Buddhist attainment of *Lakṣaṇaśūnyatā*, would imply to the eyes of the great *advaitin* a price seemingly too high, as one can understand from the objection put in the mouth of the *pūrvapakṣin* that verbal signs simply negative in their function cannot have any referent, as in the case of the witty nonsense *śloka*:

Mṛgatṛṣṇāmbhasi snātaḥ khapuṣpakṛtaśekharaḥ /
eṣa vandhyāsuto yāti śaśaśṛṅgadhanurdharaḥ //.

He states in the answer to such a remark that *Śruti*'s descriptions conserve their power of restricting somehow to their referent the range of their designative function (*viśeṣyaniyantṛtva*). Even if their original semantic function is to be substituted with a new, different one, *arthavattva* is to be conserved. We could say that the fact of having a referent, of being meaningful in respect of it, is the minimum commune factor between the two different functions given by Śaṅkara to verbal signs. The new function is called by him « *Lakṣaṇa* ». This term has many technical meanings in Sanskrit uses. Śaṅkara delimits its particular import in his metalinguistic construction by distinguishing the structure *lakṣaṇa-lakṣya* from the normal one *viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣya* in respect of the scope of delimitation by verbal means. A *lakṣaṇa*-description is universal as the negative individuation by the « *Neti neti* » *vākya*, it forms its positive counterpart as contrasted with the normal conveying of individuating features on the part of language: both metalinguistic *apoha* and *lakṣaṇa* are opposed to *viśeṣaṇa* under such aspect. But here the similarity stops. While the negation is not bringing our awareness on any particular referent, but only drawing it away from any referent known,

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lakṣaṇa concentrates immediately our awareness on the referent, while the rest of the universe is left out. The scanning on the part of attention of the series of possible referents is eliminated in both instances, but whereas in the first one such scanning is prevented by the utter denial of its efficacity, in the second one it is replaced by a shifting in verbal sign's appeal to attention. I would like to make use here of a photographical metaphore for the sake of clearness. *Lakṣaṇa* has the same ratio to *viśeṣaṇa* as a blown-up picture to a normal one: the interesting detail fills the entire screen, making from the very beginning of cognitive process unnecessary to point out it, as it would be the case with a more complex image, containing several details barring out the possibility of immediate individuation of every one of them. In *lakṣaṇa*, verbal communication, instead of guiding with its descriptive role the listener's awareness in its search for the referent, brings such awareness to the referent with not-delayed, lightning-like, immediacy. Its appeal to awareness implies a different process of apprehension that one would be tempted to call intuition, if such a term were not conveying a note of lack of clearness utterly extraneous to *brahmānubhūti*. The example given by Śaṅkara to illustrate this kind of *anapekṣa* pointing out of referent is the description apparently semi-tautological of *ākāśa* as *avakāśapradātṛ*, which speaks to our feelings of room-awareness without any relationship to a background of objectual experience. By making use of the term « *Lakṣaṇa* », Śaṅkara shows his keen semantic sensibility: whether one be commited to derive it from the root √ *Lakṣ* or from the root √ *Lag*, its import of device whose operational efficacity is to bring on immediate attention on the part of observer-listener is unmistakable, when we take into account its semantic interplay with the cognate or phonetically convergent term « *Lakṣa* », whose figurative force as a pointer out as target/mark has never been lessened by technical uses. One must admit that very often « *Lakṣaṇa* » stands in normal Indian uses for what Śaṅkara calls « *Viśeṣaṇa* » (such is the case, for instance, with *svalakṣaṇa*-s as datation features in Dhanyaviṣṇu's inscription on the great Gupta *Varāha* at Ēraṇ, on which cfr. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* vol. III, p. 159, line 2 f.; with the sense of « individuating marks » that is to be found already in Kauṭilya (cfr. 1,12,1; 2,7,33; 2,10,40; 2,11,116; 2,14,7; 2,18,4; 2,29,11; 7,6,41 [near to the sense of the perhaps related term « *Liṅga* » in its logical meaning of sign in the process of *anumāna*]; 7,9,12. But in 3,1,15 the sense is more akin to Śaṅkara's one — I owe the signalling of these passes to the courtesy of Prof. Oscar Botto —; with the very terminology of logic definition, in its relational context; with the designation of *lakṣaṇa* given to phenomenization of *ālayavijñāna* in *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 37,10 ff. and 38,5 ff.; with the same designation given to secondary characteristics in Patañjali's *Yogasūtra* 3,13; with the sense of grammatical rules embodied in *sūtra*-s [cfr. Renou, *Terminologie grammaticale du sanskrit*, Paris, 1957, pp. 261 and 483], and so on).

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A very near disciple of Śaṅkara as Padmapāda is so aware of this fact, that he substitutes his teacher's *viśeṣaṇa* with *viśeṣalakṣaṇa*, distinguishing from it Śaṅkara's *lakṣaṇa* specified as *upalakṣaṇa* (cfr. *Pañcapādikā, varṇaka* 5,2 [Madras Government Oriental Series n. 155, p. 296]).

In delineating the new relationship between verbal sign and referent, Śaṅkara takes into account also the alteration of meaning undergone by the normal verbal picture in its becoming instrumental to *lakṣaṇa*: its original descriptive function is in fact eliminated by such redirection (« ... *lakṣaṇārthapradhānāni viśeṣaṇāni na viśeṣaṇapradhānāny eva* », *Tai. Up. Bh.* 2,1,1). The proper referents of verbal signs as *viśeṣaṇa*-s, in this case a *buddhidharma* for « *Jñāna* » and *bāhyasattāsāmānya* for « *Satya* », are subordinated to the individuation of a collective referent, in regard of which every verbal sign is not enunciative, but indicative (*tal lakṣyate na ca ucyate, ibidem*): if *arthavattva* of words is rescued, *avākyārthatva* of *Brahman* must be saved too. Śaṅkara knows quite well the semantic device of *lakṣaṇā* as suggestive indirect use of the verbal sign (cfr. for instance his *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*, 3,1,22 and 4,1,6, where he states that it is based on connection in some degree between two different referents: « *lakṣaṇā ca yathāsaṃbhavaṃ saṃnikṛṣṭena viprakṛṣṭena vā svārthasaṃbandhena pravartate* / ». He is somewhat less strict in this respect than Kumārila (on whose views, cfr. the clear exposition by Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat, *Le Pratāparudrīya de Vidyānātha*, Pondichéry 1963, pp. 303 ff.), and it is possible that his *lakṣaṇa* feels the effects of such familiarity. The indicative function in our text is nevertheless different than in the case of *lakṣaṇā* in Śaṅkara's time (here we must dissent from the reading by Hòng-Sy-Quy, *Le moi qui me dépasse selon le Vedānta*, Saigon, 1971, p. 108 ff.). It shall be brought inside *lakṣaṇā* as a broader category later as *jahadajahallakṣaṇā* (cfr. the brilliant synthesis by Veermani Prasad Upadhyaya, *Lights on Vedānta*, Chowkhamba S.S.S. vol. 6, 1959, p. 233 f.), but for Śaṅkara it is a new, autonomous way of employing verbal description: his emphasis is not on the simple change of meaning on the part of verbal sign, but on a richer and subtler semantic phenomenon, namely that of collective relationship with a referent (on which argument see our: *Śaṅkara* cit., pp. 128; for some instances of such a phenomenon, characteristic of Śaṅkara's exegesis, cfr. *Chāndogyopaniṣadbhāṣya* 5,11,1 and *Upadeśasāhasrī* 2,18,181 ff. and 195 ff., where the *anvayavyatireka* approach is clearly exposed). Such relationship is not a change of meaning, but a mutual revelation of semantic hues that verbal signs left alone could never have explicited: each one enters a superior *Gestalt* in which the sum is someting new and different from the parts. To put it in the beautiful form of *Upadeśasāhasrī* 2,18,173,

Svārthasya hy aprahāṇena viśiṣṭārthasamarpakau /
pratyagātmāvagatyantau nānyo 'rtho 'rthād virodhyataḥ //.

It has been suggested that *Viśeṣaṇa* and *Lakṣaṇa* anticipate the two kinds of relationship between word and meaning introduced by John Stuart Mill, namely connotation and denotation. But such comparison

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is misleading: on one hand, there is no distinction between sense and referent in *Viśeṣaṇa*, while such distinction emerges in *Lakṣaṇa*; on the other hand, denotation seems to be exactly corresponding to the *viśeṣaṇa* through association with designation in Śaṅkara's typology.

Not being an object, *Brahman* could not enter inside the scope of designation any more than inside that of connotation. To sum things up, the contribution to Sanskrit lexicon as a metalanguage on the part of Śaṅkara that we have been here briefly taking into account is an entirely new and vital contribution to metalinguistics in general, and it proves once more how deep and supple an instrument of thinking Sanskrit language can afford us.

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TADEUSZ POBOZNIAK

SANSKRIT AND THE ROMANI LANGUAGE

Romani, the language of the Gypsies in Europe was identified in the second half of the 18th century as an Indo-Aryan language. As the knowledge of Indian languages in Europe increased, attempts were made to localize also the Gypsy language in some Indian region and to prove its affinity with some Indo-Aryan dialectic group. Its structure was parallel to New Indo-Aryan languages, but no such Indian language was found from which all features of Romani could be derived. Although for the New Indian languages we have no full records of their historical evolution either, nevertheless there are sufficient texts from various historical periods to reconstruct the development of these languages and to fill the philological lacunae with hypotheses. For the Romani language such intermediate links are wanting. We have only the earliest historical texts in this language from the 16th century. We infere therefore that as for contemporary Indo-Aryan languages the oldest shape is Sanskrit, so also for the Romani language, the whole structure of which is parallel to New Indian languages, its oldest evolutionary state must be the Old Indian language and its representative is the same Sanskrit.

There is an opinion very often repeated among the Gypsiologists as well as among the Indianists also, that the original language of the Gypsies was Dravidian and it was replaced by them with some Aryan language owing to their wanderings among the Aryan tribes of India.

It is a fact, that all Indo-Aryan languages have developed assimilating Dravidian elements and therefore they are all the result of the fusion of various elements in their structure. Romani is also the result of such evolution, but we have neither historical data on any arrivals of the ancestors of the Gypsies from Dravidian territories nor on any noticeable change of their language. Therefore the Gypsies are in respect of their language such Aryans, as the inhabitants of Hindustan, who use Indo-Aryan languages. No anthropological data contradict it. Special difficulty in the reconstruction of their proto-language lies in the fact that we have no documents about the state of their language in the

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period when they left India. We do not know when it happened and from what Indian region they emigrated to the West.

There have been various attempts of a more exact localization of Romani among the Aryan languages. Apart from the older supposition of Beames, that Romani is nearest to Panjabi, we have the first hypothesis of Miklosich that Romani belongs to the North-West Indian languages, because it shares with them such characteristic features as the retention of the initial groups of consonants *dr- tr-* and of medial ones *-st-, -ṣṭ-*.

Another theory was worked out by R. L. Turner who having made a distinction among various features of Romani i.e. on the one hand conservations and on the other innovations, came to the conclusion, that Romani was formerly a central Indo-Aryan language, but afterwards it was transferred to the North-West of India. Romani treats the Sanskritic groups of consonants *ṛt, kṣ, tv*, initial *y-* and intervocalic *-m-* as all central Indian languages do. On the North-Western territory of India it maintained the groups *br-, dr-, tr-, -st-* and *-ṣṭ-* like the so called Kafiri and Dardic languages.

Besides Turner nobody has worked out this problem until now and his point of view has been generally accepted. In the investigation of the Romani language the grammatical facts of Hindi can be taken as representative for the Central Indian languages.

When we confront the morphologic structure of Romani with that of New Indian languages we state a surprising fact, that Romani is more conservative in maintaining the older structure than the languages of India and it is nearer to Sanskrit. Its cause is quite natural, namely the so called « colonial languages » i.e. transferred into new territories, develop more slowly than the languages which remained in their own lands. Taking this fact into consideration we can state that the opinion that Romani is a « degenerate relative of the venerated Sanskrit » [1], is not logical.

In the phonological system Romani has maintained the difference between intervocalic cerebral and dental consonants. The first ones are represented by by *-r-*, the other by *-l-*. Old Indian consonantal groups which in the Middle Indian languages generally have been assimilated and afterwards simplified, in Romani have been maintained in some positions. These are the above mentioned groups *dr-, tr-, bhr-*. Some examples: *Skr. trīṇi*, Pkr. *tiṇṇi*, Hi *tīn*, Romani *trin* « three »; Skr. *drākṣā* « grape », Hi. *dākh*, Rom. *drakh*; Skr. *bhrātar*, Pkr. *bhāda*, H. *bhāī*, Rom. *phral* « brother ».

Old Indian groups *-st-, -ṣṭ-* also have been maintained in Romani medially, Skr. *aṅguṣṭha* « thumb », Pkr. *angutṭha*, Rom. *angušt*; Skr. *hasta*, Pkr. *hattha*, Hi. *hāth*, Rom. *vast* « hand ». Old Indian intervocalic dentals

1. Eduard Hrkal, *Einführung in die mitteleuropäische Zigeunersprache*, Leipzig, 1940. « es ist eine entartete Verwandte des ehrwürdigen Sanskrit ».

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which have disappeared from New Indian dialects, remained in Romani as *-l-*: Skr. *mṛta*, Pkr. *muda*, Hi. *muā*, Rom. *mulo* « a dead », « ghost ».

A characteristic feature of Romani that the aspirated plosives shift the aspiration on the Anlaut, is only a continuation of the Grassmann's law; Skr. *dugdha*, Pkr. *duddha*, Hi. *dūdh*, Rom. *thud* « milk ».

In morphology the Sanskritic type of inflexion has been maintained in Romani to a greater extent than in New Indian languages. In the Indo-Aryan languages the form of casus rectus is opposed to casus obliqui; however, the Romani form of casus obliquus is a real case with the function of the accusative or dative, whereas the oblique form in Hindi does not express any relation and must have a postposition; Romani: *baro raklo* « a big boy ». Hindi: *baṛā laṛkā*.

Objective case in Romani: *bare rakles* — is the accusative or dative, whereas in Hindi the form *baṛe laṛke* as the accusative or dative must have the postposition *ko*: *baṛe laṛke ko*.

In the comparison the majority of Romani dialects has maintained the Old Aryan exponent of the comparative *-tara*, changed to *-der*, whereas Hindi expresses it through a syntactic construction *se baṛā*, probably under the influence of a Dravidian type.

The Romani form of the personal pronoun *ame* « we » is a continuation of the Vedic form *asme*, in Hindi we have an innovation *ham*. In the conjugation of Romani the inflexion of present tense is a continuation of the Old Indian form, whereas all New Indian languages have introduced here periphrastic innovations. Sanskrit endings: *-āmi*, *-asi*, *-ati*, Romani endings *-av*, *-es*, *-el*, e.g. *kerav* « I do », *keres*, *kerel*. The past participle in Romani is a continuation of the Sanskrit forms: *mulo* « dead », Skr. *mṛta*, *suto* « one who was sleeping », Skr. *supta*, *tato* « warm », Skr. *tapta*, *mato* « drunk », Skr. *matta*.

Many Romani particles can also be derived from Old Indian shapes:

ma « lest », Skr. *mā*
vi « also », Hi. *bhī*
the « and », Skr. *atha*
dur « far », Skr. *dūra* « remote »
keci « how much », Skr. *kati*
sigo « swiftly », Skr. *śighra*
opre « above », Skr. *upari*.

The vocabulary of any language is subject to foreign influences, the Romani language even more so. Nevertheless the language of the Gypsies has retained many Old Indian words, especially in its basic vocabulary:

anro « egg », Skr. *aṇḍa*
aver « other », Skr. *apara*
bay « sleeve », Skr. *bāhu* « arm »
bakro « ram », Skr. *barkara* « goat »
bango « crooked », Skr. *vakra*

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beng « devil », Skr. *vyaṅga* « snake » / change of meaning under the influence of Christian concepptions /
berš « year », Skr. *varṣa* « rainy season »
beš « to sit », Skr. *upaviś*
biš « twenty », Skr. *viṁśati*, Hi. *bīs*
buti « work », Skr. *vṛtti*, Pkr. *vutti*
čang « leg », Skr. *jaṅgha* « thigh »
čuča « woman's breast », Skr. *cuci*
čhib « tongue », Skr. *jihvā*, Hi. *jībh*
da « to give », Skr. *dā*
dand « tooth », Skr. *danta*
deš « ten », Skr. *daśa*
doš « fault », Skr. *doṣa*
gelo « gone », Skr. *gata*, Hi. *gayā*
gono « bag », Skr. *goṇa*
kalo « black », Skr. *kāla*
kan « ear », Skr.*karṇa*, Hi. *kān*
kašt « wood », Skr. *kaṣṭha*, Hi. *kāṭh*
kovlo « soft », Skr. *komala*
khas « hay », Skr. *ghāsa* « fodder »
lajo « shame », Skr. *lajj*
lindra « dream », Skr. *nidrā*
mačho « fish », Skr. *matsya*, Pkr. *maccha*
manuš « man », Skr. *manuṣa*
nak « nose », Hi. *nāk*
nango « naked », Skr. *nagna*
nevo « new », Skr. *nava*, Hi. *nayā*
nilay « summer », Skr. *nidāgha* « heat »
pani « water », Skr. *pānīya*, Hi. *pānī*
patrin « leaf », Skr. *pattra*
pi « to drink », Skr. *pā*
purano « old /thing/ », Skr. *purāṇa*
phand « to shut », Skr. *bandh*
phuč « to ask », Skr. *pṛcchati*, Hi. *pūchnā*
phuro « old /person/ », Skr. *vṛddha*, Pkr. *vuḍḍha*, Hi. *buṛhā*
rašay « priest », Vedic *ṛṣi*
rat « blood », Skr. *rakta*, Pkr. *ratta*
rati « night », Skr. *ratrī*, Hi. *rāt*
ray « master », Skr. *rājan*, Hi. *rāi*
rom « Gypsy », « husband », Skr. *ḍoma* « an Indian caste »
rup « silver », Skr. *rūpya*, Hi. *rupayā*
sap « snake », Skr. *sarpa*, Pkr. *sappa*, Hi. *sāṁp*
savoro « all », Skr. *sarva*
sov « to sleep », Skr. *svap*, Hi. *sonā*
šing « horn », Skr. *śṛṅga*, Pkr. *siṅga*
šuko « dry », Skr. *śuṣka*, Pkr. *sukka*
tele « below », Skr. *tale*, Hi. *tale* « beneath »

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truš « thirst », Skr. *tṛṣā*
yag « fire », Skr. *agni*, Pkr. *aggi*, Hi. *āg*
yevend « winter », Skr. *hemanta*.

This short outline shows that Romani is no degenerate jargon, but an ordinary Indo-Aryan language which has developed under special circumstances.

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GUSTAV ROTH

OBSERVATIONS ON THE FIRST CHAPTER OF ASAṄGA'S BODHISATTVABHŪMI

§ 1 The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (*Bbh*) is the fifteenth section of the *Yogācārabhūmi* of the Vijñanavāda school, which consists of altogether seventeen sections. About its literary history see Wayman, pp. 41-46. *Bbh*, composed in Sanskrit, is attributed to Asaṅga (c. 4th cent. A.D.). About his date see Wayman, pp. 19-24, p. 23 in particular, and Dutt, *Introduction*, p. 4.

In it, the first chapter, called *gotra-paṭalam*, is of fundamental importance with regard to the basic conditions of a Bodhisattva's career. Hitherto, the very beginning of *Bbh*, containing introductory sentences with reference to the whole work, was only accessible in its Tibetan translation inspite of Wogihara's edition of the Sanskrit text (1936), in which, pp. 1-2, Wogihara had the Tibetan text printed, as the beginning was missing in the two Sanskrit manuscripts which he was using for his edition.

This beginning is now available in its original Sanskrit in Dutt's *Bbh-edition* (1966), which is based on a photographic copy of the R. Sāṅkṛtyāyana-collection in Patna. Yet, due to the difficulties of its script, a number of wrong readings have been noted, so that a re-edition of this portion may be welcome, to which a tentative translation is added.

The *gotra-paṭala* was read with the students of the « Seminar für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde » of Göttingen University in the winter session 1974/75 with the participation of Mr. Akira Yuyama who very kindly procured copies of Wogihara's edition from Japan and enriched our discussions by his learned remarks. I am indebted to Dr. Georg von Simson who made many helpul suggestions.

REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

Bbh: *Bodhisattvabhūmi.*

BHSD: F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary.* Volume II: *Dictionary*, New Haven, 1953.

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Dutt: *Bodhisattvabhumi* [being the XVth Section of Asangapada's Yogacarabhumi]. Edited by N. Dutt, Patna, 1966 (Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series Vol. VII).

EI: *Epigraphia Indica.*

Ms: *Manuscript of Bbh*, the photocopy of which was brought by R. Sāṅkṛtyāyan in the year 1938 from Tibet. Its negatives are kept in the Archives of the K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Museum Buildings, Patna-1. Dutt, who used it for his edition of the Sanskrit Text, does not give details about it. There are altogether 30 photoplates, labelled 1A, 1B up to 15A, 15B, including 266 folios, of seven lines each, which are numbered on the reverse.

R. SĀṄKṚTYĀYANA, *Search for Sanskrit Mss. in Tibet*, in « Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society », 24, 1938, p. 145, notes under No. 352: « Bodhisattvabhūmi Asaṃga — Kuṭilā (script) — 12" X 2" — 226 (printing mistake for 266!) — 7 ». A photo-copy was kindly supplied through the courtesy of Prof. S. H. Askari, Patna, which is kept in the Seminar für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde of Göttingen University.

Pe: *The Tibetan Tripitaka*, Peking Edition. Edited by D.T.S. Suzuki. Tokyo-Kyoto, 1957. See *byaṅ-chub-sems-pa'i sa=bodhisattva-bhūmi*, Vol. 110, p. 131 ff.

Ruegg[a]: D. SEYFORT RUEGG, *Ārya and Bhadanta Vimuktasena on the Gotra-Theory of the Prajñāpāramitā.* Beiträge zur Geistesgeschichte Indiens - Festschrift für Erich Frauwallner. WZKSO 12-13 (1968-1969), pp. 303-317.

Ruegg[b]: D. SEYFORT RUEGG, *La Théorie du Tathāgatagarbha et du Gotra*, Paris, 1969.

Schmithausen[a]: L. SCHMITHAUSEN, *Der Nirvāṇa-Abschnitt in der Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī der Yogācārabhūmiḥ*, Wien, 1969.

Schmithausen[b]: L. SCHMITHAUSEN, *Zu D. Seyfort Rueggs Buch* « La Théorie du Tathāgatagarbha et du Gotra ». WZKS 17 (1973), pp. 123-160.

Sbh: *Śrāvakabhūmi of Ācārya Asaṅga.* Deciphered and edited by K. Shukla, Patna, 1973 (Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series Vol. XIV).

Wayman: A. WAYMAN, *Analysis of the Śrāvakabhūmi Manuscript*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1961.

Wogihara: U. WOGIHARA, *Bodhisattvabhūmi* edited, Tokyo, 1971 (Reprint).

The edition of the text-portion under discussion precisely follows the orthography of Ms in which consistency is maintained: gemination of consonants after superscript *r*, with the exception of *ya*, and occasionally of *ba*, consistent writing of *satva* instead of *sattva*, e.g. in *Bodhisatva.*

Ms is not dated. Its palaeographic features are those of the 12th-14th cent. A.D.[1], Its characteristics: there is no horizontal top-dash on the top of a letter as in the case of the manuscript of the *Bhikṣunī-Vinaya of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin*[2]. Instead of it, there is a more curved top-close, as well as a distinct hook on top of the letters *ka, ca, cha, ṭa* (with a turned-up hook on the top-curve, by which it can be distinguished from the letter *da*), *ḍha, ta, da, na, ba, bha, ra, la, ha.*

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§ 1. 1. Cf. *Table of Letters*, Library Mark 1961.2 (1179 A.D.), and *Letter-numerals*, Library Mark 1395 (1385 A.D.) in C. BENDALL, *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge.* Cambridge, 1883.

2. Edited by G. Roth, Patna. 1970 (Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series, Vol. 12). See Introduction, pp. 18-27.

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In general, Ms belongs to the type of *pṛṣṭha-mātra* script, which is characteristic for the Sanskrit manuscripts, which Shri Rahula Sankrityayana discovered in Tibet.

N.B. - The marginal figures refer to a letter with which a new line on the particular leaf of Ms begins. Such a letter is printed in bold type.

§ 2. BODHISATTVABHŪMI (fol. 1b-2a)

1 § 2.1 **S**iddham[1] namo Buddhāya // daśeme dharmmāḥ saphalasya Bodhisatva-mārggasya Mahāyānasya saṃgrahāya saṃvarttante / katame daśa / ādhāro liṅgaṃ pakṣo

2 'dhyāśayaḥ[2] / vihāra u**p**apattiḥ parigraho bhūmiś caryā pratiṣṭā ca /

uddānam //

ādhāro liṅga-pakṣādhyāśaya-vihāra[3] upapatti[4]-

parigraho bhūmiś caryā pratiṣṭhā paścimā bhavet //

3 § 2.2 tatrā**dh**araḥ katamaḥ / iha Bodhisatvasya svaṃ[5] gotraṃ prathamaś cittotpādaḥ sarvve ca bodhi-pakṣyā dharmmā

4 ādhāra ity ucyate / tat kasya hetoḥ / iha **Bo**dhisatvo gotraṃ niśritya pratiṣṭhāya bhavyo[6] bhavati pratibalo 'nuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhim abhisaṃboddhuṃ / tasmād

5 bhavyatāyā[7] gotram ādhāra ity u**cya**te / iha Bodhisatvaḥ prathama-cittotpādaṃ niśritya pratiṣṭhāya dāne 'pi[8] prayujyate / śīle kṣāntau vīrye dhyāne

6 prajñāyām api prayujyate **i**ti / ṣaṭsu[9] pāramitāsu puṇya-saṃbhāre jñāna-saṃbhāre sarvveṣu ca bodhipakṣyeṣu prayujyate / tasmāt prathama-

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§ 2. 1. Expressed by the symbol T. Cf. D. C. SIRCAR, *Three Pala Inscriptions*, E I 35 (1963), p. 227 and Plate I, p. 237 and Plate II. Dutt: oṃ namo buddhāya.

2. Dutt: 'dhyāśayo.

3. Dutt: vihārā.

4. Dutt: upapattiḥ.

5. Dutt: sva-.

6. Dutt reads: pratiṣṭhāpitavyo, and corrects: pratiṣṭhāpayitavyo.
Cf. bhavyo bhavati pratibalo 'nantaraṃ... Bbh I.6 (Ed. Dutt, p. 55.6-7), evam asau bhavyo bhavati pratibalaś ca... Sbh I (Ed. Shukla, p. 15.18), tatra bhavya-jātīyaḥ pudgalo gotraṃ niśritya gotraṃ pratiṣṭhāya mṛdūni kuśala-mūlāni pratilabhate / ... (ib. p. 26.20-21).

7. Dutt reads: bhavyatāyā, but conjectures: sabhagatayā and refers to the Tibetan. Its *skal-pa-can-du 'gyur ziṅ* (Wog. p. 1.20-21, Pe Vol. 110, p. 133, fol. 2b.1), however, reflects *bhavya* here.

8. Ms: pi.

9. Dutt: wrongly *yad vā*, refering to Tibetan *de ltar*. The passage reads: de-ltar pha-rol-tu phyin-pa d r u g - p o bsod-nams-kyi tshogs daṅ ye-śes kyi tshogs daṅ byaṅ-chub kyi phyogs kyi chos thams-cad la sbyor-bar byed-pa'i phyir-te (Wogihara, p. 2.3-5, Pe Vol. 110, p. 133, fol. 2b.3).

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7 cittotpādas [10] tasya Bodhisatva-caryā-prayogasyādhāra ity ucyate /
§ 2.3 iha Bodhisatvas tam eva Bodhisatva-caryā-prayogaṃ niśritya pratiṣṭhāyānuttarāṃ samyak-saṃbodhiṃ
1 paripūrayati / tasmāt sa Bodhisatva-caryā-prayogas tasyā Mahā-bodhi-paripūrer [11] ādhāra ity ucyate [12] / a-gotrasthaḥ pudgalo gotre 'sati cittotpāde 'pi [13] yatna-
2 samāśraye saty abhavyo [14] 'nuttarāyāḥ samyak-saṃbodheḥ paripūraye / tad anena paryāyeṇa veditavyam anutpādita-cittasyāpi Bodhisatvasyākṛte 'pi [15]
3 Bodhisatva-caryā-prayoge gotram ādhāra iti /
§ 2.4 sacet [16] punar gotra-sthaś cittaṃ notpādayati / Bodhisatva [17]-caryāsu na prayujyate / na kṣipraṃ bodhim ārāgayati /
4 bhavyo 'pi [18] / [19] sa viparyāyāt [20] kṣipram ārāgayatīti veditavyaṃ [21] / tat [22] punar etad gotram ādhāra ity ucyate / upastambho hetur niśraya
5 upaniṣat pūrvaṅgamo nilaya ity apy ucyate / yathā-gotram evaṃ prathama-cittotpādaḥ [23] sarvvā ca Bodhisatva-caryā /

§ 3. TRANSLATION

§ 3.1 *Siddham* (Symbol). Obeisance to the Buddha. The following ten *Dharmas* serve for the obtainment of the Great Vehicle [1] — a Bodisattva's fruitful path. Which are the ten? (1) basis, (2) characteristics (that mark a Bs.), (3) position (a Bs. in the position of a householder or of one,

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10. Dutt (n. 6) reads: dānasya bodhisattve, which does not exist in Ms. In the text he has: -cittotpādasya bodhisattvasya caryā-° (1.13-14).
11. Ms: mahābodhi-pūrer.
12. Ms: ucya.
13. Ms: pi.
14. Dutt: satyabhavyaś cānuttarāyāḥ...
15. Ms: bodhisatvasya / kṛte pi...
16. Dutt: sa cet.
17. Ms: bodhi-caryāsu, which Dutt accepts. See the following note.
18. Dutt: tāsvapi, against Ms. The Tibetan reads: gal-te rigs-la gnas kyaṅ sems skyed-par mi byed la, b y a ṅ - c h u b - s e m s - d p a ' i spyod-pa-dag la yaṅ sbyor-bar mi byed na ni s k a l - p a - y o d k y a ṅ byaṅ-chub myur-du 'grub-par mi 'gyur-ro, de las bzlog-pa ni myur-du 'grub-par rig-par bya'o (Pe Vol. 110, p. 133, fol. 2b.8-3a.1, cf. Wogihara, p. 2.20-24).
19. Ms: no daṇḍa after *bhavyo 'pi*.
20. Dutt: omits *sa*, and reads *viparyayāt*.
21. With this sentence, the Tibetan quotation ends in Wogihara's edition, and the Sanskrit text begins. As the following sentences complete this introductory part, they are quoted here.
22. Wog.: *tat* om.
23. Dutt: prathamaś cittotpādaḥ, against Ms.

§ 3. 1. This seems to allude to the title which may be alternatively given to Bbh, mentioned at the end of this text: *sā khalv iyaṃ Bodhisatvabhūmir Bodhisatva-piṭaka-mātṛkety apy ucyate/ Mahāyāna-saṃgraha ity apy ucyate...* (Dutt, p. 282.10-11, Wog., p. 409.14-16).

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who has entered ascetic life)[2], (4) inclination (of a Bs. towards salvation), (5) spiritual grounds (*vihāra*), (6) rebirth, (7) relation (of a Bs. with other persons), (8) spiritual stages (*bhūmi*), (9) course of conduct, and (10) ultimate stage[3].

Summary: basis, characteristics, position, inclination, spiritual grounds, rebirth, relation, spiritual stages, course of conduct, and ultimate stage as the last.

§ 3.2 What is there the basis? Here, it is a Bodhisattva's own innate spiritual predisposition (to reach Enlightenment)[4], the initial production of the Thought[5], and all the factors belonging to Enlightenment, this is called the basis. For what reason? Here, the Bodhisattva, who is established, depending on his innate spiritual pre-disposition, is able and capable[6] to attain the unrivalled perfect Enlightenment. Therefore, the innate spiritual predisposition is called the basis of the capabilty (to attain Enlightenment). Here, the Bodhisattva, who is established, depending on the initial production of the thought, is also led towards giving. He is also led towards moral conduct, forbearance, strength, meditation, and perception. Due to the six *Pāramitās*[7] he is led towards an accumulation of meritorious acts, towards an accumulation of knowledge[8], and towards all the factors belonging to Enlightenment. Therefore, the initial production of the thought is called the basis of this performance of the Bodisattva's course of conduct.

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2. *gṛhi-pakṣe vā pravrajita-pakṣe vā varttamānasya Bodhisatvasya samāsataś catvāro dharmmā veditavyāḥ* (Dutt, p. 211.3-4, Wogihara, p. 307.4-5).

3. The titles of the ten items which are repeated in the summary are the keywords for the content of the whole Bbh. No. (1) refers to the first part of it, called *Ādhāra-yoga-sthānam*, including 18 chapters, nos. 2-5 refer to the second part, called *Ādhārānudharma-yoga-sthānam*, containing 4 chapters, and nos. 6-10 refer to the third part, called *Ādhāra-niṣṭha-yoga-sthānam*, comprising 6 chapters of which the 5th chapter, called *Lakṣaṇānuvyañjana-paṭalam*, is not included among the ten keywords of our summary.

4. Ruegga renders *gotra* « (spiritual) Lineage » according to Tibetan rigs, and refers to Chinese hsing « kind of nature and original principle » (p. 303). Schmithausena understands *gotra* as « Anlage » (p. 45), and as « Heilsanlage » n. 47, Schmithausenb « von Anfang an gegebene Anlage zum Heil (*gotram*) » (p. 123), which precisely is the meaning in the context of our Bbh passage.

5. This refers to *bodhi-citta* « thought of resolution to attain *Bodhi* and save every being from misery by leading it to *Bodhi* and *Nirvāṇa* ».

6. Rueggb: « Le Bodhisattva s'établit (*pratisthā-*) en s'appuyant (*niśritya*) sur le *gotra*, et il est capable (*pratibala = mthu yod pa*) d'atteindre le suprème et parfait Éveil » (p. 87). Schmithausenb: « Gestützt und gegründet auf das Gotram ist der Bodhisattva fähig und imstande... » (p. 145).

7. The Tibetan passage reads: ... *śes-rab kyi pha-rol-tu phyin-pa la yaṅ sbyor-bar byed-do. de-ltar pha-rol-tu phyin-pa drug-po...* (see n. 9 of the text).

8. About *puṇya-jñāna*, see Bbh I.3 (Dutt p. 22-23), *puṇya-jñāna-saṃbhāra* Bbh I.10 (Dutt, p. 103.11), Śbh I (Śhukla, p. 7.6), *saṃbhāra-mārga* Śbh III (Shukla, p. 73.16) and Rueggb, pp. 231-234. About *Bodhisattvasya bodhisaṃbhāraḥ* which is twofold: *puṇa-saṃbhāro jñāna-saṃbhāraś ca*, see Bbh I.17 (Dutt, p. 176.20-24).

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§ 3.3 Here, the Bodhisattva, who is established, depending on this very performance of the Bodhisattva's course of conduct, accomplishes the unrivalled perfect Enlightenment. Therefore, this performance of the Bodhisattva's course of conduct is called the basis of the accomplishment of the Great Enlightenment. An individual, who is not established in the innate spiritual predisposition, i.e. when the innate spiritual predisposition does not exist, is not fit for the accomplishment of unrivalled perfect Enlightenment despite the production of the thought, and even when the resort to efforts (in this respect) exists. In its turn, one should know that the innate spiritual predisposition of a Bodhisattva is the basis (to reach Enlightenment), though a thought (towards it) has not yet been produced and the performance of a Bodhisattva's course of conduct has not yet been done.

§ 3.4 But when he, who stands in his innate spiritual predisposition, does not produce a thought (towards bodhi), and is not led towards the courses of conduct of a Bodhisattva, he will not quickly acquire Enlightenment, though he is able (to reach it). On the reverse (if a thought towards bodhi is produced, and he is led towards the courses of conduct connected with it), he will quickly acquire it, this is to be known. For that reason, again, the innate spiritual predisposition is called basis. It is also called: support, cause, resource, base[9], a forerunner, and an abode. Thus, the initial production of a thought (towards *bodhi*) and all the courses of conduct of a Bodhisattva are according to the innate spiritual predisposition.

§ 4. NOTES ON TEXT AND TRANSLATION

§ 4. Bbh is composed in Sanskrit, not in quasi-Sanskrit, like *Mahāvastu*, *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya* etc. Thus, the editor is under the obligation of the standards of Sanskrit Grammar. In this respect, a difficulty arises in the *uddāna* at the beginning of the text (§ 2.1). The keywords from *liṅga* upto *vihāra* represent the 4 chapters of part 2 of Bbh, and from *upapatti* upto *pratiṣṭhā* 5 chapters of part 3 (see n. 3 of § 3). In Ms there is no Sandhi between *vihāra* and the following *upapatti*, though the two words are not separated by *daṇḍa* in Ms. This seems to be intentionally done in order to bring *upapatti* into prominence with which part 3 of Bbh begins. Therefore, I leave it as it is in Ms.

The first line of the *uddāna* is an irregular *Śloka* with one syllable more, the second line is *Śloka*. However, one should keep in mind that the quantitative structure of the *Anuṣṭubh* metre is less rigid than that of other meters, particularly in *uddānas*.

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9. BHSD translates *upaniṣad* « cause, basis », and refers to our passage. See also Rueggᵇ p. 87, n. (3).

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Ruegg [b] p. 86 ff. gives a paraphrase in his account on *gotra* according to Bbh and Śbh. In note 6 of § 3 Ruegg's French paraphrase of the passage in question is quoted, which Schmithausen [b] p. 145 again translated into German, adding the remark: « Ru.s Paraphrase scheint auf Dutts fehlerhaftem Text (Bbh p. 1.10-12...) zu beruhen ». Comparing Ruegg's wording with Dutt's text, I find, that it does not reflect Dutt's wrong reading, but leans more on the Tibetan, though Ruegg refers only to *pratibala* (=Tibetan *mthu-yod-pa*), not including *bhavya* (=Tibetan *skal-pa-can-du 'gyur-ziṅ*) which precedes *pratibala*.

The main intention of the re-edited portion of the *Gotra-paṭala* is to emphazise the basic element of *gotra* and the capability (*bhavyatā*) or better « potentiality » contained in it to reach Enlightenment. In this respect, several passages in Dutt's edition had to be corrected. For this, see the notes 6,7,9, and 18 of § 2 of this paper.

§ 5. The *Gotra-paṭala* begins with the enumeration of the ten *Dharmas* which mark the fruitful path of a Bodhisattva. They are repeated in *uddāna*-form, and serve as a kind of a general program for the whole book. When we compare the ten keywords with the chapters of the three parts of which Bbh consists [1], we see that the first part, the biggest one, containing 18 chapters, is represented by the only keyword *ādhāra* (basis), while the 10 chapters of the parts 2 and 3, which together make less than one third of the whole book, are nearly all represented by nine keywords in the introductory *uddāna* at the beginning of Bbh. The only exception is Bbh III.5, the *lakṣaṇānuvyañjana-paṭala*, which is not included in the *uddāna*. In addition to the introductory *uddāna*, certain chapters are headed by *uddānas* in all the three parts. This arrangement is in contrast with the one employed in Śbh, where the *uddānas* are placed at the end of a respective chapter, a method which is well-know from the Vinaya-Literature.

The question arises why the *uddāna* introducing the whole text is of such a disproportionate type. One may say to this that the 18 chapters of part 1 were understood as a kind of *ādhāra*, as every chapter ends with the remark *Bodhisattva-bhūmāv ādhāre yoga-sthāne...* However, this is more or less also the case with the chapters of the parts 2 and 3, where the chapters of part 2 regularly end with *Bodhisattva-bhūmāv ādhārānudharme yoga-sthāne...*, and those of part 3 with *Bodhisattva-bhūmāv ādhāre niṣṭhe yoga-sthāne...*

By this, it is indicated that the whole book is concerned with *ādhāra*. At the beginning, Bbh itself makes it clear, that *ādhāra* comprises a Bodhisattva's innate spiritual predisposition (*gotra*), the initial production of thought (*prathama-cittotpāda*), and all the factors belonging

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§ 5. 7. Wogihara's edition, pp. 411-414, also includes an index of the successive contents (*anukrama*) of Bbh as part 4.

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to Enlightenment (*sarve bodhi-paksyā dharmā*). This is the starting point from which the whole work is conceived as a manifestation of *ādhāra*. Thus, this state of affairs does not help explaining why the chapters of the parts 2 and 3 are so predominantly represented in the introductory *uddāna*.

The arrangement of the introductory *uddāna* of Bbh seems to be closely linked with the history of its composition. We can assume that the first part was naturally composed first. It will have originally included 18 chapters, as the Chinese translation of *Dharmakṣema*[2] of the year 418 A.D., the one of Guṇavarman of 431 A.D., and the one of Hsüan-tsang of the year 647, include them[3]. The parts 2 and 3 were naturally written later, but moreover it seems, that they were written at some time later. They were, however, not written later than the three Chinese translations, mentioned above, which all contain them. Nevertheless the parts 2 and 3 seem to have been composed after some lapse of time. This is suggested by the predominant representation of their chapters in the introductory *uddāna*. Only he, who included these two additional parts at some later time, must have been particularly interested to have their chapters represented in the introductory *uddāna* at the very beginning of the book in order to emphazise and to secure their inclusion in this work for all the ages to come. The compiler had not so much to bother about the first part, which was already there and did not need emphazised representation. The *uddāna* appears here as an instrument by which later additional portions are knitted together with the main corpus of a text. This presupposes that the beginning of Bbh looked somewhat different when it was originally composed. One would expect an introductory *uddāna*, beginning with *ādhāra*, and perhaps followed by a second one, in both of which the titles of the 18 chapters were represented[3]. I leave the question open whether Asaṅga himself effected the change at the beginning after he had added the two additional smaller parts at some later time, or if another one did it. I do not see any obstacle why Asaṅga should not have done it. The weight of his authority will have made a change at the beginning of Bbh easier than for any other compiler.

§ 6. Har Dayal[1] notes that the term *adhimukti* is neither used in the first (Bbh I.1: *gotra-paṭala*), nor in the second chapter (Bbh I.2: *cittot-pāda-paṭala*), and that it occurs first in the chapters on the *vihāras*

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2. P. Demiéville, *Le chapitre de la Bodhisattvabhūmi sur la Perfection du Dhyāna*, in: Paul Demiéville, *Choix d'Études Bouddhiques* (1929-1970). Leiden, 1973, pp. 109-128 (301-319).

3. In Bbh *uddānas* are usually placed at the beginning of chapters but in Sbh at the end.

§ 6. 1. Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*. Motilal Banarsidass: Delhi - Patna - Varanasi, 1970 (Reprint), p. 50.

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(Bbh II.4) and the *bhūmis* (Bbh III.3) which according to him are of later date, belonging to the additional parts of Bbh. However, the idea of *adhimukti* in connection with *cittotpāda* is already touched upon in Bbh I.2, where we read: *so 'nta-kāle cittotpāda-durlabhatām adhipatiṃ kṛtvā mahā-bodhāv adhimukto mahā-bobhau cittam utpādayati*[2]. « He making the difficulty of obtaining the production of Thought predominant at the end of his life, produces, faithfully addicted to the Great Enlightenment, the Thought towards the Great Enlightenment ».

Moreover, the term *adhimukti* itself occurs in connection with a Bodhisattva's *adhimukti-caryā-bhūmi* in Bbh I.6 (*paripāka-paṭala*)[3], and in a Bodhisattva's characterization as *adhimukti-bahulo* in Bbh I.8 (*bala-gotra-paṭala*)[4], where *adhimukti* is brought in contact with *śraddhā* (faith), *prasāda* (tranquillity of mind), *niścaya* (determination), and *ruci* (taste). Accordingly, I would tentatively render *adhimukti* « faithful and determined addiction towards *Mahābodhi* »[5].

Thus, we cannot argue with the help of the occurrences of *adhimukti* in Bbh II.4, III.3 to prove that these chapters are later in date. Suggestive of later developments, however, seems to be the complicated system of seven *bhūmis* which include thirteen *vihāras*, treated in detail in these two chapters, of which Har Dayal gave a correct account[6].

How old the conception of the 13 *vihāras* is, treated in detail in Bbh II.4, which is the longest chapter of the parts 2 and 3, I do not know. It appears that they belong to a period, where concepts of thirteen items became prominent. Thus, we find the *gotra* mentioned as the basis of the 13 forms of Practice (*pratipatti*) of a Bodhisattva in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* I.5 (c. 3rd cent. A. D.)[7]. We also remember that a Buddhist *Stūpa* from about the 4rth century onward is crowned with 13 subsequent ranges of umbrellas (*trayodaśa chatrāvali*). Thus, the concept of the 13 *vihāras* might have already existed at the time of Asaṅga, if not earlier than that.

In the explanation of the *gotra-vihāra* of a Bodhisattva, there is a passage which even refers to *haṭha-yoga*. I quote this passage mainly following Ms fol. 211a.6-7: *tat samudācāre ca saṃdṛśyate / prakṛti-bha-*

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2. Ms. fol. 10b.3-4. Dutt p. 10.9-10, Wogihara p. 15.8-9 (not complete). Cf. a parallel passage in the same chapter, Dutt. p. 9.16-17 = Wogihara p. 14.3-5.

3. Dutt, p. 60.20 = Wogihara, p. 86.4.

4. Dutt, p. 67.10-11 = Wogihara, p. 95.12-14.

5. Rueggb, in his account of *gotra* in the *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṃkāra*, p. 78.9, translates *adhimukti* « adhésion convaincue ». Schmithausena, Anmerkung 263, pp. 179-180, comments upon an occurrence of it in the Nirvāṇa section of thek *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* in the *Yogācārabhūmi*, where he translates « gläubiges Vertrauen ». The composition of the *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṃkara*, attributed also to Asaṅga, seems to be near the time in which the *Yogācārabhūmi* was composed, c. 4th cent. A.D.

6. O.c. (quoted in n. 1), pp. 278-283.

7. Rueggb, pp. 129-136.

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dratayaiva na haṭha-yogena tasmin kuśale pravarttate / no tu[8] *prati-saṃkhyānataḥ / sāvagrahaḥ*[9] *sambhṛto bhavati /.* « He appears in the right practice of them (the *kuśala-dharma*). On account of the very good fortune of his nature, he goes onwards in this Good, neither by the performance of self-torture, nor on account of calculating considerations. He is one, who is endowed with firm determination[10] (to reach Enlightenment) ».

Whether *haṭha-yoga* is used here in a more general sense merely referring to rigid ascetic practices, or whether here the beginning of what later became known as *haṭha-yoga* proper is marked, I do not know. At any rate, our passage seems to be the earliest literary evidence of this term, as far as I can see.

§ 7. The re-edition of the beginning of Bbh, which is based on the photographed palm-leaf manuscript of the Sāṅkṛtyāyana-collection at Patna shows that the consultation of this valuable manuscript is necessary though editions prepared by experienced scholars are at hand. Everybody, who has worked with these difficult materials knows how easily mistakes may come in. It is therefore an urgent necessity that the rare and valuable Sanskrit manuscripts which Rev. R. Sāṅkṛtyāyana discovered and photographed in the years 1934-1938 in Tibet[1], should be made accessible in facsimile editions, as Dr. Lokesh Chandra did for the Gilgit and other valuable manuscripts.

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8. Dutt, p. 218.9; Woghara, p. 18.1; And Rahder, Appendice p. 2.15: api tu.
J. RAHDER, *Daśabhūmikasūtra et Bodhisattvabhūmi.. Chapitres Vihāra et Bhumi.* Paris, 1926. Appendice, p. 2.

9. Rahder: *sānugrahaḥ*. In n. 2 Rahder observes: « omis dans le version tibétaine ». With *anugraha* it would mean: « he is one who is endowed with kindness ».

10. Cf. Prākrit *uggaha* = Sanskrit *avagraha*: *avadhāraṇa, niścaya,* noted in P S M (Sheth).

§ 7. 1. R. SĀṄKṚTYĀYANA, *Palm-Leaf MSS. in Tibet*, in « Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society », vol. 21, pp. 21-34. Patna, 1935. *Second Search of Sanskrit Palm-Leaf MSS. in Tibet*, Ib., Vol. 23, pp. 1-57. Patna, 1937. *Search for Sanskrit MSS. in Tibet*, Ib., Vol. 24, pp. 137-163. Patna, 1938.

The photo-negatives of these MSS. are kept with the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Museum Buildings, Patna-1. However, not all the titles of Rahulji's lists are available. They have recently been transfered to the Bihar Research Society at Patna.

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RANAJIT SARKAR

THE POETICAL TRANSMUTATION OF SOME PHILOSOPHICAL CONCEPTS IN KUMĀRASAṂBHAVA

When we want to study critically a poem, we find that it is a complex of many interrelated strata. There is, firstly, the sound-stratum, *śabda*; the next stratum which arises from the first is that of meaning, *artha*. The combination of these two gives rise to a syntactic structure which is the poetic world. The ultimate goal of the study of poetry should be, as Sanskrit poetics discovered long ago, enjoyment, aesthetic delight, *rasa*. However, there is often a long way to go between the first encounter with a poetic text and the final experience of *rasa*; this experience is not altogether gratuitous. There is first the problem of textual criticism, i.e. study in the stratum of *śabda*; then the study of the various problems of the units of meaning, *artha*, as those of semantics, imagery, diction; as a result of which the literary critic arrives at the stratum of the poetic world.

The realities that fill the poetic world can be either imaginative realities or conceptual realities — philosophical ideas.

Poetry cannot exist without the imaginative realities; philosophical ideas are not essential to it. Yet even in poets who are said to be the least philosophical, we often find a substratum of ideas. Literary analysis either neglects to explore this substratum, or else remains content with the finding of evident philosophical aphorisms which are embedded in poetry.

One may pick up from the works of Kālidāsa, for instance, verses which embody a certain idea. A study of these verses can lead us to the so-called « philosophy of Kālidāsa ». But it is not such an intellectualist search which we are going to undertake as a literary critic; this philosophy does not form an integral part of the poetic world, — for even if we take the philosophical verses out of their context, they do not lose their philosophical value. They lie, indeed, only in the borderland of the poetic world.

In this paper we are not interested in the surface-philosophy of Kālidāsa. There is, we believe, a whole substratum of philosophical ideas

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which has contributed to the making of his poetic world. As it is not possible, within this brief survey, to make a thorough analysis, we shall just take an instance from *Kumārasaṁbhava* (*KS*) and try to reveal one such philosophical element transmuted into the poetic fabric of the Kālidāsian *kāvya*.

The problem that should preoccupy us in our critical quest for the philosophical substratum is the manner in which a certain concept has become transmuted into a living reality, the manner in which the poet has given it body and life. In poetry, writes Georges Cattaui, « l'*Idée* se fait *Verbe* »[1]. And in this connection he uses words and expressions such as « become embodied », « become perceptible », « transsubstantiation ». Other critics too have spoken of this sea-change, and have pointed out the difference between the use of idea in philosophy and its use in poetry or artistic creation. Newton P. Stallknecht speaks of the « mutations that ideas most usually undergo as they pass from thinker to artist »[2]. The poet and the thinker may have the « same » idea but the poet's treatment of the idea is « imaginative, figurative, or metaphorical ». The thinker has to elaborate an argument; he has to be logically consistent. He even sacrifices aspects of reality which do not fall within the given limits of a system. But the poet knows that life is vaster than thought, he mocks at logical consistency, and does not hesitate to entertain contradictory doctrines, for life is multifarious and complex. And he also knows intuitively that what is contradictory within a closed system is self-existent in an open world. Poets make use of philosophical ideas but they transmute or transsubstantiate them.

We have seven works of Kālidāsa, three plays, two shorter poems, and two literary epics or *mahākāvyas*. Of these two epics *Kumārsaṁbhava* is the earlier, a work perhaps of his early manhood. *Raghuvaṁśa*, « The Dynasty of Raghu », is a work of his full maturity. Keith, like almost all other historians of Sanskrit literature, recognizes the presence of philosophic ideas in his works, but he writes: « Youth and manhood are no time for deep philosophic views, and the Kālidāsa of the *Ṛtusaṁhāra*, *Meghadūta*, and *Kumārasaṁbhava* remains within narrower limits »[3]. According to Keith, his philosophic views find fullest expression in his later *kāvya*, the *Raghuvaṁśa*.

This statement is true if we take into consideration only the surface philosophy. If we look deeper we find that behind both these poems there is the same metaphysical world from which the poet draws his idea-objects.But he uses these idea-objects differently in the different poems. In the *KS* the ideas are concretized; conceptual realities have merged in imaginative realities.

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1. Georges Cattaui, *Orphisme et prophétie chez les poètes français 1850-1950*, Paris, 1965, p. 12.
2. Newton P. Stallknecht, *Ideas and Literature*, in « Comparative Literature: method and perspective », Southern Illinois University Press, 1961, p. 123.
3. A. B. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1920, p. 99.

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In order to grasp the process of this concretization we shall take a modern example which lies perhaps, intellectually and spiritually, nearer to many readers. We are thinking of Paul Valéry's *La Jeune Parque* which Georges Mounin has called « a Bergsonian allegory »[4].

La Jeune Parque shows us how Valéry has transmuted concepts of philosophy into poetry. Here there is a mythological figure through whom ideas are changed into symbols. Marcel Raymond commenting on this poem says[5] that we see here a figure half-girl, half-goddess, walking down to the sea. « La mer, explains Raymond, symbolise (...) le mouvement, la vie inconsciente et créatrice; elle symbolise aussi l'âme, vivante, désirante, obscure, informe »[6]. It does not fall within the purview of our study to analyse the whole poem. We shall only say that Valéry has changed into concrete symbols the different elements of the philosophy; the poem is therefore not versified philosophy but symbolic, where every object, every metaphor creates to the eye what would otherwise remain abstractions only. The separation that man feels from the universe to which he is fatally bound body and soul, is a dualism which man can hardly endure. One solution would be annihilation, return to the sea of primal chaos, but Valéry finally sings the triumph of life. The girl returns to life, to sunshine:

... malgré moi-même, il le faut, ô Soleil,
Que j'adore mon coeur où tu te viens connaître,
Doux et puissant retour du delice de naître,
Feu vers qui se soulève une vièrge de sang
Sous les espèces d'or d'un sein reconnaissant.

We see that there is no metaphysical pose; everything is object, concrete, palpable; but these objects are frought with suggestive evocations. We can again quote Marcel Raymond who has caught very clearly the spirit of this symbolical transmutation:

« Etranger à tout didactisme, jamais le vers ne se laisse dépouiller de sa pulpe, se ne laisse *traduire*. Le poème entier invite à la réflexion philosophique, sans cesser de cheminer dans le clair-obscur des images et de la musique, sans jamais perdre contact avec les sources qui l'animent et sans briser les doux liens qui le tiennent suspendu »[7].

In Kālidāsa's poetry too, many a reader feels the underlying thinking, the substratum of philosophic ideas, but the immediacy of the poetic shock and pleasure moves him so profoundly that he has no time, nor inclination, to examine the poem intellectually. We feel, however, that an exploration into the world of ideas which were at the base of the poetic structure as influences will not hinder our appreciation; it will

4. « une allégorie bergsonienne », Georges Mounin, *La communication poétique*, Paris, 1969, p. 189.
5. Marcel Raymond, *De Baudelaire au Surréalisme*, Paris, 1966, p. 163.
6. Ibid., p. 163. On this subject one will read with profit pp. 157-169.
7. Ibid., p. 165.

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add a new dimension, even if that be only an intellectual dimension, to our approach. We believe that poetry is not just a « criticism of life », a philosophic view enunciated as poetically as possible, but the seizing of the « presence » that is there at the origin of all « concepts ».

When we read carefully the *KS* we feel indeed, like many other readers of the poem, that the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī typifies in some way the union of Puruṣa and Prakṛti, the supreme soul and the dynamic Nature by which the world is created. But when we try to disentangle the thoughts from the poetry we find it extremely difficult. For the structure of the poem is very complex, the poem unfolds itself on different levels. On the mythological, narrative level we have a simple story of the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī for the birth of the war-god Kumāra. This surface meaning is evident. And although it is beautifully narrated we cannot remain satisfied only with this. It is the total structure we have to look for; and this structure, we believe, is an orchestration of several themes, of which is central the theme of puruṣa-prakṛti.

Yet it is not this philosophical theme which we shall analyse here. There is another, less evident, which we shall try to disengage: the idea of the cosmic order.

In the *Māṇḍukya-Upaniṣad* it is said that *brahman* is *catuṣ-pāt*, four-footed, i.e. has four statuses:

sarvaṁ hy etad brahma ayam ātmā brahma so 'yam ātmā catuṣ-pāt [8].

All this indeed is *brahman*. This self is *brahman*. That which is this Self has four statuses.

These four statuses are respectively (1) *brahman*, (2) *īśvara*, (3) *hiraṇya-garbha*, and (4) *virāj*.

This is an ancient idea basic to the Indian thought which was already expressed in the *Ṛg-veda* (X,90). The Absolute is there poetically represented as the Cosmic Man, *puruṣa*,

puruṣa evedaṁ sarvaṁ yad bhūtaṁ yac ca bhavyam

all this is the *puruṣa*, that which has been and that which is to be.

In the same hymn it is said that he has four quarters, of which three are immortal in heaven, *tri-pād asyāmṛtaṁ divi*, and only one quarter is manifest as all creatures and things, *viśvā bhūtāni*. It is this last quarter which is the World, *virāj*, that which we perceive in our waking state, with our senses and mind.

Hiraṇya-garbha, the Golden-germ, is the World-soul, that which sustains the world, the earth and the sky, *sa dādhāra pṛthivīm dyām* (*RV* X.121.1).

The next status is that of *īśvara*, Lord, the personal God, *saḥ*, He. In the *Purāṇas* it is he who assumes the names Śiva, Viṣṇu.

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8. *Māṇḍukya-Upaniṣad*, 2.

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Finally we have the fourth status, *turīya*, which is the status of undifferentiated *brahman*, the Absolute, *tat*, That. Speaking of these four statuses Radhakrishnan writes, « In many passages, the *Upaniṣads* make out that *Brahman* is pure being beyond all word and thought. He becomes *īśvara* or personal God with the quality of *prajñā* or pure wisdom. He is all-knowing, the lord of the principle of *mūla-prakṛti* or the unmanifested, the inner guide of all souls. From him proceeds *Hiraṇya-garbha* who, as Demiurge, fashions the world. From the last develops *Virāṭ*[9] or the totality of all existents. The last two are sometimes mixed up »[10].

We shall now see how Kālidāsa has transmuted these ideas in *KS*.

i. *Brahman.*

The highest status of *brahman*, which is beyond mind and speech, beyond time and space, beyond manifestation, cannot be caught in words and has therefore little relevancy in poetry. The ancient sages have tried to give an idea of that Absolute in negative terms, endeavouring to arrive at the attributeless by process of gradual elimination of all attributes. This is the *akṣara*, Imperishable of the *Upaniṣads* and the *Gītā*.

akṣaraṁ brahma paramam (*Gītā* 8,3)

The *akṣara*, imperishable, is the supreme *brahman*.

And again:

« That, O Gārgi, the knowers of *brahman* call the imperishable, *akṣara* » says Yājñavalkya who tries to define It by a series of negations. « It is neither solid nor atomic, neither short nor tall, neither (fiery) red nor moist. It has no shadow, no darkness; It is neither air nor ether; It is without any attachment; It is without taste, without smell, without sight, without hearing, without speech, without mind, without lustre, without life-breath; It is faceless, immeasurable; It has no inside nor outside; neither does it enjoy anything nor does anyone enjoy It »[11].

If such is the notion of this *akṣara brahman*, immutable and attributeless, how can It be changed into poetry which is by definition a seeing, a concretization? Therefore we find that Kālidāsa took the only course left to him: instead of the Vedāntic *brahman* he has sung the praise of the purāṇic *Brahmā*.

When a form and a name are given to the formless and the nameless we have no more the same *brahman*. No metaphorization or symbolization is here possible. We can symbolize only that which we are able to know. The knowledge may be mental, sensual or it may be mystic, extra-intellectual. But *brahman* being unknowable in its *turīya*, fourth status, it is no use trying to symbolize it. As soon as we name It, we descend to a lower level of consciousness.

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9. Nom. sing. of *virāj*.
10. RADHAKRISHNAN, *The Principal Upaniṣads*, London, 1953, p. 698.
11. *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka-Upaniṣad*, III, 8.8.

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This highest status is beyond the grasp of human knowledge, therefore Kālidāsa takes *Brahmā* to represent this status; this he does by proclaiming him as the origin of all the other statuses. He is *īśvara*, lord of the world but he has no lord above him: *jagad-īśo nirīśvaraḥ* (2.9); he is also *hiraṇya-garbha*; from his infallible seed cast in the womb of the primordial waters is the phenomenal world born; he is the source and origin of the world.

yad amogham apām antar uptaṁ bījam aja tvayā
ataś carācaraṁ viśvaṁ prabhavas tasya gīyase (2,5)

You cast, O the Unborn One, your supremely potent seed in the womb of the waters; from there arose the world of moving and unmoving objects, of all that you are proclaimed the Source.

He is also the origin of humanity; Man and Woman are fractions of himself, *ātma-bhāgau* (2,7), he is all the elements, fluid and solid, gross and subtle, light and heavy (2,11); he is *puruṣa* and *prakṛti*, Spirit and Nature (2,13).

Kālidāsa speaks therefore in terms of religion and mythology about That, *tat*, which is beyond speech, mind, mystic or poetic intuition. Here the transmutation is not poetic and not something that Kālidāsa has imagined. It is the general purāṇic notion of the creator Brahmā which he has taken wholesale. Although there is here hardly any poetic invention or creative imagination at work yet it fulfils an artistic purpose: it gives perfection to the fourfold divine plan.

ii. Hiraṇya-garbha and Virāj

We now come to the double status of the world and the world-soul, *virāj* and *hiraṇya-garbha*. Radhakrishnan says that these two aspects are sometimes mixed up [12]. In Kālidāsa's poem too we find that the poet has very skillfully represented these two aspects as a homogenous whole in his conception of *Himālaya*. The very first verse leaves us in no doubt whatsoever about this universal double aspect; Himālaya is at the same time the world on which the divine play is to be enacted, and he is also represented as sentient, the divinity that is hidden in the world.

asty uttarasyāṁ diśi devatātmā Himālayo nāma nagādhirājaḥ
pūrvāparau toya-nidhī vagāhya sthitaḥ pṛthivyā iva māna-daṇḍaḥ (1.1)

In the North stands the god-souled Himālaya, sovereign over the Mountains; lain down his sides bathed in the eastern and the western seas, he appears to measure the earth.

The cosmic dimensions that the poet gives to the mountain-range indicates that it is not just a portion of the world but the world itself. And Himālaya has a self which is divine, *devatātmā*, god-souled; when

12. *Vide* note 10.

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personified he becomes the world-soul. This identification of Himālaya with *hiraṇya-garbha* on the one hand, and *virāj* on the other will become more evident if we compare Kālidāsa's description of Himālaya with the Ṛgvedic hymn to Prajāpati (X,121), another name of *hiraṇya-garbha.* It almost seems, when we read the hymn side by side with the different passages about Himālaya in the poem, that Kālidāsa had this hymn in mind while writing; for even the style has one very striking similarity which, in my opinion, is hardly fortuitious. After having introduced the god-souled Himālaya the poet proceeds to describe him; and this description is grammatically joined to the first verse with a series of subordinate clauses introduced by the relative pronoun *yad* (who) in its various declensional forms like *yaḥ* (nominative), *yam* (accusative), *yasya* (genetive), *yasmin* (locative) or its adverbial form *yatra* (where). In the Vedic hymn too we find the same procedure used. The difference in style between the two is that which exists between Vedic poetry and classical poetry. In the Vedic poem the relative clauses are short and simple, in Kālidāsa's they are more elaborate. Nevertheless one cannot but he struck by this stylistic resemblance.

Naturally only a stylistic similitude cannot be considered as sufficient ground for identifying Himālaya with *hiraṇya-garbha.* We have to look deeper in the semantic field. There too we find several clear indications of this symbolism [13]. Let us take a few instances.

The Vedic poem says that *hiraṇya-garbha* « supported the earth and the sky » *dādhāra pṛthivīṁ dyāṁ*; that « by him was made firm the lofty sky and the earth », *yena dyaur ugrā pṛthivī ca dṛḷhā* (st.5). And Kālidāsa says that Himālaya's strength is able to support the earth *yasya sāraṁ dharitrī-dharaṇa-kṣamaṁ* (1.17), « he bears the burden of the world », *dhuram udvahatā bhuvaḥ* (6,30); he is also said to support the earth from the bottom of the nether world, *ā rasātala-mūlāt tvam avālambisyathā* (6,68). Thus the idea of Himālaya carrying or supporting the earth is very explicit; in fact in classcial Sanskrit the epithets *bhūdhara, bhu-vṛt,* supporter of the earth, had become synonymous to the mountain. But Kālidāsa never uses a word casually; he gives back to the words all their original vigour and metaphorical value. Thus in the previous example we find that he lays a great deal of emphasis on the idea of the Mountain as supporter of the earth. As to the idea of the supporter of the sky or heaven, we have also several allusions. On the one hand Kailāsa, the abode of Śiva, is situated on the Himālayas according to the mythological accounts. The heavenly beings, Apsaras (1,4) Siddha (1,5), Vidyādhara (1,7), Kinnara (1,8) live on the mountains. On the other hand we find that Kālidāsa has poetically expressed the

13. In the verse of the Vedic hymn there is explicit mention of the mountains which exist by the might of *hiraṇya-garbha*: *yasyeme himavanto mahitvā,* by whose might are all these snowy mountains ». However here there is no personification of the mountains, neither identification with the World-Soul. The word is in plural and points evidently to the created world, to aspects of *virāj.*

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idea that Himālaya supports the sky. The peaks rise high; the colour of the red minerals of the peaks is reflected on the clouds, *balāhaka-ccheda-vibhakta-rāgām... dhātumattām* (1,4). The summits rise far above the clouds; this is very beautifully expressed by saying that the Siddhas, afraid of the rain, run higher towards the sunny summits: *udvejitā vṛṣṭibhir āśrayante śṛṅgāṇi yasyātapavanti siddhāḥ* (1,5).

Hiraṇya-garbha is called in the RV, the sole lord of the world, *bhūtasya... patir ekaḥ* (st.1) This idea is again implied by making Himālaya the king of all the mountains [14]. On his material body roam animals, men and heavenly beings; minerals are found on his body; all herbs grow there; he is by his double nature all this world of moving and umoving things. He is the Supreme incarnate in the form of inanimate thing; he is the source, the womb of all things moving and unmoving:

sthāne tvāṁ sthāvarātmānaṁ Viṣṇum āhuṣ tathā hi te
carācarāṇāṁ bhūtānāṁ kukṣir ādhāratāṁ gataḥ (6,67)

You in your immovable aspect are rightly called Viṣṇu [15], for your centre has become the recipient of all creatures movable and immovable. This verse confirms further the identity of the World-Soul and the world with the two aspects of Himālaya.

The Vedic poet says next that the arms of *hiraṇya-garbha* extend between the extreme limits of the sky

yasyemāḥ pradiśo yasya bāhū (st.4)

and he measures the space in the atmosphere

yo antarikṣe rajaso vimānaḥ (st.5)

This notion of vast extension and of measure is also clearly expressed by Kālidāsa. Himālaya stands like a measuring-rod, spanning the earth between the Eastern and the Western seas.

pūrvāparaṁ toya-nidhī vagāhya stitaḥ pṛthivyā iva māna-daṇḍaḥ (1,1)

Pūrva and *apara*, the east and the west, correspond to the *pradiśam* of the *Veda*, the image of the outstretched arms is also here well suggested, so also the word *māna-daṇḍa* reproduces the word *vimānaḥ*. Elsewhere Kālidāsa says that the limbs of Himālaya stretch to the extreme limits of space, *vyāpta-dig-antāni... aṅgāni* (6,59).

This comparison shows quite clearly the closeness between the concept of *hiraṇya-garbha* and that of Himālaya. There are other sug-

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14. *nagādhirāja* (I,1); he subjugated the earth under his feet which were heavy due to his very substance, *sāra-guru*:

namayan sāra-gurubhiḥ pada-nyāsair vasundharām (VI, 50)

Here we should also notice the double-entendre of *sāra-guru*. Physically he subdues the word under his rocky feet, but *sāra-guru* can also mean « mighty because of his essence », i.e. his all-pervasive divinity.

15. Mallinātha points out the reference to the *Gītā* (X, 25) where the Lord says: « I am Himālaya among unmoving things », *sthāvarāṇaṁ Himālayaḥ*.

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gestions too which point to this ressemblance and justify the assumption of Himālaya as the symbol of the World-Soul. *Hiraṇya-garbha* it is said was cast in the waters by *Brahman*; we may also say that the World-Soul rises from the waters of Chaos into creation. This is again suggested by the second line of the verse (1,1) quoted above. The extreme ends of Himālaya are plunged in the oceans; this evokes the image of the mountain rising from the ocean of infinite waters, like the World-Soul from the undifferentiated primal chaos.

Hiraṇya-garbha is also called *Prajāpati*, in the Ṛgvedic hymn (X,121) and elsewhere. Later in the mythology we find that *Prajāpati* is the son of *Brahmā*, the Creator. The mythological aspect of *Prajāpati* too is reflected in the conception of Himālaya. The poet has made the association between Himālaya and Dakṣa, — one of the former *Prajāpatis*; this indicates that Himālaya too is to be regarded as *Prajāpati.*

athāvamānena pituḥ prayuktā Dakṣasya kanyā Bhava-pūrva-patnī
satī Satī yoga-visṛṣta-dehā taṁ janmane śaila-vadhūṁ prapede (1,21).

Now, the virtuous Satī, Dakṣa's daughter, was in a former birth the wife of Bhava (Śiva); driven by her father's scorn she, by the power of yoga, left her body and resorted to the Mountain's wife for rebirth.

The reincarnation of Satī, daughter of the Prajāpati Dakṣa, is clearly narrated, and this suggests by association the reincarnation of Prajāpati as Himālaya.

As we read the poem, god-souled Himālaya appears more and more intensely as the Soul of the World. But in his static aspect he is also *virāj*, the World which we perceive as the form of *brahman* with out outward senses, in our waking consciousness. We shall now try to see how Kālidāsa uses the material form of Himālaya as the World, the body of *hiraṇya-garbha.*

Once we have assumed the aspect of the World-Soul, the aspect of *virāj* is self-evident; it is the material, physical aspect of Himālaya. Kālidāsa has on several occasions laid stress explicitly on this double aspect. Poetically this aspect has a greater importance. For it is in this world, the body of *brahman* as *hiraṇya-garbha* that God, *īśvara*, manifests himself with his *śakti*; it is here that the divine drama is enacted. This world is the stage, the playground, *līlābhūmi* of the God of Love, Śiva. *Virāj* is also the visible form of *brahman* where all the beauty and delight is expressed. And the highest function of poetry, we know, is to reveal to the eye this beauty and this delight. Kālidāsa, supremely gifted with the power of poetic seeing, has created this world; *virāj* in all its magnificence. Himālaya in his physical aspect is the stage of this cosmic play.

Here is life in all its teeming beauty. Beings, divine, semi-divine and human, animals and birds move on the mountain slopes; here grow all kinds of trees, herbs, reeds; here flow the rivers, the cascades fall; everywhere there is the play of life, love and light. Death and darkness are also there but the overall impression is one of *ānanda*, joy. There

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is death: the lion has killed the elephant, but the impression of blood does not last for the snowy streams have washed the blood away: *tuṣāra-sruti-dhauta-raktam* [16]. Kālidāsa has evoked this perceptible form of the world in all its richness and grandeur; he makes us grasp it with all our senses.

We find thus that the two aspects of the Cosmos, soul and body, *hiraṇya-garbha* and *virāj* are mixed up in the conception of Himālaya. Brahmā symbolizes the trascendental status of the eternal plan; and Himālaya the cosmic status in its twofold manifestation, psychic and physical. Now we have to consider the individual or the personal status, that of *īśvara*, Lord of creation.

iii. Īśvara

The Indian religio-philosophic tradition which Kālidāsa inherited and in which he lived and worked, had evolved a mode of global approach to the Supreme Reality. The idea of the impersonal transcendental *brahman* was abstract, purely metaphysical, and so also the concept of *hiraṇya-garbha*. These concepts satisfied the reasoning mind, the intellectual man, but they were unable to satisfy the heart's love, *bhakti*, or emotions, feelings and sensations which yearn also to know the Real. Therefore when man approached *brahman* as a mystic, as a lover, as a poet, he found *brahman* as *īśvara*, not an abstract concept, but an individualized Presence. The One, *ekaṁ*, became *īśa*, lord, *deva*, God. Here philosophy was assimilated to a mystic-poetic vision; the pure concept *brahman* merged into the luminous Presence which was called variously as Viṣṇu, Śiva, etc.

In the early phase of Indian philosophy and religion the distinction between the impersonal brahman and the personal *īśvara* was not made clear. *Īśvara* was that aspect of *brahman* which acted in the world in relation to the individual creatures. But this does not mean that He is inferior to the Aboslute *brahman* or the cosmic *hiraṇya-garbha*. For the *bhakta*, lover, for the mystic and the poet, it is this aspect which predominates. We have thus a two-fold relation: *brahman-īśvara* and *īśvara-hiraṇya-garbha*. In the former relation, says Radhakrishnan, « the first term indicates infinite being and possibility, and the second suggests creative freedom » [17]. But they are essentially the same. Both these aspects are above the world. When we consider the relation *īśvara-hiraṇya-garbha*, we find that *hiraṇya-garbha* is related to the world. He is therefore, in a sense, the cosmic being created by *īśvara* pervading the universe. « Hiraṇya-garbha », says Radhakrishnan, « is organically bound up with the world. Himself a creature, the firstborn of creation, he shares the fate of all creation in the end. But *īśvara* is prior to the

16. *vide KS* I, 3-16.
17. *The Principal Upaniṣads*, p. 63.

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World-Soul. The principle of process applies to God. While he is the expression of the non-temporal he is also the temporal. *Īśvara*, the eternal Being functions in the temporal *hiraṇya-garbha* [18].

In Kālidāsa the idea of *īśvara*, represented by Śiva, is far more advanced than that which we find in the *Upaniṣads*. It is the idea as developed in the *Gītā* and later in the great purāṇic literature. Kālidāsa's Śiva has much in common with the Blessed Lord, *bhagavat*, of the *Gītā*. Indeed we see that Śiva is more than *īśvara* of this triple division *brahman-īśvara-hiraṇya-garbha*; he is the *puruṣottama* of the *Gītā*. Brahmā, in *KS*, says that neither he nor Viṣṇu can measure the extent of his might:

> *sa hi devaḥ paraṁ jyotis tamaḥ-pāre vyavasthitam*
> *paricchinna-prabhāvarddhi na mayā na ca Viṣṇunā* (2,58).
>
> That God is indeed the supreme light whose abode is beyond darkness; neither Viṣṇu, nor I, can apprehend the extend of his glory.

With the introduction of Śiva, the fourfold philosophical substratum is complete.

We therefore see, at least in the case of *KS*, that there are philosophical concepts which have gone in the making of the very texture of Kālidāsa's poetic world. The poet has not given us a versified philosophy; the idea of the fourfold cosmic plan finds its embodiment in the total organic arrangement of the poem, in imagery, symbolism, diction. We believe that such an analysis can reveal to us many hidden strata of thought and enhance our appreciation and understanding of a poem, and of the poet's complex world.

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18. Ibid. p. 62.

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SATYA VRAT SHASTRI

THE KUMĀRASAMBHAVACAMPŪ — A STUDY

Campū is a form of literature which has its own attraction in the skilful admixure of prose and poetry that it presents: *gadyapadyamayaṃ kāvyaṃ campūr ity abhidhīyate.* There are some very good specimens of it in Sanskrit literature. Beginning with the *Nalacampū* a whole class of literature in this form has grown up over the centuries. One of the latest instances of this is the *Kumārasambhavacampū*, the adaptation in Campū form of the great poem, the *Kumārasambhava* of Kālidāsa. In the entire modern Sanskrit literature pertaining to Kālidāsa which includes original plays or poems on him or adaptations of his works, there is no other work in this literary form.

Its author is King Sarfoji II, known in Sanskrit literature as Śarabhoji, the Sanskritization on sound analogy, of course, of Sarfoji, who ruled over Tanjore from 1800-32 A.D. A great patron of learning, he made Tanjore, a centre of attraction for all savants in Sanskrit, Tamil and Marathi. Not only that, he was himself a scholar and a writer of note in Sanskrit and Marathi. There are at least four Sanskrit works to his credit: *Smṛtisārasamuccaya*, *Smṛtisaṅgraha*, *Mudrārākṣasacchayā* and the work under reference, the *Kumārasambhavacampū*, undoubtedly his best work, being a creative composition unlike the first three which are compendia or abridgements of older works. King Sarfoji attracted to his court a number of Pandits whom he patronized by liberal grants of land or rich rewards.

The greatest monument to king Sarfoji's memory is Sarasvathi Mahal Palace Library at Tanjore which is named after him. During his life time the scholar-king had been enriching this collection by not only the copying of the Mss. but also purchasing as many of them as were available for sale during his frequent pilgrimages to Banaras. The result: the Sarasvathi Mahal Library now surely is one of the richest and the costliest libraries of the Oriental manuscripts in India.

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In the very beginning of his work the author presents the rationale of his going in for a Campū form for his composition avoiding exclusive verse or exclusive prose. According to him a verse without prose does not really go down the heart. Equally, prose without verse is not relished by it. It is their combination, their admixure, which like the combination of *sudhā* (nectar) and *mādhvīka* (spirituous liquor distilled from the *madhūka* flowers) which gives particular satisfaction to connoisseurs:

padyaṃ hṛdyam apīha gadyarahitaṃ dhatte na hṛdy āspadaṃ
gadyaṃ padyavivarjitaṃ ca bhajate nāsvādyatāṃ mānase /
sāhityaṃ hi tayor dvayor api sudhāmādhvīkayor yo bhavat /
santoṣaṃ hṛdayāmbuje vitanute sāhityavidyāvidām //

The author is conscious of the merits of the *Rāmāyaṇacampū* by Bhoja, a predecessor of his. He, therefore, sets about writing his work, faultless in composition, very much like him adorning it with charming figures of speech in words full of Rasa:

tatputraḥ śarabhojivarmanṛpatiḥ sāhityasāmrājyabhūr
bhojo rāmakathāsudhāmadhuritaṃ campūprabandhaṃ yathā /
sālaṅkāracamatkriyārasapadaṃ śuddhaṃ ca sandarbhataḥ
saṃgrathnāti kumārasambhavamahācampūprabandhottamam //

Published by Sri Sankaragurukulam, Srirangam, as Volume 5 in its publication series in the year 1940 and edited by Sri T. K. Balasubramanya Aiyar, the Campū is divided into four parts called the Āśvāsas, which have 33,30,60, and 79 verses and 4,4,7 and 4 prose paragraphs of varying length respectively. The first Āśvāsa begins with an invocation to Lord Śiva. Next is given a brief account of the ancestry of the poet. He is the son of Tulajendra, a descendant of Maloji of the Bhosala family of Tanjore.

After these preliminary remarks the story of the birth of Kumāra is taken up which closely follows the story as given by Kālidāsa in his *Kumārasambhava.*

The account of the birth of Kumāra starts in the work as in the model before its author, the *Kumārasambhava*, with a detailed description of the glory and the grandeur of the mount Himālaya, which is said to have married Menā, the mental progeny of the Manes and begot from her a son Maināka and a daughter, Pārvatī, who is once seen by Nārada and is predicted to become Śiva's wife. As for Śiva, he is practising penance on a Himalayan tableland. Pārvatī at her father's instance serves him. While this goes on gods tormented by the demon Tāraka go to Brahmā for succour who asks them to contrive for Śiva's attraction towards Pārvatī which may result in her marriage with him and the birth of a son who would destroy the demon. Indra thinks of Cupid who appears before him with his companion the spring. He is sent on a mission of softening Śiva for Pārvatī. He, however, does not succeed

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in it and is reduced to ashes by the Lord much to the sorrow of Rati, the Cupid's wife. With firm resolve to secure Śiva for her as her husband Pārvatī takes to severe austerities. One day the Lord disguised as a Brahmacārin enters into her Āśrama. He speaks disparagingly of Śiva pointing out many of his angularities and dissuades Pārvatī from pursuing her desire to which she does not agree. Unable to stand Śiva's denunciation she is about to leave the place when he appears before her in his true form. Pārvatī suggests to him to approach her father for her hand which he does by sending Arundhatī and the seven Ṛṣis who settle his marriage three days thence. The marriage solemnized, the couple spend a month in the Himālayan city moving thereafter to mount Sumeru. After they had enjoyed marital bliss for a hundred years, the gods, who had in the meantime got tired of the long wait, appear before them with the earth and pray for a son. The love sports having been interrupted, the Lord asks the earth to carry his seed which she deposits in the Gaṅgā and from which is born a strange child with six mouths and twelve arms who out of pity is fed by the six mothers, the Kṛttikās, on their milk, acquiring the name Ṣāṇmātura thereby. Ṣāṇmātura or Senāpati is put at the head of their army by the gods in the battle between them and the demons and leads them to victory, thus bringing long-awaited relief to the three worlds that had been groaning under the oppressions of Tāraka.

After narrating this story, the author pays obeissance to the goddess of speech and asks for her forgiveness for any deficiencies, errors or omissions on his part due to hurry. And with this the fourth Āśvāsa and along with it the whole work comes to an end.

Critical appreciation

The Campū starts on a note of full confidence on the part of its author in his capacity in the successful execution of his work. The very second verse of it written in the form of the imaginary dialogue between him and the goddess of learning exudes it:

mātar vāgdevi, kiṃ te sarabhanarapate vatsa! kāryaṃ mamāste,
saubrahmaṇyodbhavārthe ruciramṛdupade campukāvye 'bhilāṣaḥ /
vijñātaṃ, haimaśailasphaṭikamaṇiśilāsaṅghasaṃpātajāta-
sphītāṭopābhragaṅgāpravahaṇasadṛśāḥ santu te vāgvilāsāḥ //[1].

«O mother Sarasvatī, (Sarasvatī) — yes my child, king Śarabha, what do you expect of me? I want to compose a Campū with soft and pleasant words, dealing with the birth of Subrahmaṇya. (Saravsatī) — I know. May the play of your words be like the flow of the celestial Ganges gaining in intensity born of its fall on the crystal rocks of the mount Meru ».

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1. I.2.

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This confidence seems to have worn off as the author had arrived at the end of his work. In the last verse of his Campū, again addressed to Sarasvatī, he appears to be rather conscious of his shortcomings and inadequacies:

mātar vāṇi! namaskaromi caraṇadvandvāmbujaṃ tāvakaṃ
kṣantavyā kila bālakena racitā mātrā 'gasāṃ santatiḥ /
yan me 'tra skhalitaṃ, mayā yad api votsṛṣṭaṃ tvarāgauravāt
tat sarvaṃ mama sāhasaṃ bhagavati! kṣāntvā prasannā bhava //[2].

« Mother Sarasvatī, I bow to your lotus-like feet. You, the mother, should forgive the chain of offences committed by me. Whatever error I have committed in it (the Campū) or whatever omission I have made in a hurry, O goddess, that is a rash act on my part. You would forgive it and be pleased ».

The contrast between the tone and tenor in the two verses, both of them addressed to Sarasvatī, one in the beginning and the other at the end of the work cannot be lost on any careful observer. These two verses between them sum up the author's own assessment of his work. And, everything said and done, no assessment could be more objective than that of the author himself. Looked at from this point of view, it appears that both the statements of the author are on the whole correct. The work is characterized by an excessive flow of words which have a kind of rhythm of their own. The work has a number of descriptions, the descriptions of the Himālaya, of Śiva practising penance, of Tāraka oppressing the worlds, of the forest under the spell of Cupid and spring, of the penance of Pārvatī, of the rites and festivities relating to the Śiva-Pārvatī wedding, of the love-sports of Śiva and Pārvatī and finally, the battle between the gods and the demons. Each one of these has given an opportunity to our author to show his *vāgvilāsa* which, as explained by him through an apt simile, simply enthrals the reader. But while there is *vāgvilāsa* in abundance, the work does suffer from some jerks here and there, it does give some idea of having been hastily done up, something having been left out in a hurry: *yad api votsṛṣṭaṃ tvarāgauravāt*. What the author, therefore, says, in the last verse is not out of modesty only, it may have, as it does have, a grain of truth in it.

We find that upto the second Āśvāsa the story moves rather leisurely. Upto that, the work deals only with the birth of Pārvatī, Śiva's penance, Pārvatī's service to him, Cupid's burning by him and Rati's lamentations. The author lends considerable space to the description of the Himālaya, Śiva in penance, the condition of the forest under the influence of Cupid and spring and so on. From the third Āśvāsa onwards the story picks up momentum and the events follow each other in quick succession. The descriptions also become shorter, lesser space being devoted to them,

2. IV.

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thereby giving rise to the feeling that the author was hastening to bring his work to completion; he was therefore omitting some of the details found in the parent poem: *yad api votsṛṣṭaṃ tvarāgauravāt*. He dismisses the post-marriage love-sports of Śiva and Pārvatī in just 9 verses while Kālidāsa devotes as many as 44 verses to them. Similarly the description of the Pārvatī's make-up in the work also lacks the elaborate details found in the *Kumārasambhava*. There might have been some compelling reason for the author to hurry through, especially, towards the end. Again, he has throughout his work very closely followed the story of the parent poem, the *Kumārasambhava* except towards its end where he has made a significant departure. The departure relates to the description of the birth of Senāpati. In the *Kumārasambhava* it is said that the gods having got tired of the long wait for the birth of Senāpati sent Agni to look for Śiva. Agni assumed the form of a pigeon and entered into the apartment where Śiva and Prāvatī were engaged in lovesports. Śiva discovered the pigeon to be Agni in disguise. He felt offended but was appeased by Agni who told him that he had been sent by the gods who had been waiting to see him for hundred years to plead with him for begetting a son who would kill their oppressor Tāraka. The love-sports having been interrupted Śiva's seed was picked up by Agni who lost his natural lustre thereby and got disfigured. For making an unwarranted intrusion into the chamber and causing obstruction to love-sports he incurred the wrath of Pārvatī who cursed him to be leperous, all-consuming and atrocious in deeds with smoke inside. In the Campū under notice the entire incident has been reshaped. According to it after the gods had waited for long, they appeared before Śiva and requested him to beget a son who would kill Tāraka and offer them relief from the torture that they had been suffering from for a fairly long time:

sarve lekhāḥ sapadi girijāśaṅkarau dīrghakālaṃ
tāv anyonyaṃ prakaṭitasukhau saṃgatau nityatṛptau /
dhyātvā senāpatijanikṛte tuṣṭuvur vedavāgbhir
devo 'py enāṃs tripuradamanaḥ procivān vācam etām //[3].

Śiva agrees to fulfil their desire:

he devāḥ kāṅkṣitaṃ vaḥ suciram idam ataḥ saṃprasannaḥ kariṣye /[4].

He asks the earth to carry his seed: *madvīryaṃ bhūtadhātrī vahatu*. Pārvatī at this curses the gods not to be able to beget children on their wives and the earth to be polyandrous:

tato 'mbikā 'tikupitā śaśāpa sukhavighnataḥ /
svastrīṣv aprajaso devān bhuvaṃ cānekabhartṛkām //[5].

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3. IV.64.
4. IV.65.
5. IV.66.

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When we compare the incident as described in the *Kumārasambhava* with the one in the *Kumārasambhavacampū* we find that the latter omits the Agni episode altogether, it straightaway presents the gods, including the goddess earth, before the primeval couple, Śiva and Pārvatī while they are engaged in love-sports and it is the earth which at Śiva's instance carries his seed. This appears to be rather naive lacking the finesse of the master writer with which he had approached it. To admit a host of gods and a goddess in the strict privacy of Śiva and Pārvatī would simply he revolting to more developed taste. It also would look incredible as to how they could land themselves there. There is no mention in the work anywhere that they had been permitted entry. To descend on the couple, whatever the urgency prompting it, while it is engaged in love-sports betrayed a height of impropriety. It looks strange as to how our author could not see throug it. It is precisely to guard against it that the genius of Kālidāsa had invented the episode of Agni, and the guise for it of a pigeon. A bird could enter the privacy of the apartment, and not a god or a human being. It is a different matter if it is found out later and its true form discovered. Kālidāsa adopts a clever device here for conveying the message of the gods to the Lord. All this means that even if somebody had to approach the Lord he had to do it discreetly. And this has precisely been done in the *Kumārasambhava.* Again to ask the earth to carry the seed in the very presence of Pārvatī looks rather indecorous. Everything said and done one cannot help feeling here that the naturalness characterizing the description of the incident in the parent poem is missing in its adaptation. A departure from the primary narrative would be welcome only if it leads to some improvement in it. As it is, no improvement is visible in it, hence no need for the departure from the old narrative.

Now a word about the language of the poem. It is generally of a very high order. It is characterized on the whole by the qualities of perspicuity, sweetness and grammatical accuracy. Furthermore, it has the classical ring about it. While going through it one feels as though one is going through the work of an older period. At places the author's style reminds us of that of Bāṇa and Subandhu especially where he indulges in paranomasia, e.g.,

(1) *yatra ca, mahādeva iva himakhaṇḍapāṇḍare, puruṣottama ivotphullasarasīruhalocane, kamalāsana ivopagatahaṃsamaṇḍale, suraloka iva suparvavaṃśādhiṣṭhāne,... vaikuṇṭha iva hariṇādhiṣṭhite, saty aloka iva sahiraṇyagarbhe, puṇḍarīkākṣavakṣastaṭa iva vanamālālaṅkṛte, kāvyaprabandha iva nānāvarṇadhātuvicitre,... paraśurāma ivādharitarājamaṇḍale, mahākāsāra iva sarvatomukhavicalatpuṇḍarīke, himotpattibhūmāv apy ahimahite, dhṛtakṣame 'pi durāsade, gaṅgāprabhave 'py abhīṣme... (himālaye)* / [6].

6. After I.8.

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(2) *atha sa manmathaḥ haimavatyām adhityakāyāṃ vaiyāghracarmāstaraṇaṃ devadārutaruvedikāmadhyam adhyāsīnaṃ samādhiyogasamucitāvasthānasundaratarākṛtiṃ bhujaṅgamonnaddhajaṭākalāpabhāsuraṃ karṇāvasaktadviguṇākṣasūtravalayaṃ kaṇṭhaprabhāsaṃsargādhikanīlāṃ rauravīṃ tvacaṃ dadhānaṃ nāsāśikharavinyasteṣatstimitāgratārāvispanditapakṣmamālākṣitritayam ambuvāham ivāvṛṣṭisaṃrambham apām ādhāram ivānuttaraṅgam antararuddhaprāṇānilatayā pradīpam iva nivātaniṣkampam ūrddhvodbhāsinībhir lalāṭanetrajvālāmālābhir glapayantam iva mṛṇālasūtrasukumārān bālendumayūkhān, niṣiddhākhilakaraṇapracāram, ātmany evātmānam avalokayantaṃ bhagavantam antakāntakam adrākṣit* /[7].

Sometimes the author presents in beautiful prose a paraphrase of what the older poet has said in verse. The paragraph reproduced below as a specimen:

santatanisyandamānatuhināsāradhautaraktaṃ padam apaśyatām api kirātānāṃ nakharāyudhanakharandhramuktamuktāphalāny eva vibhinnavanakumbhikesaripadavīparijñānahetavaḥ, sātapaśṛṅgāśrayaṇam evādhaḥsānugatasiddhānāṃ vṛṣṭibādhānivāraṇam, dhāturasanyastākṣarā bhūrjatvaca eva surasundarīṇām anaṅgalekhāḥ, kīcakarandhreṣu darīmukhodgatasamīrapūraṇam eva kinnaragaṇopagānam, kaṇḍūlavaitaṇḍakaṣaṇodbhūtasaralagandha eva sānusurabhīkaraṇapaṭuḥ, vanitāsakhavanecarāṇāṃ jyotirlatā eva suratapradīpāḥ, atighanajaghanapayodharāṇām aśvamukhīnāṃ tuhinadurgame 'pi mārge mandam eva gamanam...[8].

is nothing but the following half a dozen verses of Kālidāsa put in prose form with some abbreviation and a change of wording here and there:

padaṃ tuṣārasrutidhautaraktaṃ yasminn adṛṣṭvā 'pi hatadvipānām /
vidanti mārgaṃ nakharandhramuktair muktāphalaiḥ kesariṇāṃ
kirātāḥ //
nyastākṣarā dhāturasena yatra bhūrjatvacaḥ kuñjarabinduśoṇāḥ /
vrajanti vidyādharasundarīṇām anaṅgalekhakriyayopayogam //
yaḥ pūrayan kīcakarandhrabhāgān darīmukhotthena samīraṇena /
udgāsyatām icchati kinnarāṇāṃ tānapradāyitvam ivopagantum //
kapolakaṇḍūḥ karibhir vinetuṃ vighaṭṭitānāṃ saraladrumāṇām /
yatra snutakṣīratayā prasūtaḥ sānūni gandhaḥ surabhīkaroti //
vanecarāṇāṃ vanitāsakhāṇāṃ darīgṛhotsaṅganiṣaktabhāsaḥ /
bravanti yatrauṣadhayo rajanyām atailapūrāḥ suratapradīpāḥ //
udvejayaty aṅgulipārṣṇibhāgān mārge śilībhūtahime 'pi yatra /
na durvahaśroṇipayodharārtā bhindanti mandāṃ
gatim aśvamukhyaḥ[9] //.

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7. After II.18.
8. After I.8.
9. *Kumārasambhava*, I.21-3.

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Occasionally the *Kumārasambhava* idea contained in two or three verses is put by our author in one single verse:

dakṣāvajñānamuktasvatanur atha satī pūrvapatnī purārer
utsāheneha nītāv ajani himavatā śrīr yathā menakāyām /
āsīd āśāprasādo vavur aparajaso vāyavaḥ śaṅkhaśabdāt
pāścātyā puṣpavṛṣṭir jananadinam abhūt prāṇisaukhyāya tasyāḥ // [10].

The *Kumārasambhava* verses are:

athāvamānena pituḥ prayuktā
dakṣasya kanyā bhavapūrvapatnī
satī satī yogavisṛṣṭadehā
tāṃ janmane śailavadhūṃ prapede //
sā bhūdharāṇām adhipena tasyāṃ
samādhimatyām udapādi bhavyā /
samyakprayogād aparikṣatāyāṃ
nītāv ivotsāhaguṇena sampat //
prasannadikpāṃsuviviktavātaṃ
śaṅkhasvanānantarapuṣpavṛṣṭi /
śarīriṇāṃ sthāvarajaṅgamānāṃ
sukhāya tajjanmadinaṃ babhūva // [11].

In spite of the metre employed by our author being a bigger one, some brevity in condensing the idea of three verses in one is no doubt noticeable here.

By far the most striking instance of how the Campū attempts a paraphrase of the *Kumārasambhava* verses can be had from the following wellknown Kālidāsan verse:

sthitāḥ kṣaṇaṃ pakṣmasu tāḍitādharāḥ
payodharotsedhanipātacūrṇitāḥ /
valīṣu tasyāḥ skhalitāḥ prapedire
krameṇa nābhiṃ prathamodabindavaḥ // [12]

which is found in the Campū as:

kṣaṇaṃ sthitvā pakṣmasv atha nipīḍyādharadalaṃ
tato vakṣojordhvasthalapatanacūrṇīkṛtibhṛtaḥ /
skhalitvāsyā ramyākṛtivaliṣu paścāc ca tisṛṣu
prapannās taṃ nābhīkuharam atha nūtnāmbupṛṣatāḥ // [13].

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10. I.10.
11. *Kumārasambhava*, I.21-3.
12. Ibid, V.24.
13. III.5.

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Though the language of the work is on the whole easy and simple, the author does go in for some recondite or obscure expressions here and there. Thus he uses *bhūvalaripu*[14] for king, *vedavṛndaśikhara*[15] for *vedānta*, *sutrāman*[16] for Indra, *vadikriyākarman*[17] for *abhivādana*, *vadi* meaning *abhivādana*, *vadi* = *abhivādane*, *niketabhūmi*[18] for a covered place, *praguṇita*[19] for *āvṛtta*, repeated, *tāra*[20] for *śuddha*, pure, auspicious, *aṣṭāpada*[21] for gold, *śilādajanus*[22] for Nandī, *lekha*[23] for deity. In line with the above is his use of words which are structurally peculiar for the sense intended of them. They are: *diṣṭabhūmi*[24] meaning one 'to whom a seat is offered', *dattāsanaḥ, sthānajñatvacaṇaḥ*[25] one who possesses the expert knowledge of how (an archer) should stand or one who is skilled in the knowledge of marking an aim, *sthāna* = aim, *ahāryasamānadhairyā*[26], 'one whose even ordinary or normal patience cannot be disturbed', *samāna* = ordinary or normal, *garīyasī* in *viśīrṇaparṇavṛttitā tapaḥsthiter garīyasī*[27] meaning hinderance, obstruction, *pitṛmatāt*[28] with the permission of the father, *mata* standing for *anumata* or *anumati*. At a couple of places in the work one comes across ellyptical construction too, e.g., *kalpa* for *kalpavṛkṣa* in *kalpaprasavamṛdulam*[29], *śāmbhavaḥ* for *śāmbhavaḥ karaḥ* in *nijanābhideśanihatas tu śāmbhavo dharaṇīdharendrasutayā sakampayā rurudhe*[30]. Occasionally a word in the work is altered due in all probability to metrical exigencies. A rather interesting instance of this is found in the line:

patyau vāllabhyam asyā himagiriduhitur menakāyāḥ svamātuḥ /[31]

where the name *menā* is altered to *menakā* though the latter is the name of a particular nymph. The editing of the work also leaves something to be desired. A few readings in it are definitely corrupt and need improvement, e.g., *dṛṣṭyā* in *dṛṣṭyā nūtanayeva śuṣkasarasīmatsyāṅganā*

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14. I.4.
15. I.17.
16. II.1.
17. III.56.
18. III.6.
19. III.60.
20. IV.3.
21. IV.4.
22. IV.15.
23. IV.64.
24. II.1.
25. II.20.
26. After III.2.
27. III.7.
28. III.18.
29. IV.9.
30. IV.44.
31. IV.47.

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tarpitā[32], *nāga* in *saivaṃ maṅgalatūryanāgaruciraṃ snātā*[33], *nihata* in *nijanābhideśanihatas tu śāmbhavaḥ*[34], *krīḍaty ekāṃ in krīḍaty ekāṃ triyāmām iva divasagaṇāny anaiṣīt sukhātmā*[35], where obviously *vṛṣṭyā*, *nāda*, *nihita* and *krīḍann ekām* respectively, *would* be the correct readings. In an isolated instance *jātaṃ kalpaprasavamṛdulaṃ śekharaṃ sarvam eva*[36], *śekhara*, the masculine, is found used in the neuted. In an equally isolated instance the two words, though in construction, are used far apart from each other:

yathāpradeśasaṃgatā bhujaṃgamā vibhūṣaṇī -
babhūvur eṣa nūtnatā śarīramātragocarā /
phaṇāmaṇiprabhā tu yā purā babhūva saiva sā
śiraḥsthito vidhuḥ paraṃ kuto 'bhavan na nūtanaḥ //[37].

eṣa in the second line is in construction with *vidhuḥ* in the fourth, both being intercepted by a number of words. In the verse immediately following the above there seems to be the defect *adhikapadatva*, excess of words. The verse in question reads:

sādhāraṇe sati maheśasamāśraye 'pi
bhasmenducarmabhujageṣu vidhuṃ vihāya /
bhasmājinādi pararūpamavāpa nendur
rantaḥ sthitā malinatā kimu tatra hetuḥ //[38].

« While the ashes, the moon, the skin and the serpents all in common attach themselves to Śiva, it is the ashes, the skin, etc., with the exception of the moon, that assume a different form and not the moon. Is it due to the impurity settled within? ».

Now here *vidhuṃ vihāya* and *nenduḥ* convey one and the same idea. One of these could easily have been dispensed with.

The work is marked by a couple of typical Taddhita formations which cannot be considered to be unusual in the composition of a South Indian whose love for them has found an echo in as early a work as the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali which says: *priyataddhitā dākṣiṇātyāḥ*. As specimens we may mention *dhaurandharī*[39], *pāramparī*[40],

32. II.29.
33. IV.5.
34. IV.44.
35. IV.63.
36. IV.9.
37. IV.10.
38. IV.11.
39. I.4.
40. I.15.

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svācchandya[41], *sauvarga*[42], *sāvitra*[43],*sautrāmaṇa*[44], *sāhasra*[45], *aunnatya*[46], *vaiyāghra*[47], *aibha*[48], *kṣauma*[49], *tārtīyīka*[50], *sauvarṇa*[51], *vāllabhya*[52], *śārvara*[53]. Of these, the use of the feminine suffix *ṅīṣ* after the *Taddhita* formations, *dhaurandharya* and *pāramparya* is uncommon.

One of the special features of the work is the occurrence in it of some of the lines which can easily pass off as good sayings. A few of the typical ones of these are reproduced below by way of illustration:

(1) *mānaiṣiṇo hy unnatāḥ* /[54]
(2) *prabhūṇāṃ prāyeṇa svāśriteṣu svaphalaparatayā gauravaṃ cañcalaṃ syāt* /[55]
(3) *asatkathā śrutā hi pāpakāriṇī* /[56]
(4) *śuddhyarthaṃ yad adhiṣṭhitaṃ sukṛtibhis tat tīrtham ācakṣate* /[57]
(5) *kuṭumbināṃ prakṛtayaḥ kalatrāśrayāḥ* /[58]
(6) *duṣpradharṣyaḥ khalūgraḥ* /[59]

The work has as many as 11 metres. The author seems to have a special fascination for the Śārdūlavikrīḍita. He composes in this metre the bulk of his work, 123 verses out of a total of 202 verses. Of the remaining 10 metres he uses Mālinī in 19, Anuṣṭubh in 15, Pṛthvī in 13, Pañcacāmara in 12, Upajāti in 8, Śikhariṇī in 5, Bhujaṅgaprayāta in 2 verses, while Āryā, Svāgatā, Mandākrāntā, Mañjubhāṣiṇī and Vasantatilakā each, he uses only once. Except the *yatibhaṅga* in the following few verses there is no violation of the metres:

(1) *brahmādyālayapūritotsavasamājollāsitā śobhate* /[60]
(2) *āpādaṃ sphuraduttarottarasamastāṅgābhirūpyaṃ vapuḥ* /[61]

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41. I.7.
42. I.12.
43. I.20.
44. III.41.
45. III.51.
46. III.51.
47. IV.9.
48. Ibid.
49. IV,5,9.
50. IV.9.
51. IV,2,38.
52. IV.47.
53. IV.59.
54. I.13.
55. II.1.
56. III.29.
57. III.45.
58. III.57.
59. II.24.
60. I.3.
61. I.12.

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(3) *mārgeṇātmasvarūpaṃ manasi kṛtasamādhānayoge viśuddhe* / [62]
(4) *bāṇānāṃ pratipannakalpam idam evāsmacciraprārthitam* / [63]
(5) *eṣānyā ca viḍambanā tava yad udvāhe gajārohaṇe* / [64]
(6) *te cākāśam athātinīlima samutplutyopajagmus tadā* / [65]
(7) *uccaiḥ saṃlāpadhāvadratharathikavimuktāśugācchā-*
ditābhram / [66]
(8) *indro mandāramālām adita manasijāyekṣamāṇaḥ saharṣam* / [67]

As far as the arrangement of the words, *padaśayyā*, is concerned it is simply exquisite, answering very correctly the description of *ruciramṛdupadatva* and *sālaṅkāracamatkriyārasapadatva* for his Campū by the author. It has delightful alliteration which sometimes produces a jingling effect, e.g.,

(1) *asti svastaruvṛndasundaratarācchāyollasatkandara-*
krīḍatkinnaramāninījanamanaḥsvācchandyasākṣātkṛtī / [68]
(2) *tadanu sa dvijanuḥ kadā vā sutanum imāṃ śaśiśekharaḥ*
... samāśrayiṣyata itīṅgatajñaḥ... [69]
(3) *atha sa bhagavān antakāntakaḥ atidhavalair daśanāṃśubhir*
mukuṭataṭaghaṭitasudhādīdhitikāntim upacinvaṃs tān saptarṣīn
pratyabhāṣata / [70]
(4) *praṇamrasasurāsurasphuritamauliratnaprabhā-*
piśāṅgitapadāmbujau prabhavatām umāśaṅkarau / [71]
(5) *dārārthaṃ vihitādaraṃ smaraharaṃ te 'bhyūcur itthaṃ*
vacaḥ / [72]
(6) *jagadguros tasya gurur bhava tvaṃ guro garīyān khalu te*
prabhāvaḥ / [73]

Among the other figures of speech used in the work mention may be made of Apahnuti, Sandeha, Sahokti, Arthāntaranyāsa, Upamā and Utprekṣā, the latter two being the most frequent. The author's conceiving the Himālaya as the dark spot of the full moon, Pārvatī as the string of gems, *ratnaśalākā*, the widowed Rati consoled by a voice from the space and waiting for an end to her travails as a fish in a

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62. I.16.
63. II.6.
64. III.23.
65. III.41.
66. IV.75.
67. II.8.
68. I.7.
69. After III.18.
70. After III.37.
71. III.55.
72.
73. III.56.

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dry pond refreshed by a fresh shower, and the digit of the moon waiting for the night-fall, respectively, Pārvatī evaporating heat from her figure scorched by the blaze of the sun and the fire as the earth emitting vapours on account of fresh showers at the end of the summer, the seeing by the Himālaya of the Saptarṣis as a shower without a cloud or a fruit without a flower, Pārvatī with her face scented by the smoke of the lājas (fried rice) as the lotus-stalk with an autumnal lotus made fragrant with the sweet smell of *lodhra* brought by bees, the stars as the drops from the moon, Arundhatī as the success incarnate of penance, present a few of the good illustrations of Utprekṣā in the work.

Sometimes a chain of a figure of speech is employed to emphasize a point. Thus the great joy experienced by the Himālaya on the unexpected advent of the Saptarṣis is expressed by means of three Utprekṣās. The Himālaya feels as transformed as a fool turned wise, as a thing made of iron turned into that of gold, as some one from the earth uplifted to heaven.

The author also occasionally draws word-pictures with the help of his imagination.

While describing the make-up of Lord Śiva at the time of his marriage he imagines the things normally associated with him to be the constituents of his make-up: his ashes are the cosmetics, *aṅgarāga*, his chain of skulls, the wreath of flowers for the head, his tiger and elephant skins, the pair of clothes, the third eye, the forhead-mark, *tilaka*, and the serpents, the ornaments.

Among the many descriptions found in the work it is in the description of the battle between the gods and the demons that we find far greater originality on the part of the author. How life-like is the fling of the demons at the gods can be seen from the following verse:

nedaṃ nandanakānanaṃ viśasanaṃ naitāḥ suparvāṅganās
tīkṣṇāḥ śastraparamparāḥ samuditāḥ pratyarthimarmacchidaḥ /
naitat satram asṛgvasāntranikarakrūraṃ mahāyodhanaṃ
nāyaṃ gautamadārajāracarito netā 'suras tārakaḥ / [74].

« This is not a Nandana park, it is a killing house, these are not the celestial damsels but accumulated piles of sharp-edged weapons which pierce the vitals of the enemies. This is not a sacrificial session but a great battle dreadful on account of mass of blood, marrow and arteries. This is not Indra, the paramour of the wife of Gautama, but the leader, the demon Tāraka ».

The demons also indulge in the cat-calls at the gods which look so real and life-like by the quick flow of the words:

agne 'nnaṃ vaha, vāhi vāta vipine, parjanya garjāmbare,
mṛtyo martyajaneṣu gaccha, dhanada tvaṃ kośagehe vasa /

74. IV.75.

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vasvādityagaṇā bhavanti bhavatāṃ śrāddhakriyāsu kramā
no yuddheṣv iti sainikā ditibhuvāṃ devān avāmaṃsata //[75].

Agni, carry food, Vāta, blow in the forest, Parjanya, thunder in the sky, Mṛtyu, go to the mortals, Kubera, confine yourself to the treasury, Vasus and Ādityas, go to attend the Śrāddha ceremonies, and not to the battle-field. Thus the soldiers of the demons slighted the gods ».

The Campū has quite a few of the Rasas: Śānta in the description of Śiva and Pārvatī practising penance, Karuṇa in Rati's lamentations at the loss of her husband, Śṛṅgāra in its variety of Vipralambha at the discomfiture of Pārvatī at the burning of Cupid and of the variety of Sambhoga in the description of love-sports after Śiva-Pārvatī wedding, Hāsya (very briefly) in love-dalliances of the divine couple and Vīra in the battle between the gods and the demons.

Though the story in the work in the main is the same as that of the *Kumārasambhava* and though much of the verse or the prose portion in it is a paraphrase of the verses of Kālidāsa, it is not devoid of an individuality of its own. It attempts at retelling the *Kumārasambhava* in its own words. It is an attempt, where the setting is that of the reteller while the backdrop to it is that of the older work. The result: The words and expressions from Kālidāsa's poem peep out into this work even in the new frame. A reader who has studied the *Kumārasambhava* has it in his unconscious mind. While going through the Campū, he is comparing it all the time and much to his interest and curiosity finding it well-rendered. The fly over from verse to prose and vice versa, the characteristic-in-chief of a Campū, acts as a relief to him.

As a first attempt at retelling the *Kumārasambhava* in a different literary form by a scion of the princely family of South India with a good sprinkling of his own exquisite composition, the Campū provides real pleasure to connoisseurs.

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75. IV.76.

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SATYA VRAT SHASTRI

SANSKRIT SYNONYMS

The Sanskrit word for a synonym is *paryāyavacana* or more popularly simply *paryāya* which evidently is a shorter form for the earlier fuller expression. The synonyms are called *paryāyavacanas* for they denote the same meaning in rotation, one by one, *paryāya* literally meaning « rotation »: *paryāyeṇarthaṃ bruvata iti paryāyāḥ.*

Whether two or more words can ever express one and the same meaning is very difficult to say. There is a school of thought that behind the apparent synonymity of words there lie some subtle shades of meaning which can be detected either by a critical study of the context in which they are used or by tracing the semantical history of the words or through the comments offered sometimes by the commentators or their etymological interpretations. In a current language the process of their detection is comparatively easy: The usage itself limiting the words in particular shades only. To explain the point we may take up an instance from the English language. It has a number of words such as ride, scale, climb, mount in the sense for which the Sanskrit word is *ārohaṇa.* Now every one of these denotes *ārohaṇa* but each one of these denotes *ārohaṇa* on a different object. The difference in the senses of these words, therefore, rests on the objects of *ārohaṇa.* Riding is *ārohaṇa* on horse, climbing on a tree or a pole or a mountain etc., scaling on a mountain and so on. Each word we thus see has a specific association with an object and differs in sense only with reference to those objects only. The Mahābhāṣyakāra very vividly brings it out in his comment:

niyataviṣayāḥ śabdā dṛśyante. tad yathā — samāne
rakte varṇe gaur lohita iti bhavaty aśvaḥ śoṇa iti.
samāne ca kāle varṇe gauḥ kṛṣṇa iti bhavaty aśvo hema
iti. samāne ca śukle varṇe gauḥ śveta iti bhavaty aśvaḥ karka iti[1].

1. I.4.37.

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In classical languages like Sanskrit the minute difference in sense of the so-called synonyms has to be found out with some effort, for the source-material in their case is their old literature only. And there is difference evidently in literature and current speech. The difference in the sense-shades could apparently not be as manifest in literature as in current speech. And literature too cannot be taken in the process as one single entity. Its different layers represent the process of the change-over of the speech from current coin to conventionalized vehicle of expression, from the speech of the masses to that of the classes. Thus the earlier the layer of literature the more helpful it is for the process of divination of finer distinctions in the meaning of the so-called synonyms. It is the earlier Sanskrit literature that has the largest incidence of the juxtaposition of the synonyms, a sharp pointer to a period when the fine distinction in the senses of the words was still maintained and not forgotten as in later period. As a matter of fact the basic factor leading to the development of synonymity in words is the disappearance in them of the finer shades of meaning over a period of time. It is the approximation in sense that leads to synonymity and the promiscuous use of the words. This is what Kṣīrasvāmin means when he offers the comment: *tamālapatrākṛti kastūryā lalāṭe tamālapatram, tilakākṛti tilakam, citrakaṃ nānāvarṇam, viśinaṣṭi viśeṣakam. itthaṃ tilakabhedā ete paryāyatvaṃ tv adūraviprakarṣāt,* on the Amara line: *tamālapatra-tilakacitrakāṇi viśeṣakam*[2], *tamālapatra* is a sign by musk on the forehead of the form of *tamālapatra, tilaka* is of the form of sesame seed, *citraka* is of many colours. *Viśeṣaka* is a distinctive mark. Thus all these are different types of forehead-marks. Synonymity of them is due to the approximation of sense in them.

Some synonyms in Sanskrit originally stood in the relationship of adjective and substantive. In course of time the adjective appropriated to itself the sense of the substantive and became its synonym. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* line: « *tāṃ vināṭha vihaṅgo 'sau pakṣī praṇaditas tadā* »[3], *vihaṅga* and *pakṣin,* are juxtaposed. One of them, evidently, *vihaṅga,* meaning literally 'flying in the sky'[4], is an adjective here. *Pakṣin* with *vihaṅga* would mean 'a bird flying in the sky'. At another place in the same work a similar word, *khecara,* meaning the same as *vihaṅga* is used as an adjective to *pakṣin*: *siṃhavyāghravarāhāṇāṃ khecarāṇāṃ ca pakṣiṇām.* In a *Mahābhārata* verse four words *palāśin, śākhin, viṭapin* and *vṛkṣa,* all signifying tree in later literature, are used side by side:

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2. II.6.123.

3. IV.1.55.

4. This is not a conjecture. The word has been actually used in this sense in the *Mahābhārata* verse: *prabhuḥ saṅkalpasiddho 'smi kāmarūpī vihaṅgamaḥ (Udyogaparva,* 193.4). Nīlakaṇṭha explains *vigaṅgamaḥ* as « flying in or moving through the sky »: *vihaṅgama ākāśagāmī.*

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palāśinaṃ śākhinaṃ ca tathā viṭapinaṃ punaḥ /
taṃ dṛṣṭvā jīvitaṃ vṛkṣaṃ kāśyapena mahātmanā // [5].

Of these the first three, *palāśin*, *śākhin* and *viṭapin* could be adjectives to *vṛkṣa* meaning thereby a tree with leaves, branches and twigs. Other similar pairs in the epics are: *aṃśumat - vivasvat*, *triyāmā - śarvarī*, *vidyut - saudāmanī*, *giri - parvata* and so on. Even in as early a work as the *Ṛgveda* we meet with such instances, e.g., *aśvaṃ na vājinam* [6], *urvīṃ pṛthivīṃ* [7], *pṛthivī mahī* [8], *bhūmiṃ pṛthivīm* [9], *yajñam adhvaram* [10], etc. One each in these *urvī*, *pṛthivī* and *adhvara* is an adjective to the other, *urvīṃ pṛthivīm* or *pṛthivī mahī* meaning the vast earth. *yajñam adhvaram* meaning non-violent sacrifice. It may incidentally be pointed out here that there is no fixity with regard to the character of the words in Sanskrit works. What serve as adjectives at one place serve as substantives in another. In the *Ṛgveda* instances quoted above the same *pṛthvī* or *pṛthivī* which is an adjective in *pṛthivī mahī*, *bhūmiṃ pṛthivīm* is substantive in *urvīṃ pṛthivīm*. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* too *vihaṅgama*, a cognate of *vihaṅga* occurring as adjective in the verse quoted above is used as a substantive with *khecara*, the adjective: *vane vanecarāṃś cānyān khecarāṃś ca vihaṅgamān* [11].

Sometimes words which originally stood in the relationship of *upamāna*, standard of comparison and *upameya*, the thing to be compared, turn into synonyms when the *upamānavācin* words among them appropriate to themselves the sense of the *upameyavācin* ones. This is best illustrated by the words *ghana* and *vaṃśa*. The former of these, *ghana*, occurs with *abhra*, in a number of verses in the *Rāmāyaṇa*:

(1) *vividhābhraghanāpannagocaraḥ* [12].
(2) *tam abhraghanasaṃkāśam āpatantaṃ mahākapim* [13].
(3) *tad balaṃ rākṣasendrāṇāṃ mahābhraghananāditam* [14].

Literally *ghana* means something solid, vide. Pāṇ. *mūrtau ghanaḥ*, 3.3.77. In expressions like *ghanaṃ dadhi* the *dharma*, the characteristic, is employed to denote the *dharmin*, the possesser of the characteristic. Just as *dadhi*, etc., is said to be *ghana*, similarly the thick clouds are said to be *abhraghana*, the dissolution of the compound being *abhraṃ*

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5. *Āstikaparva*, 43.10-11.
6. I.129.2.
7. VII.38.2.
8. X.60.9.
9. V.85.4.
10. I.1.4.
11. IV.13.12.
12. V.57.9.
13. V.57.28.
14. VII.6.61.

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ghana iva or *abhrasya ghano mūrtir iva*, the solid mass of clouds. In course of time *ghana* originally meaning something solid, a mass, came to acquire the sense of cloud itself.

As for *vaṃśa*, it primarily means bamboo. In the many instances in which it occurs together with *kula* in later literature: *kulavaṃśa-vaṃśah*, etc. it retains its characteristic of *upamānavācitva* with *kula*, the *upameya*. *Vaṃśa*, family, is so called because it is like *vaṃśa*, bamboo, *vaṃśa iva iti vaṃśaḥ*. Just as a bamboo tree, *vaṃśa*, never grows alone, it develops into a full cluster, so it is hoped would do *vaṃśa*, a family.

Sometimes one of the two words that originally stood as an epithet to a substantive gets detached from it, and slips closer to another word maintaining its original character of an epithet. We may take up here as an instance the word *oṣadhīpati*. As pointed out by S. P. Pandit this was used in early literature with reference to Soma both of them standing in the relationship of *viśeṣaṇa* and *viśeṣya*, Soma-oṣadhīpati, Soma, the lord of the herbs. Later it came to be detached from Soma and came to be attached to Indu, the moon. The process is explained by Pandit rather ingeniously in the following words: « The key to the fact seems to be in the word *indu*. This word is frequently found in the *Ṛgveda*, but always in the sense of (1) a drop of the soma juice, and (2) the soma juice itself. It appears the word *indu* coming then to signify a globule, or a round little body very naturally became a name of the fuller moon. Now, according to a very common principle that has had such a prominent influence on the development of the Sanskrit vocabulary, viz., that whenever a vocable that signifies two things, has other synonyms, those other synonyms also become each expressive of the same two things, the word *soma* acquired the additional sense of moon. Then, as is very common in the growth of mythology, the conceptions, attributes, etc., connected with the original personified or rather deified concept of *soma*, viz., that of the plant, became attached to the new concept, viz., that of the moon. Thus the whole derivation may be put in the following pseudological form: The word *indu* means both a drop of the juice of the sacrificial plant (or the juice itself) and the moon; a synonym of *indu* in the first sense is the word *soma*, therefore *soma* meant both the plant and the moon. Now, because *soma*, the plant was developed into a personification by certain attributes, therefore, *soma*, the moon, acquired also the same attributes. And thus it is that the moon also came to be described as the King or Lord of the plants »[15].

Sometimes the words originally signified a general thing which was later particularized. The word *garutmat*, for instance, signified a bird, in general, vide Amara, *nīḍodbhavā garutmantaḥ pitsanto nabhasaṅgamāḥ*[16], but later came to signify a particular bird, *garuḍa*, too.

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15. S. P. Pandit's note on *Raghuvaṃśa*, II.73, in his edn. (B. S. Series).
16. II.5.35.

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Conversely the words which signified originally a particular thing came to acquire a general sense. The words *senā, pṛtanā, vāhinī* etc., now all meaning army in general originally signified different formations of it of varied strength, as is clear from the *Mahābhārata* verse:

senā pañcaśataṃ nāgā rathās tāvanta eva ca /
daśa senā ca pṛtanā pṛtanā daśa vāhinī // [17].

Nīlakaṇṭha's explanation of it is:

seneti. tatra gajānāṃ rathānāṃ ca tulyasaṅkhyoktiḥ
pūrvoktasaṅkhyopalakṣaṇārthā. tena pañcaviṃśatiśatāni
manuṣyāḥ, pañcadaśaśataṃ turagā ity api jñeyam.
pṛtanāyāṃ tu pañcasahasraṃ narā pañcadaśasahasram aśvāḥ.
vāhinyāṃ pañcāśatsahasraṃ nāgās tāvanto rathāḥ
sārdhalakṣadvayaṃ narā sārtha (rdha?) lakṣam aśvā iti jñeyam.

Five hundred elephants, the same number of chariots, 2500 men and 1500 horses constitute the *Senā. Pṛtanā* has 5000 men and 15.000 horses. *Vāhinī* has 50.000 elephants, the same number of chariots, a quarter of a million of men and 50.000 horses.

Some synonyms originally stood in the relationship of *viśeṣya* and *sāmānya,* particular and general. Different aspects or types of a thing had a different word for them. But all these could be expressed through a common word too. Thus *krodha, droha, īrṣyā* and *asūyā* had a common word *kopa.* The Mahābhāṣyakāra's comment on Pāṇ. *Krudhadruherṣyāsūyārthānāṃ yaṃ prati kopaḥ* (1.4.37) brings it out very clearly and bears reproduction in full:

kim eta ekārthā āhosvin nānārthāḥ? kim cātaḥ?
yady ekārthāḥ kimarthaṃ pṛthaṅ nirdiśyante. atha
nānārthāḥ kathaṃ kupinā śakyante viśeṣayitum?
evaṃ tarhi nānārthāḥ. kupau tv eṣāṃ sāmānyam asti.
nahy akupitaḥ krudhyati, na vā 'kupito druhyati,
na va 'kupita īrṣyati, na vā 'kupito 'sūyati [18].

For eating Sanskrit has words like *bhojana, khādana, bhakṣaṇa* etc. which represent its different types: *kharaviśadasyārthasyābhayavaharaṇaṃ khādanam, dantavyāpārapūrvakaṃ nigaraṇaṃ* etc., eating of a hard thing existing severally is *khādana,* swallowing preceded by chewing is *bhakṣaṇa* and so on. All of these, however, have a common word which is *abhyavahāra.* Under Pāṇ. *samuccaye sāmānyavacanasya*

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17. *Udyogaparva,* 152.21 (Citrasala Press edition).

18. Incidentally it would be interesting to mention the precise distinction between *kopa* and *krodha.* While *kopa* is an internal phenomenon: *āntaro dharmaḥ, krodha* is its outward manifestation in the form of distorted movement of limbs and ugly speech: *vikṛta-vākkāya-vyāpārānumīyamānaḥ* or in the words of Nīlakaṇṭha the condition of being distraught in mind: *krodho vikṣiptacittatā.*

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(3.4.5), the *Kāśikā* gives the illustration: *odanaṃ bhuṅkṣva saktūn piba, dhānāḥ khādety evāyam abhyavaharati. abhyavaharati* is the *sāmānya-vacana* here.

Up to now we have been dealing with the broad tendencies of development of synonymity in words. We now take up a few pairs of the so-called synonyms for finding precise distinction in their meanings on the basis of textual or commentarial evidence.

We first take up *amarṣa* and *roṣa*. The *Rāmāyaṇa* text itself is of great help here. It says, *amarṣaprabhavo roṣaḥ*[19]. roṣa results from *amarṣa. amarṣa*, as is clear from its formation, is from √*mṛṣ* « to tolerate » with the negative particle *nañ* compounded with it. It means « intolerance » primarily. *roṣa* is from √*ruṣ* « to injure », « to harm », *ruṣa riṣa hiṃsāyām*. It primarily means violence. Under the *Mālatīmādhava* line *yauvanārambhabharitadurviṣahāmarṣaroṣa* etc. the commentator Tripurāri explains these (*amarṣa* and *roṣa*) as intolerance and anger: *akṣamākrodhau* or long persisting anger and temporary anger: *yad vā sthirakrodhatātkālikakopau* respectively. Now this seems to be right in view of the popular saying: *krodhaḥ kṛtāparādheṣu sthiro 'marṣatvam aśnute*. That *amarṣa* is *sthirakrodha* while *roṣa* is *tātkālika-kopa* further gets an indirect support from the wellknown saying: *kṣaṇe ruṣṭaḥ kṣaṇe tuṣṭaḥ* where *ruṣṭaḥ* is coupled with *kṣaṇe*, *roṣa* being *kṣaṇikakopa* or as said above, *tātkālikakopa*.

Amarakoṣa mentions *keyūra* and *aṅgada* as synonyms: *keyūram aṅgadaṃ tulye*. But their juxtaposition in a number of verses in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* would preclude such a possibility. The verses where they occur are:

(1) *jātarūpamayair mukhyair aṅgadaiḥ kuṇḍalaih śubhaiḥ / sahemasūtrair maṇibhiḥ keyūrair valayair api //*[20]
(2) aṅgadāni *ca citrāṇi* keyūrāṇi *śubhāni ca*[21]
(3) *keyūrāṅgadavaidūrya...*[22].
(4) aṅgadaiḥ *pārihāryaiś ca* keyūraiś ca *vibhūṣitān*[23].

The distinction in their meanings is brought out by the *Rāmāyaṇa* commentators Rāma, Govindarāja and Maheśvaratīrtha in the following words: *aṅgadaṃ bāhumūladhāryaṃ bhūṣaṇam, keyūraṃ tadadhobhā-gastham: aṅgadaiḥ kūrparoparidhāyair bāhubhūṣaṇaiḥ, keyūrair bhuja-śirovyāpiphaṇākāraśikharayuktabāhubhūsaṇaiḥ; aṅgadam ūrdhvākāraṃ patralatācitritaṃ bāhumūladhāryaṃ bhūṣaṇaṃ, keyūraṃ tasyādhobhāge*

19. *Rāmāyaṇa*, V.62.33.
20. II. 32.8.
21. *Ibid.* II.32.4.
22. *Ibid.* VI.3.43.
23. MBH., *Udyogaparva* 162.16.

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dhāryaṃ valayākāraṃ bhūṣaṇam respectively. The commentators differ only in peripheral details. In essentials they are saying one and the same thing.

With regard to *hasta* and *pāṇi* too there is difference in meaning. *Hasta* originally meant the fore-arms which is borne out by the use of it as a measurement of length signifying 24 *aṅgulas* or two *vitastis*. *Pāṇi*, however, is that part of the *hasta* which begins with the wrist (*maṇibandha*) and ends with the fingers, cf. Sāyaṇa's comment: *maṇibandhād ūrdhvabhāgaḥ pāṇiḥ* under the *Ṛgveda* verse: *tāv aśvinā bhadrahastā supāṇī* [24].

Sikatā, śarkarā and *vālukā* are used rather promiscuously in Sanskrit. Under the *Mahābhārata* verse

bhūmipāṣāṇasikatāśarkarāvālukābhasmaśāyinaḥ [25]

where they occur together Nīlakaṇṭha brings out the difference in them as *sikatāḥ sūkṣmapāṣāṇapāṃsavaḥ, śārkarā karkarasahitā mṛt, vālukā laghūpalamiśrāḥ sikatā eva. sikatā* is minute stony particles, *śarkarā is* gravel, *vālukā* is nothing but *sikatā* mixed with pebbles.

The *Dhātupāṭha* of Pāṇini reads *tarja bhartsa bhartsane* thereby implying their synonymity. But their juxtaposition in the *Rāmāyaṇa* verses:

(1) *bhartsitāṃ tarjitāṃ vā 'pi nānumaṃsyati rāghavaḥ* [26].
(2) *tarjāpayati māṃ nityaṃ bhartsāpayati cāsakṛt* [27]

would preclude it. The distinction in their senses is very well brought out by Rāma, the commentator, who says: *avācikī bhīṣikā tarjanaṃ, vācikī tu sā bhartsanam iti; bhartsana* is threatening by words, *tarjana* is threatening by bodily movements. Literature also corroborates this. We have in the *Śākuntala: sakhīm aṅgulyā tarjayati* where threatening is by a finger, certainly a *kāyikī bhīṣikā*. Amara explains *bhartsana* as the threatening words: *bhartsanaṃ tv apakāragīḥ* [28] which evidently is *vācikī bhīṣikā*.

Aśru and *bāṣpa* both mean tears. But they do have some distinction in them. *Bāṣpa* is *kaṇṭharodha*, choking in the throat, vide, the *Rāmāyaṇa* line: *bāṣpaiḥ pihitakaṇṭhaś ca prekṣya rāmaṃ yaśasvinam* [29] where *pihitakaṇṭhatva* or *kaṇṭharodha*, obstruction in throat, is described to have been caused by *bāṣpa*. In the *Śākuntala kaṇṭha*, throat, is said to be *stambhita*, choked, by *bāṣpa*: *kaṇṭhaḥ stambhitabāṣpavṛtti-*

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24. *Ṛgveda*, I.109.4.
25. *Śāntiparva*, 192, Citrasala Press edn., p. 331.
26. V.27.35.
27. VI.34.9.
28. I.5.14.
29. I.48.3.

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kaluṣaḥ[30]. Rāghavabhaṭṭa explains *bāṣpa* as the first stage of the tears: *aśruṇaḥ pūrvāvasthā bāṣpam*. It is interesting to note that in the *Rāmāyaṇa* itself this fine distinction in *aśru* and *bāṣpa* seems to have got blurred and *bāṣpa* came to be used even for tears, e.g.,

(i) *kausalyā vyasṛjad bāṣpaṃ praṇālīva navodakam*[31].
(ii) *bāṣpaprasravaṇair mukhaiḥ*[32].

Dīpti, *kānti* and *dyuti* all mean lustre but each one of them is restricted by usage for the lustre of a different object. In the *Mahābhārata* these are used with reference to three different objects, each going with one, according to the figure of speech *yathāsaṅkhya*: *dīpti-kāntidyutiguṇaiḥ sūryendujvalanopamaḥ*[33]. *Dīpti* goes with *sūrya*, *kānti* with *indu* and *dyuti* with *jvalana*, i.e., the lustre of the sun is *dīpti*, that of the moon is *kānti* and that of the fire is *dyuti*. Elsewhere too in the same work we have the same specification: *ubhau candrārkasadṛśau kāntyā dīptyā ca bhārata*[34]. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, however, goes slightly different. It mentions *dyuti* as that of *divākara*; the sun; e.g., *kāntiśrī-dyutibhis tulyam indupadmadivākaraiḥ*[35].

Atithi and *abhyāgata* mean « guest » commonly but while *atithi-s* signify the guests who are unknown *abhyāgata-s* signify those who are known: *atithayo 'jñātapūrvāḥ, abhyāgatā jñātapūrvāḥ*. This is how the commentators explain them under the *Bhāgavata* verse: *yas tv iha atithīn abhyāgatān vā* where both occur side by side.

Amara reads: *samānau marudhanvānau*[36], *maru* and *dhanvan* have the same meaning. But that they are not so is borne out by their juxta-position in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bhāgavata*, etc., e.g.,

(i) *atītya marudhanvānaṃ prayāntau tṛṣitau gajau*[37].
(ii) *tataḥ sarasvatīkūle sameṣu marudhanvasu*[38].
(iii) *marudhanvam atikramya sauvīrābhīrayoḥ parān*[39].

Under the second verse Nīlakaṇṭha explains *maru* as a land without water and *dhanvan* as an arid land, *maruṣu nirjaladeśeṣu, dhanvasu jāṅgaladeśeṣu*. Śrīdhara's comment on the third verse is that *maru* is a land without water and *dhanvan* is one where it is scarce: *marur nirudakadeśaḥ, dhanvo 'lpodakaḥ*. Now for *maru* both the commentators are agreed. About *dhanvan* there seems some difference. While according to

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30. IV.60.
31. II.62.10.
32. VI.108.25.
33. *Ādiparva*, 126.4.
34. *Ādiparva*, 110.30.
35. VI.111.35.
36. II.1.5.
37. *Droṇaparva*, 101.19.
38. *Vanaparva*, 6.3.
39. *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, X.10.35.

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one it is *jāṅgaladeśa*, arid land, according to the other it is one with little water, *alpodako deśaḥ*. The difference, however is superficial. *alpodakatva* is one of the special features of *jāṅgaladeśa* which is explained by Caraka as:

alpodakadrumo yas tu pravātaḥ pracurātapaḥ.
jñeyaḥ sa jāṅgalo deśaḥ svalparogatamo 'pi ca[40].

Nyāsa and *nikṣepa* occur together in the *Kāmasūtra* which reads: *prasṛte ca paricaye tasyā haste nyāsaṃ nikṣepaṃ ca nidadhyāt*[41]. The commentary *Jayamaṅgalā* explains them as *nyāsāḥ sthāpyāś cirakālagrāhyāḥ, nikṣepo 'lpakālagrāhyaḥ, nyāsas* and *nikṣepas* are long-term and short- term deposits respectively.

In the *Vimānasthāna*, Caraka enumerates the speech defects. Among them he mentions the two, *anarthaka* and *apārthaka*, and himself proceeds to explain the difference in them as: *anarthakaṃ nāma yad vacanam akṣaragrāmamātram eva syāt pañcavargavan nārthatayā gṛhyate, apārthakaṃ nāma yad arthavat paraspareṇa cāyujyamānārthakam. yathā... cakranakravaṃśavajraniśākarā iti*[42]. *anarthaka* is that speech which is a mere conglomeration of a number of vocables, it does not convey any meaning..., *apārthaka* is that speech which does have some meaning but which lacks coherence.

The *Bhāgavata* puts together the words *udyāna, upavana* and *ārāma* in one line: *udyānopavanārāmair vṛtapadmākaraśriyam*[43]. Śrīdhara explains the difference in them as: *udyānaṃ phalapradhānam, upavanaṃ puṣpapradhānam, ārāmaḥ krīḍārthaṃ vanam*: *udyāna* is a garden with more of fruits, *upavana* with *more* of flowers, while *ārāma* is a park meant for sport.

Under the *Mahābhārata* verses:

(1) *latāvallīś ca vegena vikarṣan pāṇḍunandanaḥ*[44].
(2) *vṛkṣagulmalatāvallyas tvaksārās tṛṇajātayaḥ*[45].

Nīlakaṇṭha offers diametrically opposite comments. Under the first verse he says *latā bhūcarā, vallī vṛkṣacarā. Latā* moves on the ground, *vallī* on the tree. Under the second verse he says: *latā vṛkṣādyārūḍhā guḍūcyādayaḥ, vallyo bhūmiprasārā varṣamātrasthāyinyaḥ kūṣmāṇḍādyāḥ, latā-s* hang on the trees etc. like *guḍūcī* and so on, while *vallī-s* such as *kūṣmāṇḍa* etc. spread on the ground, and stay there for a year. Under another verse *vallīlatāsaṅkaṭeṣu kaṭajeṣu sthitāṃs tathā*[46] he

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40. *Caraka Saṃhitā, Vimānasthāna, Adhyāya* 4, Nirnaya Sagar Press, edn., Bombay, p. 243.
41. V.2.9.
42. *Ibid., Adhyāya*, 146.40.
43. I.11.12.
44. *Vanaparva*, 146.40.
45. *Bhīṣmaparva*, 5.17.
46. *Ibid., Vanaparva*, 155.55.

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offers an altogether different interpretation: *vallīnāṃ latāpratānāni* which does not make much sense. It seems he is confused here. A closer look at the *Mahābhārata* text itself would have revealed to him the distinction in the meaning of the words. The *Mahābhārata* says:

(i) *latādharmā dhārtarāṣṭrāḥ śālāḥ sañjaya pāṇḍavāḥ.*
na latā vardhate jātu anāśritya mahādrumam[47].
(ii) *vallī valayate vṛkṣaṃ sarvataś cāpi gacchati.*

Latā-s hang on the trees. So do the *vallī-s* with this difference that they, in addition coil round them. The *Rāmāyaṇa* commentators Rāma and Satyatīrtha are right when they explain *vallī-s* as *vṛkṣādyāśritāḥ* and *vṛkṣāliṅgitāḥ* respectively. *vīrudh-s* they explain as *bhūmyādhārāḥ* and *sthalalatāḥ*, the creepers on the ground. Kṣīrasvāmin explains *vallī* as *valate veṣṭate vallī, guḍūcyādir mādhavyādiś ca* which is in line with what has been said above. *guḍūcī, mādhavī* etc. are the creepers which hang on the trees and coil round them.

We have taken only a few of the synonyms in this paper by way of specimen. There are a lot more which can be given similar treatment. As a matter of fact the material available is sufficient to fill a reasonably-sized monograph. The divination of the distinction in meanings in well-established synonyms has its own joy. This humble investigator has been prompted in presenting this paper to share this joy with the distinguished assembly of scholars present here.

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47. *Ibid., Udyogaparva*, 29.49. References from the *Mahābhārata*, unless otherwise indicated, are from the Critical edn. from Poona while those from the *Rāmāyaṇa* are from the Nirnaya Sagar Press edn., Bombay, 1909.

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SATYA VRAT SHASTRI

SANSKRIT USAGE

Śaṅkarācārya commenting on the first verse of the *Īśopaniṣad*:

Īśāvāsyam idaṃ sarvaṃ yat kiñca jagatyāṃ jagat /
tena tyaktena bhuñījthā mā gṛdhaḥ kasyavid dhanam //

offers two alternative interpretations of the fourth quadrant: *mā gṛdhaḥ kasyasvid dhanam.* He says: *mā gṛdhaḥ gṛdhim ākāṅkṣāṃ mā kārṣīr dhanaviṣayām / kasyasvid dhanam kasyacit parasya svasya vā dhanaṃ mā kāṅkṣīr ity arthaḥ / svid ity anarthako nipātaḥ / athavā mā gṛdhaḥ / kasmāt / kasyasvid dhanam ity ākṣepārtho, na kasyacid dhanam asti yad gṛdhyeta.* Obviously the Ācārya regards the √ *gṛdh* as transitive for he says in the first instance *kasyasvid dhanaṃ kasyacit parasya svasya vā dhanaṃ mā kāṅkṣīḥ.* Here he looks upon this quadrant as one single sentence. In the second instance he splits it up into two clauses: *mā gṛdhaḥ, dhanaṃ kasyasvit.* Even then he persists in viewing the root as transitive for he remarks: *na kasyacid dhanam asti yad gṛdhyeta.* The verse under reference is alluded to in the *Mahābhārata*:

kasyedam iti kasya svam iti vedavacas tathā[1].

Evidently the Mahābhāratakāra splits the Upaniṣadic sentence in the same way as Śaṅkarācārya does. But this splitting by itself would clearly point to the intransitive nature of the root, precluding *dhanam* from standing as an object to *gṛdhaḥ.* It is the Ācārya's obsession with the transitive nature of the root that leads him to supply *yad gṛdhyeta* even in the second interpretation. Against this view of Śaṅkarācārya we have a mass of evidence which goes to show that √ *gṛdh* is almost invariably used intransitively. The impression that √ *gṛdh* is transitive has probably originated from the meaning assigned to it in the Pāṇinīya *Dhātupāṭha* which reads: *gṛdhu abhikāṅkṣāyām.*

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1. *Āśvamedhikaparva*, 32.16.

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As it stands it would mean that the sense of √ *gṛdh* is « to covet » for *gṛdhyati* would be paraphrased by *abhikāṅkṣati* which would require normally an object. That the root is intransitive is further evidenced by the use of *lubh* as intransitive. The *Dhātupāṭha* gives the meaning of *lubh* as *gārdhya*, covetousness. The nature of this root is not at all in dispute. Unfortunately we have very little use of this root as a finite verb (in *tiṅanta* form) though we have ample use of in the verbal derivative forms such as *gṛdhi, gardha, gardhana, gṛdhnu* etc. in classical Sanskrit literature. The Vedas and the epics abound with the use of the root as a finite verb. The following few illustrations would suffice to prove the point:

(1) *yasyāgṛdhad vedane vājy akṣaḥ* / [2]
(2) *nirāmiṇo ripavo 'nneṣu jāgṛdhuḥ* / [3]
(3) *mā gṛdho no ajāviṣu* / [4]
(4) *durnāmā tatra mā gṛdhat* / [5]
(5) *te patnīṣv eva gandharvā gardhiṣyanti* / [6]
(6) *yadā gṛdhyet parabhūtau nṛśaṃsaḥ* / [7]
(7) *paravitteṣu gṛdhyataḥ* / [8]
(8) *eṣa dharmaḥ paramo yat svakena rājā tuṣyen na parasveṣu gṛdhyet* / [9]
(9) *anityaṃ yauvanaṃ rūpaṃ jīvitaṃ ratnasañcayaḥ* /
aiśvaryaṃ priyasaṃvāso gṛdhyet tatra na paṇḍitaḥ // [10]
(10) *anyonyam abhigarjanto goṣu gṛddhāḥ* / [11]
(11) *grahaṇe dharmarājasya bhāradvājo 'pi gṛdhyati* / [12]
(12) *gṛdhyed eṣu na paṇḍitaḥ* / [13]
(13) *snātānuliptagātre 'pi yasmin gṛdhyanti makṣikāh* /[14]

Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in his *Siddhāntakaumudī* takes √ *tṛp* of the IV conjugation to be transitive as well, leaning on Bhaṭṭi's use of it as a transitive verb: *pitṝn atārpsīt*. The Sanskrit usage, however, negatives it positively. Not only is this root of the IV conjugation invariably intransitive, but also the root of the V conjugation is likewise as can be seen from the following examples:

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2. *Ṛgveda*, X.34.4.
3. *Ibid.*, II.23.16.
4. *Atharva.*, XI.3.21.
5. *Ibid.*, VIII.6.1.
6. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 3.9.3-20.
7. *MBH., Udyogaparva*, 29.30.
8. *Ibid., Udyogaparva*, 72.18.
9. *Ibid., Vanaparva*, IV.7.
10. *Ibid.*, II,47.
11. *Ibid., Virāṭaparva*, 32.3.
12. *Ibid., Droṇaparva*, III.14.
13. *Ibid., Strīparva*, II.25.
14. Caraka, *Indriyasthāna*, V.15.

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(1) *anukāmaṃ tarpayethām indrāvaruṇa rāya ā* / [15]
(2) *indra somasya varuṇasya tṛpṇuhi* / [16]
(3) *hiraṇyavarṇā atṛpaṃ yadāvaḥ* / [17]
(4) *tṛpyantu hotrā madhvaḥ* / [18]
(5) *vāg devī juṣāṇā somasya tṛpyatu* / [19]
(6) *na hi tṛptā 'smi kāmānāṃ jyeṣṭhā mām anumanyatām* / [20]
(7) *aharahar nayamāno gām aśvaṃ puruṣaṃ paśum* /
vaivasvato na tṛpyati surāyā iva durmadī // [21]
(8) *cirasya dṛṣṭvā dāśārha rājānaḥ sarva eva tau* /
amṛtasyeva nātṛpyan prekṣamāṇā janārdanam // [22]
(9) *atṛptiś cānnasya* / [23]
(10) *nāyuñjāno bhakṣyabhojyasya tṛpyet* / [24]
(11) *kāmānām avitṛptas tvaṃ sṛñjayeha mariṣyasi* / [25]
(12) *gavyasya tṛptā māṃsasya* / [26]
(13) *nāgnis tṛpyati kāṣṭhānāṃ nāpagānāṃ mahodadhiḥ* / [27]
(14) *avitṛptaḥ sugandhasya samantād vyacarad vanam* / [28]
(15) *atṛpto 'smy adya kāmānāṃ* / [29]
(16) *madbāṇānāṃ tu vegena hatānāṃ tu raṇājire* /
adya tṛpyantu māṃsādāḥ . . . [30]
(17) *apāṃ hi tṛptāya na vāridhārā svāduḥ sugandhiḥ svadate tuṣārā* // [31]
(18) *athavā śreyasi kena tṛpyate* / [32]

Grammar lays down the rule that the object takes the genitive when in construction with a verbal derivative, Pāṇ. II.3.65. In contravention of this, the usage sanctions only the accusative. And this has the tacit approval of Pāṇini himself for he uses the accusative in construction with *arham*, a verbal derivative, in the *sūtra*: *tadarham*, V.1.117, e.g.,

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15. *Ṛgveda*, I.17.3.
16. *Ibid.*, II.16.6.
17. *Atharva.*, III.13.6.
18. *Śukla Yajurveda*, 7.15.
19. *Ibid.*, 8.37.
20. *MBH*, *Ādiparva*, 125.25.
21. *Mahābhāṣya*, 2.2.29.
22. *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*, 2.1.3.
23. *MBH.*, *Udyogaparva*, 29.6.
24. *Ibid.*, 94.51.
25. *Ibid.*, *Droṇaparva*, 55.36.
26. *Ibid.*, *Karṇaparva*, 44.27.
27. *Ibid.*, *Anuśāsanaparva*, 38.25.
28. *Vāmanapurāṇa*, 21.32.
29. *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, IX.18.37.
30. *Rāmāyaṇa*, VI.57.18-19.
31. *Naiṣadhacarita*, III.93.
32. *Śiśupālavadha*, I.29.

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(1) *na parityāgam arheyaṃ matsakāśād arindama* / [33]
(2) *pṛthivīrājyam arho'yaṃ nāṅgarājyaṃ nareśvaraḥ* / [34]
(3) *tasmāt pravāraṇaṃ pūrvam arhaḥ pārtho dhanañjayaḥ* / [35]
(4) *arhas tvam asi dharmajña rājasūyaṃ mahākratum* / [36]
(5) *tadā visargam arhāḥ syur itīdaṃ dhātṛśāsanam* / [37]
(6) *naivārhaḥ paitṛkaṃ riktham* / [38]

According to the *Dhātupāṭha* √ *vad* (with or without *sam*) is Parasmaipadin but according to usage with *sam* it is invariably Ātmanepadin. The Bhāṣyakāra is merely upholding the usage when he employs the Ātmanepada termination in the expression: *vācikaṣaḍikau na saṃvadete* [39]. We have in the *Ṛgveda* as also in the *Nirukta* the Ātmanepada use of *sam* + *vad*: uta *svayā tanvā saṃvade tat* [40], *indra tvaṃ marudbhiḥ saṃvadasva* [41], *devaśunīndreṇa prahitā paṇibhir asuraiḥ samūda ity ākhyānam* [42]. The *Bṛhaddevatā* also reads: *sūkte preti tu nadyaś ca viśvāmitraḥ samūdire* [43]. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* too has it in *atha hāgnayaḥ samūdire tapto brahmacārī kuśalaṃ naḥ paryacārīt* [44]. So do have *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad* [45] and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* [46]:

(1) *mṛṣā kila vai māṃ saṃvadiṣṭhā brahma te bravāṇīti* /
(2) *sa hovācājātaśatrur mā maitasmin saṃvadiṣṭhā iti* /

Elsewhere also we come across, not infrequently, this use of the Ātmanepada. Thus:

(1) *kumāraṃ jātaṃ saṃvadanta upa vai śuśrūṣate* / [47]
(2) *devā vai brahma samavadanta* / [48]
(3) *sa vai na sarveṇeva saṃvadeta* / ...*na vai devā sarveṇeva saṃvadante* / [49]

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33. *Rāmāyaṇa*, I.53.12.
34. *MBH., Ādiparva*, 19.12.
35. *Ibid., Udyogaparva*, 7.17.
36. *Ibid., Sabhāparva*, 13.32.
37. *Ibid., Śāntiparva*, 267.15.
38. *Mānavadharmaśāstra*, 9.144.
39. II.25.1.
40. *Ṛgveda*, VII.86.2.
41. I.170.5.
42. XI.25.1.
43. IV.99.
44. IV.10.4.
45. 4.18.
46. II.1.9.
47. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, 3.2.
48. *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*, IV.1.1, *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā*, 30.10.
49. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, III.1.1.10.

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As required by grammar *anurakta* and *anuvrata* should have either the Locative or the Genitive of the person or the thing to whom or to which one is devoted. And we have this use. But the Accusative preponderates, though it has no explicit grammatical sanction, for example:

(1) *sātyakiḥ kṛtavarmā ca nārāyaṇam anuvratau* / [50]
(2) *rājāno rājaputrāś ca dhṛtarāṣṭram anuvratāḥ* / [51]
(3) *abhyagacchad adīnātmā damayantīm anuvrataḥ* / [52]
(4) *ānvīkṣikīṃ tarkavidyām anurakto nirarthikām* / [53]
(5) *alabhyam anuraktavān kim ayam ātmanārījanam* / [54]
(6) *api vṛṣalam anuraktāḥ prakṛtayaḥ?* [55]
(7) *Mahodadhim ivākṣobhyam ahaṃ rāmam anuvratā* / [56]
(8) *rājyāc cyutam asiddhārthaṃ rāmaṃ parimitāyuṣam* /
kair guṇair anuraktāsi / [57].

The Kāśikākāra specifically limits the use of *rajasvalā* and *kārmuka* in the sense of « a lady in menses » and « a bow » respectively. In the Sūtra *tad asyāsty asminn iti matup* (5.2.94) he says that *iti* is valid in all the following sūtras ordaining the possessive suffixes. And this *iti* limits the option of the speaker. Thus to convey the sense *rajo 'smin grāme vidyate* we cannot say *rajasvalo grāmaḥ*. Now this is contradicted by usage:

(1) *sarve vidhvastakavacās tāvakā yudhi nirjitāḥ* /
rajasvalā *bhṛśodvignā vīkṣamāṇā diśo daśa* // [58].
(2) *gadayā bhimasenena bhinnakumbhān* rajasvalān /
dhāvamānān apaśyāma kuñjarān parvatopamān // [59].
(3) *paṅkadigdhān* rajasvalān / [60].
(4) rajasvalam *anityaṃ ca bhūtāvāsam imaṃ tyajet* / [61].

In the case of *kārmuka* the Kāśikākāra says under Pāṇ. *karmaṇa ukañ* (5.1.103) *kārmukaṃ dhanuḥ / dhanuṣo 'nyatra na bhavati / anabhi-*

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50. *MBH., Ādiparva*, 63.5.
51. *Ibid., Vanaparva*, 35.30.
52. *Ibid.*, 54.27.
53. *MBH., Śāntiparva*, 180.47.
54. *Mudrārākṣasa*, VI.16.
55. *Ibid.*, Act I, after verse 20.
56. *Rāmāyaṇa*, III.47.33.
57. *Ibid.*, III.49.14-15.
58. *MBH., Droṇaparva*, 32.3.
59. *Ibid., Śalyaparva*, 24.30.
60. *Ibid., Śāntiparva*, 11.7.
61. *Manusmṛti*, VI.76.

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dhānāt. This is not supported by usage. We have the use of *kārmuka* in the sense of « effective » in the *Caraka Saṃhitā*:

(1) *na tu kevalaṃ guṇaprabhāvād eva kārmukāṇi bhavanti (dravyāṇi)* / [62].

(2) *bahuśo gulikāḥ kāryāḥ kārmukās syus tato 'dhikam* / [63].

62. *Sūtrasthāna*, 26.12.
63. *Cikitsāsthāna*, 5.84.

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LUDWIK STERNBACH

SUBHĀṢITA-SAṀGRAHA-S AND INSCRIPTIONS AS SOURCES OF SANSKRIT POETRY

Aim of the Study

1.1. A great part of Sanskrit poetry is lost and has not yet been recovered. It is quite unknown how many such works disappeared. Many of them are only known by their titles but none of their MSs. could be found, (e.g. Lāvaṇyavatī-kāvya or Citrabhārata-nāṭaka of Kṣemendra, quoted by the author in the Aucityavicāracarcā and the Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa); but many are not even known by their titles and no one knows how many more poetical works existed. Fortunately, a part of this poetry, though very small, was preserved in *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* and inscriptions. Particularly, through *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*, anthologies of beautiful detached verses, the poetry of known and unknown poets was rescued from oblivion.

1.2. By the end of the nineteenth century, Th. Aufrecht in his studies *Auswahl der uneditierten Strophen verschiedener Dichter*[1] and, in particular, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss indischer Dichter*[2] has edited and published some verses of known and unknown Sanskrit poets known only from *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*. Later, in 1912, F. W. Thomas, in the introduction to his Kavīndravacanasammuccaya and J. B. Chaudhuri in the introductions to his editions of PdT., SSS. and PV. gave lists of some poets mentioned in *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* with the *pratīka-s*[3] of some of their verses. However, these lists are not only incomplete, but also contain only information on some poets, i.e. those mentioned in the *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* treated by them — Kav., PdT., PV., SSS. and SuSS. In the meantime, many new anthologies were found and edited and, consequently, many new authors and their verses came to light.

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1. ZDMG. 16.749-51; 25.238-243; 455-462.
2. ZDMG. 36. 361-383; 509-559. See also O. Böhtlingk, *Bemerkungen*, ZDMG. 36.659-660.
3. But not the entire first *pāda*.

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1.3. On the basis of all anthologies known up to date, it is possible to reconstruct a great part of Sanskrit poetry, hitherto unknown, a poetry of many authors whose verses are sometimes of great poetical value.

1.4. Only those *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* which contain ascriptions to individual poets or « signed verses » can be taken into account as source for the reconstruction of the poetry written by individual Sanskrit poets. They quote not only verses of unknown poets, but also never published before poetry of known authors or « new » verses, as well as anonymous verses (*kasyacit*, *kasyāpi*); the latter also enrich our knowledge of Sanskrit hitherto unknown Sanskrit poetry, but cannot be assigned to any particular author.

Sources: Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s

2. Already in the fourteenth century, Viśvanātha in his Sāhitya-darpaṇa, has defined the *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* as compilations of stray verses arranged according to divisions (6.308; p. 565 and added: « that is particularly beautiful ». *Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* are representative of the *muktaka*-poetry; they are composed either of ethical and didactic verses, usually written in short metres (*anuṣṭubh-s*, *upajāti*), or of lyrical and descriptive verses written in longer metres (*vasantatilaka* to *sragdhara*), or they are collections of both kinds of verses, i.e. mixed *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*. For the reconstruction of lost or unknown Sanskrit poetry, the latter two sorts of *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* are the most important ones.

3. From the eleventh or twelfth century, until present day, it was, and still is, in vogue to compile collections of stray verses known and popular at the time and in the regions where the compiler was, or is, active. This permitted to preserve the poetry of known and unknown poets which would have completely disappeared if it would not be saved by the compilers of *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* They have not only preserved the poetry of authors contemporary to them but also the precedent poetry. This poetry, vividly depicts the spirit of an age, the task and ability during various periods, country life, life in a village, different occupations of men and women, their habits and manner, their activities, etc. and all what at the time of their compilation was considered as moral and just, sometimes better and with a deeper insight than the quotations of *kāvya-s* and epics. Thus, *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* are not only treasuries of Sanskrit poetry but also reflections of conditions existing at the time and in the regions when and where the compiler prepared his work.

4.1. It goes without saying, that *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* could contain only the poetry which existed already at the time of their compilation [4].

4. Some *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* are even clearly dated.

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Consequently, the verses included in the *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* could not have been written after the composition of the *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* in which they are included. Thus, we can consider the date of the composition of the *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* as the date *ad quem* the poet cited in them could have lived. This is of great importance for the history of Sanskrit literature, since in this way it is possible to fix the date of the activity of some Sanskrit poets.

4.2. And so, for instance, a poet cited in Skm. (which was composed in 1205) had to be active before that date. Consequently, we can rectify the date of the activity of Kāñcana, son of Nārāyaṇa Vāgīśvara and author of Dhanaṁjayavijaya Vyāyoga. According to NCC3., he lived before 1431, since the oldest MS. of his work was dated 1431. Now, it is possible to consider him as an author who could not have lived after 1258 (and not 1431), since one of his verses is quoted in Jalhaṇa's Sūktimuktāvalī which was composed, at the latest, in 1258.

5.0. On the other hand, if the date of the composition of a *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* is uncertain, but certain is the date of the author whose poetry was included in such a *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*, it is possible to fix the date of this anthology.

5.1. And so, for instance, on the basis of the known date of Kavīrakṣasa (end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century) a verse of whom was included in SRHt. V. Raghavan has rectified the date of this *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* and concluded that it was composed at the beginning of the 15th century[5] and not, as it was suggested before, in the second half of the 14th century.

5.2. It should be, however, underlined that verses included in *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* could have been interpolations. There is no doubt, for instance, that verse ŚP. 1303 attributed to Kṣemendra, is a later interpolation in ŚP., which could not have been composed after 1363. This verse utilizes the word *beṭī*, a word which does not belong to classical Sanskrit of the 11th century[6] but is an idiom current in later times[7] than the 14th century.

6.1. *Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* can also prove that the authors known in Sanskrit literature only as authors of theoretical treatises, were also good poets. And so, Amarasiṁha, who is known only as a famous lexicographer was also the author of *subhāṣita-s*; eleven such verses of his are found, for instance, in SkV. (Kav., Prasanna.), Skm. and Vidy. Also Pāṇini was not only the celebrated grammarian but also the author of some lyric verses, since his verses were quoted in SkV. (Kav., Prasanna),

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5. JOR (Madras) 19.155.
6. The date of Kṣemendra's activity.
7. Hindī *beṭī*. V.M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des altindischen* 14.449.

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Skm., JS., ŚP., VS., Pad., and RJ. Though it is not yet determined whether Pāṇini, the author of the grammar, is identical with Pāṇini, the author of lyric poetry, it seems to be certain that Amarasiṁha, the lexicographer, is also the author of stray verses included in *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*, since Śulikanātha quoted in SkV. (1724) and Skm. (1132) state clearly that Amarasiṁha is known as poet and lexicographer [8].

6.2. *Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* can also be of use for the identifications of some poems [9].

7. It is fortunate that all the *subāṣita-saṁgraha-s* which contain ascriptions and, thus, useful as sources of Sanskrit otherwise unknown poetry, can be dated. There are twenty such *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* which are quoted here chronologically:

Name of the *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*:	Date of its composition:	SGD. [10]:
Subhāṣita-ratna-koṣa of Vidyākara (SkV.) [11]	cca. 1100-1130	15
Sad-ukti-karṇāmṛta of Śrīdharadāsa (Skm.)	1205	16
Sūktimuktāvalī of Jalhaṇa (JS.) [12]	1258	17
Śārṅgadhara-paddhati (ŚP.)	1363	17
Subhāṣita-sudhā-nidhi of Sāyaṇa (SSSN.) [13]	second half of the 14th century	19

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8. Differently SkV. p. lxx.

9. Several poems were wrongly ascribed to Kālidāsa, e.g. the Śṛṅgāratilaka and the Ghaṭakarpara. In Skm. dated 1205 one verse (*āyātā madhuyāminī vi°*) was culled from the Śṛṅgāratilaka (2); this verse was ascribed, however, not to Kālidāsa, but to Indraśiva, an otherwise unknown author. It is, therefore, possible that it was not Kālidāsa, who was the author of the Śṛṅgāratilaka, but Indraśiva. Also one verse from the Ghaṭakarpara-kāvya *kiṃkṣamāpi tava nāsti* is not attributed in SG. to Kālidāsa, but to Ghaṭakarpara. It is, therefore, possible that Ghaṭakarpara, and not Kālidāsa, was the author of this *kāvya*-work. Although the ascriptions do not have a great weight, they prove that, at the time when they were composed, the two *kāvya*-works were generally considered as having been composed by Indraśiva and Ghaṭakarpara respectively

10. The anthologies were described and their probable dates of composition were given in SGD.

11. Refers also to Kav. and Prasanna. (SGD. pp. 15 and 16).

12. See also note 19.

13. SRHt. and SSSN. seem to be two versions of the same work. See also note 19.

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Sūktiratnahāra of Sūrya (SRHt.) [14]	second half of the 14th century	19
Subhāṣitāvalī of Vallabhadeva (VS.)	15th century	22
Prasannasāhityaratnākara of Nandana (Prasanna.) [15]	15th century	16
Padyāvalī of Rūpa Gosvāmin (PG.) [16]	End of 15th, beginning of 16th century	23
Śṛṅgārālāpa (SLP.)	1612	26
Padyaracanā of Lakṣmaṇa-bhaṭṭa Ānkolakāra (Pad.)	1625-1650	27
Subhāṣitahārāvalī of Harikavi (SH.) [17]	Second half of the 17th century	24
Rasika-jīvana of Gadādhara-bhaṭṭa (RJ.)	17th century	27
Sabhyālaṅkaraṇa of Govindajit (SG.)	after 1656	28
Padyaveṇī of Veṇīdatta (PV.)	1644 or 1701	20
Sūkti-sundara of Sundaradeva (SSS.)	1644-1710	20
Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī of Haribhāskara (PdT.)	1674	28
Subhāṣita-sara-samuccaya (SuSS.)	End of 17th century	38
Subhāṣita-savaskṛta(?)-śloka (Regnaud II,VI)	18th or 19th century	38
Vidyākarasahasraka of Vidyākara Miśra (Vidy.)	19th century	29 [18].

14. See fns. 13 and 19. If it is admitted that Kavīrakṣasa quoted in SRHt. is the same author who lived at the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th century (see para 5.1), the date of the composition of SRHt. should be fixed accordingly. After this article was written, I came to the conclusion that SSSN. and SRHt. were later than VS., for references to Vallabhadeva in SSSN. and SRHt. did not refer to the author Vallabhadeva but to the VS.

15. See fn. 11.

16. See fn. 19.

17. See fn. 19.

18. Garuḍa-purāṇa, i.e. the Bṛhaspita-saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-puraṇa can also be considered as a *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* composed in the first place of verses of the Cāṇakya-rāja-nītiśāstra version. This work was translated into Tibetan and included in the Tanjur in the 10th-11th century.

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8.0. These *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* have some common features from the historical and from the geographical point of view.

8.1. From the historical point of view, they can be divided into classical and older and into some younger *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*. The classical *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*, i.e. the first nine anthologies contain often the same verses [19]; and the younger *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* quote mostly verses of contemporary to them and immediately preceding them authors [20]. In addition, many verses in the *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* of the second category, are identical and occur only in these *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*. In particular, PV., PdT., SSS. and SuSS. and partly RJ. and SG., contain mostly identical verses, so that it is rarely possible to find in SSS. or PdT. verses which do not occur also in PV. and SuSS.

8.2. From the geographical point of view, many *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* compiled by authors from a certain geographic region, quote in the first place authors from that region. And so, Śrīdharadāsa, the compiler of Skm., quotes in particular verses of Bengalese authors [21], so also Rūpa Gosvāmin, the author of PG. [22]. Vallabhadeva and Vidyākara, both from Kaśmīr, and authors of VS. and SkV. respectively, quote, in particular, Kaśmīrian authors [23]; Vidyākara Miśra, the compiler of Vidy., verses of authors from Mithilā [24], while Sūrya, the compiler of SRHt., quotes particularly verses from South India, or South Indian versions of known works [25].

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19. Among these *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* also PG. and SH. were counted. PG. is a very specific *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* different from others; it contains a great number of devotional verses, since its author was Rūpa Gosvāmin, an authority on Beṅgāl Viṣṇuism who had direct contact with Caitanya.

SH. shows many similarities with JS., a *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* composed much earlier than SH. Several parts of JS. were quoted *in extenso* in SH.; on the other hand Harikavi must have known PG., since it also reproduced several verses from this *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*.

SRHt. and SSSN. are very similar and it is quite possible that SSSN. is another version of SRHt. or *vice-versa*. See JGJRI.28.3-4; pp. 167-200 and above fn. 13).

Between JS. and VS. the Vidagdhajanavallabhā (Vjv.) could be inserted. This anthology was, according to V. Raghavan composed in the latter part of the 12th century ov early in the 13th century (*Silver Jubilee Volume of the Journal of the Kerala University Or. MS Library*, 12; p. 154), but his dating based exclusively on the selection of authors by the compiler of this anthology (they belong to tea classic period and the latest is from the 10th century A.D.) is not a sufficient proof that the selection of authors by the compiler of this anthology (they belong to the classic this *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* is of such an early date. It seems that it would be safer to consider this anthology as having been written in the 15th century, for it has many common verses with VS.

20. For instance Vidy, quoted Kṛṣṇadatta, Kṛṣṇapati, Kṛṣṇānandaṭhakkura and many other authors who lived in Mithilā in the 18th or 19th century.

21. For instance, Gadādharavaidya from Beṅgāl is only quoted in Skm. We find there as many as 35 verses of this poet.

22. Only in PG. are quoted Gauḍīya or Iśvarapuri, two poets from Beṅgāl.

23. Kalhaṇa from Kaśmīr is only quoted in VS. and Utpalarāja, also from Kaśmīr is quoted in SkV. and by Kṣemendra, a native of Kaśmīr.

24. For instance Gaṅgānanda, Gokulanātha, etc. See also fn. 20.

25. For instance, the southern recension of the Pañcatantra or the Vyāsaśataka.

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8.3. Nevertheless, *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*, which are anthologies of stray verses *par excellence*, contain poetry of many poets, who lived in various times [26] and who are today either known or unknown; they often represent different branches of literature. Thus, we find in *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* next to each other old, classical as well as more modern authors, as well as authors who flourished in the North and in the South, in the East and in the West of India; we find there also poetry which belongs to epics and lyrics, as well as to medicine and descriptive literature, or to ethics and erotics.

9. Modern *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*, even if they contain some attributions to authors, which are based on ascriptions based on older *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*, are of no interest as a source of Sanskrit poetry, since their ascriptions are not original. To such *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* belong SR., SSB., SRK. [27] and partly SRRU., SSap. and SuMañ. [28]. Also not yet edited *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* are of limited usefulness [29].

Other Sources than Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s.

10. In addition to *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s sensu stricto*, also some collections of verses which are not anthologies but which contain « signed » verses of known and unknown authors, are useful as source of Sanskrit poetry. To these belong in the first place three works of Kṣemendra on poetics and prosody, as far as they, quote, with ascriptions to individual poets, verses of known and unknown Sanskrit poets; they are the Aucityavicāracarcā, the Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa and the Suvṛttatilaka; these works quote many verses of Kṣemendra himself, otherwise unknown, and of other poets written before 1066 [30], in order to illustrate the points raised by Kṣemendra with regard to poetics and prosody. Of the same type are numerous *alaṁkāra-* and *nāṭya-śāstra-s*, but, since they quote generally as examples of their teachings verses without ascriptions to any authors, they cannot be, with some rare exceptions [31], considered as sources of Sanskrit poetry.

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26. For example, Venīdatta the compiler of PV. quoted Anandavarman, as well as a little known poet Akālajalada, who was the great-grand-father of Rājaśekhara, next to his contemporary Ghanaśyāma.

27. The other modern *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*, such as Sama., SRM., etc. do not contain ascriptions and, as such, cannot be considered as sources of Sanskrit poetry.

28. These three *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* contain sometimes original ascriptions.

29. But not, for instance, SH. which was clearly analysed (JGJRI 28.3-4; pp. 101-149 and The Rajasthan University Studies in Sanskrit and Hindi; No. 6; pp. 33-66), or SLP. which was used in the critical edition of BhŚ. and SkV.

30. It is known that the last work written by Kṣemendra, the Daśāvatāracarita, was written in 1066.

31. E.g. In some cases Dhanaṁjaya in his Daśarūpa ascribed some verses to individual poets.

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11. In addition, some *prabandha-s* can also be considered as sources of Sanskrit poetry, for instance, the Bhojaprabandha (BhPr.), a work composed of anecdotes written in prose and in verse (including *samasyā-s* [32]) regardnig king Bhoja of Dhārā and the poets who supposedly lived in his court. Although many of these verses included in the Bhojaprabandha were ascribed to these poets, many of them could not have been composed by them; the importance of the ascriptions of verses to different poets in BhPr. lies, however, in the fact that they were by tradition considered as having been written by them [33].

12. *Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*, which included ascriptions to individual poets, contain also ascriptions to works, rather than to authors (e.g. in ŚP., SRHt.). Only such works which were composed by authors quoted in the *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* can be usefully considered as sources of Sanskrit poetry, e.g. the Kāmandakīya-nītisāra or the Kalāvilāsa of Kṣemendra, but not authorless poems, as for instance the Mahābhārata, or the Khaḍakośa, or the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa [34].

13.1. Another source of Sanskrit poetry are inscriptions [35], as far as they contain stanzas ascribed to known or unknown authors or as far as they are « signed ». Unfortunately the texts of the inscriptions are not easily available. They are scattered in different places, in different periodicals and publications, in addition to *Epigraphia Indica, Corpus Inscriptorum Indicarum*, etc. [36]. Therefore, the list of authors quoted in inscriptions cannot be as complete as the list of poets quoted in *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*; the former list can be considered only as a selective one [37].

13.2. The value of the verses included in inscriptions is often exaggerated. Only rarely « signed » verses included in inscriptions have an important poetical value [38]; they are mostly versified texts of grants, gifts and other legal acts and contain some versified invocations, eulogies

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32. This game consists in completing in verse a stanza composed already in one part (one, two or three *pāda-s*).

33. For instance, a verse ascribed in the Bhojaprabandha to Krīḍācandra is also ascribed to Krīḍācandra in ŚP. However, Krīḍācandra is only a sobriquet of a poet called Candraka or Candaka (see V. Raghavan, JOR [Madras] 18.253) and M. B. Emeneau, *Signed Verses by Sanskrit Poets*, Indian Linguistic 10 (in Chatterji Jubilee Volume; p. 47-48).

34. To these belongs also the Prākrit Gāthākośa; extracts from this work and from the Gāthāsaptaśatī are often quoted in SRHt. These Prākrit verses were rarely culled from Hāla's Gāthāsaptaśatī. It is interesting to note that these verses are usually not repeated in SSSN (see fn. 19).

35. See also paras 22-26.

36. Not all verses found in inscriptions can be considered as poetry and, consequently, so also many inscriptions.

37. Already L. R. Diskalkar has shown how difficult it is to complete a full list of poets known from inscriptions (JOIB. [1957] 7.76-88).

38. See para 26.

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and commendative or eulogistic stanzas of doubtful poetical value; only very rarely they represent real poetry. They are however of some importance to the histories of Sanskrit literature, since most of them are clearly dated.

Attributions to Authors

14.1. Twenty classical and some younger *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*, mentioned before [39], contain ascriptions to individual poets. These ascriptions are, generally, included at the end of the verses [40]. Unfortunately, the ascriptions to poets are not always reliable; they are often deceptive and even misleading.

14.2. Already F. W. Thomas in his introduction to the Kavīndravacanasamuccaya, warned that not too much weight should be allowed to ascriptions, so often carelessly set down. Also M. B. Emeneau stressed that « signed verses », i.e. verses which contain ascriptions to different poets, seem with varying degrees of probability to be attribuable to the poets to whom they are ascribed [41].

15.0. I. The greatest difficulty consists in the ascriptions themselves. How many verses before the ascription *ete* and the name of the author should be considered as having been ascribed to a given author?

15.1. If the ascription says, for instance, *etau Kṣemendrasya*, it is clear that two verses preceding this ascription were considered as having been composed by Kṣemendra; but if the ascription simply says *ete Kṣemendrasya* was it three, four, ten verses preceding this ascription? No authoritative answer exists to this question. P. Peterson, the editor of ŚP. and VS., considered all the verses preceding this ascription to the previous ascription as being composed by the author in question. This method is generally accepted, but not satisfactory, for it is often incorrect. Experience has shown that sometimes five or six verses preceding the ascription were compoesd by the author [42], but not all the verses up to the preceding ascription.

15.2. If the ascription says only *Kṣemendrasya*, it is generally accepted that only this verse which precedes this ascription was written by Kṣemendra, but that again proves to be often wrong; sometimes more than one verse preceding this ascription were, in fact, written by Kṣemendra.

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39. See para 9.
40. Sometimes also before the verse, e.g. in SH. or SLP.
41. *Signed Verses* (see fn. 33; p. 48).
42. Very rarely the compilers of *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* ascribe a specific number of verses to a poet. We find, for instance, ascriptions reading *ekādaśa Kṣemendrasya* (JS. 432.12) or similar ascriptions.

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15.3. Such inaccuracies occur very often in *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* and each case must be considered individually; often, particularly as far as unnown authors are concerned, the question remains obscure and unresolved.

16.1. II. Another difficulty regarding ascriptions, is the double or multiple ascription of some verses to different authors in different *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*. These are cases when the same verse is ascribed to different poets, sometimes even seven different poets. And so, for instance, verse *ayaṃ vārām eko nilaya iti ratnākara iti* was attributed to Kavinanda or Nandīna in different MSs. of SkV.; to Kālidāsa in Prasanna.; to Vidyāpati in Skm. and Vidy., to Mālavarudra in ŚP.; to Vararuci in JS.; and to Bhallaṭa in SSSN. Only if it is possible to establish the origin of such verses, as for instance is the case of the verse quoted above [43], one of the ascriptions can be considered as correct, while the others must be rejected as false. In other cases of double or multiple ascriptions, the authorship of the verse remains doubtful.

16.2. It can be considered only as likely, that a verse which cannot be traced in a primary source, was composed by the author to whom it was ascribed, when the same ascription is repeated in two independent [44] *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* and if no alternate ascription exists. For instance, the verse *gāḍhāliṅganapūrvam ekamanayā dyūte* which is attributed in different *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* (JS., ŚP., RJ., SG. and SuSS.) to Uḍḍīyakavi [45] seems to have been really composed by that author, after all, completely unknown.

17.1. III. The third difficulty for considering ascriptions as reliable, is the fact that some ascriptions are to ficticious or immaginary authors; sometimes some words contained in the text of the *subhāṣita-s* were taken as the names of the authors. And so, for instance, the verse quoted in SkV. 117 (*vande bhujabhramitamandaramathyamāna°*) is ascribed to Murāri because the verse ends with the word *murāreḥ*; or verse ŚP. 3420 (*viśrānto divasastaṭīmaya°*) is ascribed to Rudratī-paṇḍita because in the verse the word *rudratī* is cited. In another case, for instance, the name of a metre, became the author of the verse, e.g. verse *durdivase ghanatimire* was ascribed in Pad. and PV. to Jaghanacapalā [46], while that is the designation of the sub-division of an *āryā* -metre [47]; in

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43. This verse occurs in the Bhallaṭaśataka 105.

44. For instance SkV., Skm. and ŚP., but not SkV., Kav. and Prasanna (see fn. 11) or SRHt. and SSSN. (see fn. 19) or SH. and JS. (see fn. 19).

45. In SuSS. the name of the author is spelt Uddīpakakavi.

46. Literally « a woman who shakes her buttocks », or a « libidinous woman »; also a name of an *āryā*-verse, i.e. the *jaghana-capalā-āryā* (Nāṭyaśāstra 16.65; Regnaud 16.153).

47. M. B. Emeneau, op. cit. fn. 33; p. 41-52.

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other cases, a sobriquet of an author [48] was taken as the name of the author. Also in many cases verses are attributed only *in majorem gloriam* to well known or mythical authors in order to convey the impression that the verse is of high moral value and of high antiquity to which special status should be accorded thanks to the venerability of its author [49]. That is, in particular, the case of verses ascribed to Vyāsa or Vālmīki [50].

17.2. Sometimes, again, the author of the anthology purposely attributed the authorship of well known *subhāṣita-s* to an author whom he wanted to venerate and to be looked upon with higher esteem. That could be done however only in later *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* when the aphorism lost already its authorship. In such a way, for instance, Veṇīdatta in PV, attributed some Bhartṛhari's epigrams or wellknown *subhāṣita-s* quoted already in SkV., Skm., JS. or ŚP to his father Jagajjīvana.

17.3. The names of the authors found in the ascriptions, are often not their own names. For instance, Aparādharasundara is not the name of the poet, but a designation of an anonymous author, based on a devotional verse which utilized a *śleṣa* (JS. 460.12) [51]. Also Avilamba is not the proper name of the poet but a title of Mādhava-Sarasvatī; and Vyāsadāsa is a sobriquet of Kṣemendra. These names cannot be registered separately, but as Avilamba or Mādhava-Sarasvatī; and Kṣemendra or Vyāsadāsa.

18.1. IV. An additional difficulty in the utilisation of ascriptions is when the names of the authors quoted in different *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* are similar but not identical. For instance, the poet Kubjarāja is also designated as Kuñjarāja, or Rājakubja, or Rājakubjadeva, or Rājakubjadrava, or Kubjarājadravya [52]. Sometimes these differences in the names of the authors are due to different orthography (e.g. Arasiṭhakkura, or Arasīṭhakkura, or Arasīṭhakura, or Arasiṭhkura, or Arasiṁhakura, or even Śrīṭhakkura) or wrong memory or false oral tradition or, simply, carelessness of the scribe [53]. And so, for instance, verse *ādāya vāri paritaḥ saritāṁ* is ascribed in Vidy. 201 to Śuka; in ŚP. 1083 to Śrīśuka, in JS. 96.5 to Rīsuka or Rīsauka [54], while the same verse is

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48. For example, Kaṇotpala, or Kūrmabārhata. See V. Raghavan, op. cit. fn. 33; p. 252.
49. Specially in case of didactic verses.
50. L. Sternbach, Vyāsa in *Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s.* ABORI. 55; pp. 107-175.
51. V. Raghavan, op. cit. fn. 33; p. 252.
52. See above paras. 18.3 and 19.3-4.
53. A surprising error of the scribe (compiler) was, for instance, the ascription of a verse *saṃrambhādavibhāvitatribhuvanā°* to two Purāṇa-s: Kūrma and Vāraha, while the verse was ascribed in reality to Kūrmabārhata. See fn. 48.
54. The same poet is also known under the name of Rissaka.

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ascribed in Auc. to Bhaṭṭendurāja. Due to different ortography the poet Āvantikadravya is also known as Avantikadravya or even Āvantikadhanya. As we see here, and, particularly, before, with regard to Kubjarāja, the changes in the names of poets are often due to additions to their names of different suffixes and prefixes.

18.2. The addition of suffixes and prefixes to the names of the poets, which change sometimes their names radically, occur very often in *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*. The most popular suffixes are[55]: -bhaṭṭa, -ācārya, -śrīācārya, -bhāgavad, -bhadanta, -rājānaka, etc. And so, the author Bhaṭṭendurāja is identical with Indurāja and Tathagajendrasiṁha with Indrasiṁha and Gajendrasiṁha[56].

18.3.1. Very often names of authors are written differently, but similarly, in one or another *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*. And so, for instance, the well known author of the Janakīharaṇa Kumāradāsa is also called in *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* Kumāradatta, or Ṇātha-Kumāra or even Kumāranayaka. If such differences exist between the various names, it is not certain whether they denote the same person, but in this particular case it was possible to trace the verses, apparently ascribed to different authors, in the Janakīharaṇa and conclude that Kumaradāsa is identical with Kumāradatta, Nātha-Kumāra and Kumāranayaka.

18.3.2. However, the small differences in the names of authors, may indicate sometimes different authors. For instance Govinda-kavi is different from Govinda-paṇḍita, from Govinda-candra, from Govinda-rāja, from Govinda-svāmin, from Govinda-bhaṭṭa and from Govinda-jid[57].

18.3.3. Only if the same verse is ascribed in different *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* to authors who spell their names differently, it is possible to consider these different names as identical. And so, for instance, Acala is identical with Acalasiṁha (since the same verse in ascribed in SkV. to Acala and in Skm. to Acalasiṁha), with Acalanṛsiṁha (since the same verse is ascribed in different MSs. of Skm. to Acalasiṁha or to Acalanṛsiṁha), with Acaladāsa and Pracaladāsa (since the same verse is ascribed in SkV. and Kav.) to Acala and in different MSs. of Skm. to Acaladāsa or Pracaladāsa), as well as Acalarudra (since the same verse is ascribed in ŚP. and PG. to Acala and in Rasakalpadruma of Caturbhuja to Acalarudra[58]). Similarly Kamalākara is identical with Kamālayuddha[59].

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55. Many of them can also be used as prefixes.

56. See para 18.2. To the contrary, these prefixes and suffixes can also sometimes denote different authors.

57. It is not certain whether Govindabhaṭṭa quoted in SRHt. and SSSN. is identical with Govindabhaṭṭa quoted in PG. and Govindabhaṭṭa quoted in PV.

58. According to NCC1. 68 Rasakalpadruma was never edited and therefore, could not be verified.

59. The verse *karikavalitamṛṣṭaiḥ śākhi°* is ascribed to Kamālakara in JS. and to Kamālayuddha in SkV. and Skm.

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18.3.4. Many such examples could be quoted. Such identications of different names of authors can never be made automatically. And so, for instance verse *kārerīkarivemallahari*[o] which in SuSS. is ascribed to Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita and in JS. and ŚP. to Kṛṣṇapilla, shows that Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita is identical with Kṛṣṇapilla, for we find in ŚP. and in JS. also other verses specifically ascribed to to Kṛṣṇapilla and in PV., SSS., SH. and SuSS other verses specifically ascribed to Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita; besides, SuSS. is not a *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* very worthy of confidence, as far as ascriptions contained in this anthology are concerned.

18.4. It is obvious that this different nomenclature used for designation of authors to whom verses are ascribed, with prefixes and/or suffixes, or without them, cause great confusion and uncertainly for the proper identifiction of Sanskrit poets.

19.0. V. This confusion increases even more, because some poets, bearing the same name are sometimes different persons [60].

19.1. And so, for example, Govardhana or Govardhana-ācārya quoted in Skm., is probably different from Govardhana quoted in JS., ŚP., Prasanna., PG., SH., RJ., SG., Pd. and Vidy., the latter being the author of the Āryāsaptaśatī. The verses of Govardhana, the author of the Aryāsaptaśatī, as the title of the work indicates, are written in *āryā*-metre; on the other hand, verses of Govardhana or Govadhana-ācārya quoted in Skm. are written in different metres, mostly long metres; in addition, it must be emphacized, that none of the verses of the Āryāsaptaśatī are quoted in Skm. [61]. It seems, that on the basis of metrics alone, it is possible to differentiate between the two Govardhana-s.

19.2. But not only the exterior characteristics of the verse are criteria for the differentiations between authors bearing the same name; also the contents of the verse and its style can be utilized for such an identification. And so, Govindarājadeva quoted in ŚP. 3261 is probably different from Govindarājadeva quoted in ŚP. 87, JS., VS., PdT. and RJ. The first Govindarājadeva, as the contents of the verse shows, was probably an author of a treatise on medicine, while the second Govindarājadeva, quoted in ŚP. and other *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*, was a lyrical poet. So also Govinda, quoted in PG., who was a devotes of Kṛṣṇa, is probably different from Govinda, quoted in Skm. who does not show the same leanings.

19.3. Sometimes, contrary to what was said before [62], suffixes and prefixes indicate different authors. Kumāra quoted in PG. seems to

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60. Already mentioned before.
61. Śrīdharadāsa probably did not know Govardhana, the author of the Āryāsaptaśatī or considered him as an author not worthy to be quoted.
62. See para 18.

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be different from Kumārabhaṭṭa quoted in SkV., ŚP. and VS. and Kumārabhadanta quoted in SH. In this case an important role plays the fact that the three Kumāra-s occur in three different groups of *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*. Kumāra is quoted exclusively in PG. but not in SkV., ŚP., VS. and SH.; Kumārabhaṭṭa is quoted in SkV., ŚP. and VS. only, but not in PG. and SH.; and Kumārabhadanta is quoted only in SH., but not in PG., SkV., ŚP. and VS. Consequently, several entries quoted in NCC. should be changed accordingly.

19.4. On the other hand, it is possible to come to the conclusion on the basis of the analysis of different *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*, that authors bearing the same name, considered as different persons, are in some cases the same persons. And so, for instance, Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa quoted in ŚP and registered in NCC4. 334*b* is the same person as Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa quoted in SkV. and noted in NCC4. 335*b*, since the same verse *kavayaḥ kālidāsādyaḥ* attributed in both *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* to Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa is found in ŚP. 175 and in SkV. 1713, as well as in SH 312, RJ. 1410, etc.[63].

19.5. There are no strict rules for the identification of the names of the authors bearing the same or similar names and each case must be analysed on its merits.

20. VI. An additional difficulty in considering the ascriptions as reliable, is the fact that the compilers of *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* themselves often confounded different authors. And so, for instance, Kṣemendra is often confounded by the compilers of anthologies with Kṣemeśvara or Kṣemīśvara; Amaru(ka) with Amara, or Amarasiṁha, or Amarānada, etc. This particular confusion is due to the resemblance of the names of different authors, but — what is more perplexing — some compilers confuse sometimes quite different authors bearing dissimilar names. And so, for instance, Jayadatta is often confused with Nakula (or vice-versa), for both were authors of treatises on horses and dealt with the same subject matter; Argata is sometimes confused with Ravigupta and Amara with Acala, Yogeśvara and even Dharmakīrti.

21.1. VII. The seventh and last, but probably the most important difficulty for giving credence to ascriptions, is the fact that the compilers often wrongly ascribed some verses to individual authors. In the first place, many verses are ascribed without any apparent reason to well known authors; on the other hand many verses are quoted anonymously, while we can prove now that they were composed by some well or less known authors; finally several verses are falsely ascribed to authors who have not written them. Sometimes it is possible to prove that some

63. The rectification of entries in NCC4. 304*b* and 335*b* is, therefore, necessary.

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of the latter verses were composed by other poets to whom they were ascribed [64] and thus prove the falsehood of their ascriptions. In the latter cases the confusion is not exclusively due to the negligence or ignorance of the compilers or scribes, but also to their intention to ascribe some verses, showing common traces, to authors known to have written poetry of the same genre. Therefore, for instance, many so-called « erotic verses » are ascribed to Amaru(ka) and many ethical *subhāṣita-s* to the Mahābhārata.

21.2. Not all faults of wrong ascriptions can be attributed to compilers of the *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*; oral tradition played also an important role in the false ascriptions. A great number of verses which belonged to the floating mass of oral tradition were considered at the time of the compilation of *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* as composed by some known authors; the compilers followed only this tradition considering it as just and certain [65]. That is the reason that many verses were ascribed to Vyāsa, as author of the Mahābhārata, or directly to the Mahābhārata, or to Kālidāsa, etc. It should also not be forgotten that a great part of well known verses ceased to be identified with individual authors and became the property of all, as today many proverbs and maxims. That was, particularly the case of so-called Bhartṛhari's epigrams or Cāṇakya's sayings [66].

21.3. It is also possible that some poems, written by poets to whom some verses included in *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* are ascribed, do not exist any more, since they got lost and, consequently, their verses became not traceable. Any way, that is the case of some works written by Kṣemendra; he himself ascribed many, otherwise unknown verse to himself (*mama*) or to his works specifically named by him, the existence of which is only known from his treatises on poetics and prosody.

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64. Sometimes these ascriptions can be rectified; for instance, if a verse containing a false ascription can be traced in a primary source. E.g. verse *arijitya ya ātmānam* ascribed in SRHt. and SSSN. to Kāmandaka does not occur in the Nītisāra but can be traced in the MBh. (5.34.54 and 5.127.27); this verse is a MBh. verse which was wrongly ascribed to Kāmandaka. Sometimes it is not possible to trace a verse falsely ascribed in a primary source, but it occurs in a secondary source where it is ascribed to another author. If one of the secondary sources is more worthy of confidence than the other, it is likely that this ascription is the right one. And so, for instance, Auc. ascribes the verse *śītenoddṛṣitasya* to Karpaṭika, while ŚP. and the Rājataraṅgiṇī ascribes it to Mātṛgupta. The ascription of Kalhaṇa (and Śārṅgadhara) seems to be more worthy of confidence, than that of Kṣemendra.

65. It should be borne in mind that at those times books did not exist yet and that poetry was transmitted by oral tradition.

66. See L. Sternbach, op. cit.

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Inscriptions

22. It has already been mentioned [67], that selected inscriptions are another source of otherwise unknown poetry. Poets quoted in inscriptions are often older than those quoted in *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*. Almost all are unknown to histories of Sanskrit literature and to *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*.

23. Rarely only poets known in *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* are also quoted in inscriptions. That is, for instance, the case of Umāpati(dhara) or Chittapa. Umāpati(dhara) is a poet from Bengal who lived in the twelfth century. He speaks of himself, in the Deopāra inscription (verse 35), as a poet « whose understanding has been refined by the study of words and their meanings ». He is also mentioned by Jayadeva in his Gītagovinda (1.4) as a prolific author « who lengthens verses by addition of adjectives », as well as by Merutuṅga in his Prabandhacintāmaṇi, as minister of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Beṅgāl. He is mentioned in Skm. as author of the Candracūḍamaṇi (Skm. 2141), an otherwise unknown work, and appears also as author of the inscription from Deopāra containing the Viyasena *praśasti*; it is composed of 36 verses [68]. In addition, 109 verses of Umāpati(dhara) are preseved in *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* (Skm., JS., PG., SH., Vidy. and Regnaud II, VI), of which four appear also in the Deopāra inscription [69] and two in the Mādhanaigar inscription [70] of Lakṣmaṇasena. The latter inscription is little known and is badly preserved; it is an inscription on two copper-plates written in prose and in verse. After the twelfth verse, the inscription is often illegible and seems to have been written in prose only. The colophon, if it ever existed, is completely illegible, so that it is impossible to know by whom and when the inscription was composed. It was suggested that some parallels exist between this inscription and the Deopāra inscription [71], but the language in both inscriptions is different and, therefore, it is difficult to come to the conclusion that Umāpati(dhara) was also the author of the Mādhainagar inscription [72]. It is, however, certain that the Deopāra inscription was composed by Umāpatidhara, since it is so clearly stated in the colophon of the latter inscription.

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67. See para. 12.1.

68. Though this *praśasti* contains several verses dealing with the genealogy of the Sena kings, the verses quoted there have poetical value. Four of the verses of the *praśasti* are also included in Skm. (1114,1455,1395,1454 = *praśasti* 7,23,24,30); two verses are of little poetical value; they contain the colophon only (verses 35-36).

69. E.I. 1.307-311; JASB. (1865) 142-154, etc.

70. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, ed. by R. C. Majumdar, Vol. III. Rajshahi 1929; pp. 106-115.

71. For instance, between verses 4 and 6 of the Mādhainagar inscription and verses 5 and 16 of the Deopāra inscription (JASB. 5 [1909]; p. 409 and *Inscriptions from Bengal*, op. cit. [fn. 70]; p. 107).

72. The two verses of Umāpati(dhara) which occur in the Mādhainagar inscription and Skm. 1613 and 569 can be reconstructed according to Skm.

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24. While the Deopāra inscription, shows a relatively high poetical standard, other inscriptions are, in general, of little importance from the poetical point of view. There are, however, several exceptions to this rule[73], e.g. the Nāna inscription of 1287, written by Amara of Buṇḍelkand (who has nothing in common with Amara quoted in JS., or Amaracandra, or Amaradatta, or Amarasiṁha, or Amaru[ka]), the Pṛtvīdeva II inscription from Koni written by Kāśala, or the Govindapur inscription written by Gaṅgādhara. or the Kumāradevī inscription of Kunda, or the Ratnadeva III and Jajalladeva II inscription written by Kumārapāla and several others.

25. Generally, however, inscriptions — in addition to versified genealogies, texts of grants, contain only versified invocations, eulogies, etc. which rarely have a poetical value and cannot be considered as real poetry.

26. Despite their limited poetical value, the inscriptions are important as sources of Sanskrit poetry, because (1) almost all are signed and dated; (2) they contain sometimes some information about the literary activity of their authors, otherwise unknown; and (3) they contain some verses of well known or less known poets with new readings. And so, for instance, we learn from the inscription by Kṛṣṇa Bālasarasvatī that he was also the author of an otherwise unknown, and not even mentioned in NCC. poem, Kuvalayāśvacaritā, or of unknown readings of verses of Umāpati(dhara) quoted in *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* and preserved also in the Deopāra and Mādhainagar inscriptions. Also, for instance, the Mayinpāgan inscription (from Burma) quotes a verse of Kulaśekhara in another version than that preserved in the Mukundamālā and in Skm. Since this inscription is from the middle of the 11th century[74], the date *ad quem* of Kulaśekhara must be rectified to the middle of the eleventh century.

Résumé

27. The value of *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* as sources of Sanskrit poetry consists, in the first place, in the preservation of poetry of poets unknown or little known which would have disappeared completely if it would not have been included in the *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*. Even their names would not have been known to us. In the second place, the value of *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* lies in the preservation of poetry of known poets in the form often unusual, or simply different from that known today. So, we come to know the poetry of known authors in the cur-

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73. For example, verse *śatrunāpi kṛto dharmaḥ* of Ayyapillārya from the 12th century which is a *subhāṣita*.

74. E.I. 7.197-199.

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rently known form at the time and region when and where the respective authors of the *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* have prepared their compilations.

28. *Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* have also an additional value; they can be considered as a barometer of the popularity of the verses quoted in them. And so, if a verse is quoted in several *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* and, particularly, in *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* belonging to different regions of India and composed in different times, it proves that the particular verse was generally known and accepted by the Sanskrit speaking intelligentsia and universally quoted; if it was a sententious verse it became often a property of all and became a generally known saying which, frequently, lost even its authorship.

29.0. *Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* and inscriptions contain some 2,000 names of poets, plus over 100 titles of different works.

29.1. The poets quoted in *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* and, particularly, authors of inscriptions are in their majority unknown poets and many of them are not even mentioned in histories of Sanskrit literature; in addition, we come across some well known names of poets, e.g. Abhinanda, Amaracandra, Amaru(ka), Aśvaghoṣa, Ānandavardhana, Kalhaṇa, Kāmandaka, Kālidāsa, Kumāradāsa, Kusumadeva, Kṛṣṇamiśra, Kokkoka, Kṣemeśvara, Kṣemendra, Gadadhara, Govardhana, to mention only a few. Particularly, these well known poets are frequently quoted in *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* and some of them are represented in different *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* by hundreds of verses, while the other, unknown or less known, authors are represented usually in one or two different *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* by one, two or three verses only. In many cases we do not have any information about these authors, who they were, and when they lived. Many of them are not even mentioned in the recently published NCC.

29.2. In the case of well known authors, the majority of their verses can be traced to their known works, but not all; this, errors excepted, can be either due to the fact that the verses were falsely ascribed to the authors quoted in *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*, or their works were lost and not yet found. The « new verses » of well known poets are quite important to the history of Sanskrit literature, because they show us what additional poetry, even if in fact not composed by the authors to whom they were ascribed, were considered by tradition as having been composed by them. We also discover in them otherwise unknown poetry.

29.3. On the other hand, errors were often commited by the compilers of *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*, since they themselves did not know the authorship of many verses which they quoted. In many cases we find there verses of well known poets anonymously, while it is possible now to trace them in several primary sources. Many such verses are found

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in *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*, as, for instance, those culled from Kokkoka's Ratirahasya, Kāmandaka's Nītisāra, Kṛṣṇamiśra's Prabodhacandrodaya and many others.

30. *Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* and, to a lesser extent, inscriptions open to us a new vista on Sanskrit poetry written between the tenth century of our era, upto the nineteenth century.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Auc. = Aucityavicāracarcā of Kṣemendra. Kāvyamāla I.; pp. 115 sqq.

BhŚ. = Śatakatrayādi-subhāṣita-saṁgraha of Bhartṛhari. Siṅghī Jain Series 23.

E.I. = *Epigraphia Indica.*

JGJRI. = Journal of the Gaṅganātha Jhā Research Institute (now Sanskrit Kendriya Vidyapeetha).

JOIB. = Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.

JS. = Sūktimuktāvalī of Bh. Jalhaṇa. Gaekwad Sanskrit Series 82.

Kav. = Kavīndravacanasamuccaya. *Bibliotheca Indica* 1309.

MBh. = Mahābhārata. Poona edition. 1927-1966.

NCC. = New Catalogus Catalogorum. University of Madras. 1949-.

Pad. = Padyaracanā of Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa Āṅkolakara. Kāvyamālā 89.

PdT. = Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī of Haribhāskara. Saṁskṛta-kośa-kāvya-saṁgraha 4.

PG. = Padyāvalī of Rūpa Gosvāmin. Dacca University Oriental Publication Series 3.

Prasanna. = Prasannasāhityaratnākara, as quoted in SkV.

PV. = Padyaveṇī of Veṇīdatta. Pracyavāṇi-Mandira-Saṁskṛta-granthamālā 1.

Regnaud II, VI. = Stances sanscrites inédites. Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres de Lyon, Vol. II.2; pp. 193-212; and Vol. VI., pp. 1-85.

RJ. = Rasikajīvana of Gadādhara Bhaṭṭa. Prācyavāṇi Mandira-Saṁskṛta-granthamālā, Sanskrit Text Series, Vol. II.

Sama. = Samayocitapadyaratnamālikā, Haridass Sanskrit Series 165; and Bombay 1957.

SG. = Sabhyālaṅkaraṇa of Govindajit. Prācyavāṇi Gopal Chander Law Memorial Skt. Series 4.

SGD. = L. Sternbach, Subhāṣita, Gnomic and Didactic Literature. A History of Sanskrit Literature, ed. by J. Gonda, Vol. IV. O. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1974.

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SH. = Subhāṣitahārāvalī of Harikavi. MS. BORI 92 of 1883-84. Cf. JGJRI. 28. (cf. fn. 29).
Skm. = Sad-ukti-karṇāmṛta of Śrīdharadāsa. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta 1965.
SkV. = Subhāṣita-ratna-koṣa. Harvard Oriental Serie 42.
SLP. = Śṛṇgārālāpa. MS. BORI. 92 of 1883-84.
ŚP. = Śārṅgadhara-paddhati. Bombay Sanskrit Series 37.
SR. = Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāram, 8th ed., Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay 1952.
SRHt. = Sūktiratnahāra of Sūrya. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 141.
SRK. = Subhāṣita-ratnākara, ed. by K. Ś. Bhātavaḍekar, Bombay 1872.
SRM. = Subhāṣitaratnamālā. Poona 1912 and 1923.
SSB. = Subhāṣita-sudhā-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāram, Bombay *saṁvat* 1985.
SSS. = Sūktisundara of Sundaradeva. Saṃskṛta-koṣa-kāvya-saṁgraha 4.
SūMañ. = Sūktimañjarī compiled and explained by Baldeva Upādhyāya, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, The Vidyābhavana Sanskrit Granthamālā 142.
SuSS. = Subhāṣitasārasamuccaya. MS. Asiatic Society of Bengal 105666, as quoted in PV., PdT., SSS.
Vidy. = Vidyākarasahasraka of Vidyākara Miśra. Allahabad University Publications. Sanskrit Series 2.
VS. = Subhāṣitāvalī of Vallabhadeva. Bombay Sanskrit Series 31.
ZDMG. = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländschen Gesellschaft.

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CSABA TÖTTÖSSY

THE PARTICIPIUM ABSOLUTUM IN THE SANKRIT, GREEK AND LATIN

From the morphological point of view the participles of the Sanskrit, Greek and Latin languages have two groups. One of these groups fits entirely in the verbal system of the language concerned, i. e. it adjusts itself to the gender and aspect system of the verb, while the other group, without containing the suffix of the gender or the aspect, is formed directly from the root of the verb (from a form of it with a certain grade of ablaut [1]. Examples for the former group are in Sanskrit the *participium imperfectum activi dadat-*, the *participium imperfectum passivi kriyamāna-*, the *participium perfectum activi dadivāṃs-*, etc., in Greek the *participium imperfectum activi* ἀγγέλλων or διδούς, the *participium perfectum activi* δεδωκώς, and in Latin the *participium imperfectum activi cupiens*. Examples for the second group are in Sanskrit the *participium perfectum passivi datta-* or *kṛta-*, in Greek the *adiectivum verbale* δοτός, and in Latin the *participium perfectum passivi datus* [2]. However, as will become apparent from the forthcoming, where the syntactic function of the participles will be discussed, we see only a slight difference between the two groups from this point of view.

From the syntactic point of view in Sanskrit, Greek and Latin the participles, just like the adjective, can have an attributive function beside nouns (in Latin and Greek this is called *participium coniunctum*), while without nonuns — in a substantival value — they can have the function of any part of a sentence that can be filled by nouns, *viz.* the function of the subject, the object, etc. [3]. It is not necessary to speak any more about the above two syntactic functions. More interesting is the third one, when the participle — related to one of the nouns of the sentence — has an adverbial function, just like other adjectives.

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1. H. Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik*, Teil IV, Heidelberg, 1928, pp. 88 ff.
2. H. Hirt, *op. cit.*, Teil VI, Heidelberg, 1934, p. 195.
3. E. gr.: *Audentes fortuna iuvat* (Verg. *Aen.* 10,284).

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This is again such a syntactic function which can be filled by any adjective, and in Latin and Greek in such cases the adjective is called *attributum praedicativum*. It has to be noted, however, that the participles have an adverbial function more frequently than other adjectives. The participles, when they have an adverbial function, in Greek and Latin are also called *participium coniunctum*. According to the Latin and Greek grammatical literature, the participle of the character of *participium coniunctum* can have the role of an adverbial modifier of time, adverbial modifier of cause, adverbial modifier of manner, of condition, of concession, and sometimes (especially the *participium instans*) an adverbial modifier of purpose [4]. We cannot agree with this syntactic interpretation, because in our opinion the participles can only have the function of an adverbial modifier of state or, at the most the function of an adverbial modifier of condition [5] or of concession [6] in the sentence. They can define time, but only on account of their aspect, and in such cases they are no adverbial modifiers of time [7]. They can express cause, but only inasmuch as a state can express the cause [8], and the case is similar also in connection with the expression of the purpose [9]. The participle cannot be an adverbial modifier of manner already on account of the fact that in the case of the adjective the form of the adverbial modifier of manner is the *adverbium* that is the *casus adverbii* of adjective. In fact, only that adverb can be regarded as an adverbial modifier of manner, which belongs to a verb and does not relate to any of the nouns in the sentence. If an adjective — besides belonging to the verb — also relates to one of the nouns in the sentence, then we woul call it an adverbial modifier of state [10], and in the languages mentioned above this is supported by the fact that the adverbial modifier of state agrees in gender, number and case with the noun to which it relates, thus formally it behaves like an attribute.

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4. E. Schwyzer-A. Debrunner, *Griechische Grammatik*, II, München, 1950, pp. 388-391; J. B. Hofmann-A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*, München, 1965, pp. 384 f.; R. Kühner-C. Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache. Satzlehre*, Teil I, München, 1962, pp. 774-777.

5. E. gr.: *... hostes... hanc adepti victoriam in perpetuum se fore victores confidebant* (Caes. *B. G.* 5,39,4).

6. *... ut oculus, sic animus se non videns alia cernit* (Cic. *Tusc.* 1,67).

7. E. gr.: *Dionysius... tyrannus Syracusis expulsus Corinthi pueros docebat* (Cic. *Tusc.* 3,27).

8. E. gr.: *... Dionysium..., qui cultros metuens tonsorios candenti carbone sibi adurebat capillum* (Cic. *Off.* 2,25).

9. E. gr.: *Ipse... Genuam repetit... Italiam defensurus* (Liv. 21,32,5).

10. E. gr.: *Flens me obsecravit* (Plaut. *Trin.* 154); *... Petrosidius equilifer... fortissime pugnans occiditur* (Caes. *B. G.* 5,37,5); *... mortuos Persae cera circumlitos condunt* (Cic. *Tusc.* 1,108). In these sentences the *participia coniuncta* are no adverbial modifiers of manner, but these *participia coniuncta* are adverbial modifiers of state. Namely, it is not the supplication that is weeping, but it is Charmides who is weeping. The *flens* is adverbial modifier of the *obsecravit*, it belongs to the *obsecravit*, but this *flens* is relating to Charmides. Similarly it is not the murder that is fighting, but it is the eagle-bearer, who is fighting, and it is not the burial that is waxed, but the dead persons are waxed.

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At present, however, we should like to speak especially about the fourth function of the participles, when they stand in those participial structures, which are called in Sanskrit *locativus absolutus* and *genitivus absolutus*, in Greek *genitivus absolutus* and in Latin *ablativus absolutus*. In such cases, contrary to the *participium coniunctum*, the participle is called *participium absolutum*. This is why this term appears in the title of our paper.

Before examining the above participial structures, let us deal with such a usage of the participles, which is still called *participium coniunctum* in Latin!

Let us see how the participle *deprehensi* has to be understood in the sentence « *Is (sc. Lucius Tarquinius)... senatum docet... se missum a M. Crasso, qui Catilinae nuntiaret, ne eum Lentulus et Cethegus aliique.... deprehensi terrerent* »[11]. If this has an attributive function, then this sentence should be interpreted, and it was actually interpreted by the Romans, so that « He (viz. Lucius Tarquinius) informed the senatus that he was sent by Marcus Crassus to convey the message to Catilina that he should not be frightened by the arrested Lentulus and Cethegus and the others ». If we interpreted it as an adverb, then the sense of this sentence would not differ too much from the above, inasmuch as it would mean that « he should not be frightened by Lentulus and Cethegus and the others arrested (as arrested).

But is either of the two interpretations adequate? Namely Catilina is not frightened by the arrested Lentulus and Cethegus and his other comrades, but he is frightened by that fact that Lentulus and his comrades are arrested, that is by the arrest of Lentulus, Cethegus and the others. Thus in Latin *Lentulus et Cethegus aliique deprehensi* can mean not only that the « arrested Lentulus, Cethegus and the others », but also « the arrest of Lentulus, Cethegus and the others », and in the case of this sentence the later interpretation is the correct one. This interpretation is, of course, frequently necessary not only in nominative[12], but also in prepositional cases, for example « *post civitatem a L. Bruto liberatam* »[13] should be interpreted « after the liberation of the state by Lucius Brutus ». In certain applications of the Latin gerundives always this interpretation will be correct. For example « *gaudere omittendis doloribus* »[14] means « we rejoice at the ceasing of the sufferings », and « *felix vobis corrumpendis fuit* »[15] means « he was successful in your diverting to the wrong path ».

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11. Sall. *Cat.* 48,4.
12. E. gr.: in accusative: *vos vitam ereptam neglegetis* (Cic. *Man.* 5,11) or in genitive: *Sibi... bene gestae, mihi conservatae rei publicae dat testimonium* (Cic. *Att.* 2,1,6).
13. Cic. *Ph.* 5,17.
14. Cic. *Fin.* 1,56.
15. Liv. 3,17,2.

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In Latin it occurs even in a simple attributive structure that the adjective in fact does not have an attributive function beside a noun (nor does have a function of an adverbial modifier of state). Thus *in medio foro* can also mean « in the middle of the forum », and rather « *in foro medio* » means what can be expected from such an attributive structure, namely to have the meaning « in the middle forum ». The « *in summo monte* » means « on the top of the mountain », although « *in monte summo* » can also mean « on the highest mountain ». In Greek in the case of such an interpretation, when the adjective does not have the attributive function, the word order is definitely inverse, and the noun is at the place of the attribute, while the adjective is at the place of the noun. For example ἡ πόλις μέση is « the middle of the town », that is literally « the town middle », while ἡ μέση πόλις means « the middle town », or ἡ νῆσος ἐσχάτη is « the edge of the island », that is literally « the island edge », but ἡ ἐσχάτη νῆσος means « the farthermost island » [16]. Thus on the basis of the Greek word order this structure could be called « inverse attributive structure », meaning by this not only that the noun stands at the place of the attribute, but also that it is not the adjective which has the function of the attribute beside the noun, but the noun is the attribute beside the adjective.

Let us see now what is the situation about in the Sanskrit *locativus absolutus*, the Greek *genitivus absolutus* and the Latin *ablativus absolutus*! The structure *gacchatsu dinešu* means as *locativus absolutus* «while the days are passing », and not « on the elapsing (passing) days », the *gošu dagdhāsu sa gataḥ* means « he went after the milking of the cows », and not « on the occasion of the milked cows ». The θεοῦ διδόντος means « at the giving of the god », « when the god gives », if the god gives. The *qui* (sc. Pythagoras), *cum Superbo regnante in Italiam venisset,...* [17] means « he (viz. Pythagoras), when he had come to Italy during the reign of (Tarquinius) Superbus », and *castris positis* means « after the pitching of the camp » [18]. The fact that the noun in ablative and the participle agreeing with it in gender, number and case do not yet definitely form an *ablativus absolutus* structure, is well illustrated by the Latin sentence *interfecit matrem suam ense destricto*, what can also mean « he killed his mother with drawn sword », and in this meaning this is not *ablativus absolutus*, but in the case of an interpretation « he killed his mother by having drawn his sword (that is with the drawing of his sword) » or « because he drew his sword » the *ense destricto* has already to be regarded as an *ablativus absolutus* structure. Thus it is evident that in the latter case the participle does not have an attributive function, but the fourth syntactic function as in the above mentioned inverse attributive struc-

16. H. Menge, *Repetitorium der griechischen Syntax*, München, 1961, p. 94.
17. Cic. *Tusc.* 1,38.
18. Liv. 2,39,5.

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ture, and in fact in such cases the attributive function is filled by the noun. Therefore this can also be called *participium absolutum*, because it is only formally attached to a noun, but sylleptically the noun is attached to it, although the denomination *participium absolutum* is not used on this basis.

What is the explanation for the fact that instead of the noun expressing the action these languages use the participle in the case of both *Lentulus deprehensus* and *Tarquinio Superbo regnante*? When one said « during the reign of Tarquinius Superbus », in our opinion, he could only think of the reigning Tarquinius Superbus, and at an early stage of thinking men would have drawn the reign of Tarquinius Superbus so that it would have drawn Tarquinius Superbus as a ruler, with his royal insignia, and it would have represented the phrase « at the opening of the cupboard door » with a cupboard with opening door, and « the arrest of Lentulus » by drawing Lentulus behind grates of prison. The reigning as the abstract noun of the action cannot be drawn and represented, it can only be represented recently by the sequence of the motion picture.

Can we arrive at some conclusion on the basis of the fact that in these three ancient Indo-European languages having significant literary monuments we find the *locativus absolutus*, the *genitivus absolutus* and, respectively, the *ablativus absolutus* existed? The assumption is obviously correct according to which this structure had already existed in Indo-European, and thus this approach outlined above arrived at a common Indo-European characteristic [19]. The fact that — in our opinion — the inverse attributive structure did not develop in Old Indian further in that way, as it did in Latin, permits the assumption that the Sanskrit *locativus absolutus*, as well as the Greek *genitivus absolutus* and the Latin *ablativus absolutus* structures furnished the basis for the development of the inverse attributive structure, and not *vice versa*.

We should like to mention still a few minor characteristics of this structure in the three languages mentioned above.

One of these is that in Latin the suffix of the *participium imperfectum activi* is in the *ablativus absolutus* *-e*, while otherwise it is *ī*. It can be presumed that this difference is just because in the inverse attributive structure of the *ablativus absolutus* the role of the participle is more of the character of a noun than in the *participium coniunctum*, and it can also be presumed that careful investigations would show that when in Latin the *participium imperfectum activi* stands in the function of a noun, then also otherwise the suffix is more frequenty *-e* than *-ī*.

The second remark is that when in Sanskrit the participle *sat-* in locative appears seemingly as a pleonasm — mostly beside a *partici-*

19. H. Hirt, *op. cit.*, Teil VII, pp. 92 ff.

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pium perfectum passivi[20] —, then its reason is that this participle, as we have mentioned in the beginning of this paper, does not entirely fit in the gender and aspect system of the verb and this is felt by the language. The opposite to this is that also in Sanskrit occurs the phenomenon called in Latin[21] *ablativus absolutus « mancus »*, that is when in Sanskrit the participle in locative is missing and there is another noun (or adjective) in its place, for example: *rakšitari tvayi* « in the case of your protection ». The reason for this is in Sanskrit that the language strongly feels the verbal origin of the *nomen agentis rakšitā*. This phenomenon is even less surprising in Latin, since in fact it is a general phenomenon there that the inverse attributive structures can be formed not only with the help of participles.

Finally we remark that the Sanskrit *genitivus absolutus* is not regarded by us as an inverse attributive structure of full value. This is used in the case of synchronous actions, when the noun in genitive « is interested » in another action, for example *siṃhasya vane bhramato ravir astaṃgataḥ*. It is true that this can also be interpreted as « during the roaming of the lion in the forest the Sun set », but in fact — whatever the usual and beautiful translation of it may be — here we only have to do — in our opinion — with the meaning « for the lion roaming in the forest the Sun set ».

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20. E. gr.: *andhatāṃ prāptešūlūkešu satsu* or only *mṛte patyau*.

21. J. B. Hofmann-A. Szantyr, *op. cit.*, pp. 138 f.; R. Kühner-C. Stegmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 779 f.; A. Ernout-F. Thomas, *Syntax latine*, Paris, 1972 [2], p. 103.

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ALEX WAYMAN

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MANTRAS, FROM THE VEDA DOWN TO BUDDHIST TANTRIC PRACTICE

The subject of *mantra* is of course too vast for a single article, although Gonda [1] in one essay has an excellent coverage, especially in terms of secondary sources. I find it possible to treat the principal issues in even briefer compass. The old word *mantra* came in time to have specialized usages, and, in Buddhist literature, to be paired with *dhāraṇī* and sometimes to overlap this latter word. Our procedure will be to lay a foundation of the theme in the old Brahmanical literature, then show that the performance of *mantras* is in terms of varieties, and finally to venture conclusions in the disputed topic of the meaning of *mantras*.

An Old Indian Theory

The old Indian division of the *Veda* was into *Mantra* and *Brāhmaṇa*. Dasgupta writes, « The word Brahman originally meant in the earliest Vedic literature, *mantra*, duly performed sacrifice, and also the power of sacrifice which could bring about the desired result » [2]. Therefore, in the standard division of the *Veda*, the *Brāhmaṇas* are texts dealing with the actual performance of the sacrifice, while the Mantra is the sacrifice itself. Pāṇini also opposes the terms « Mantra » and « Brāhmaṇa » [3].

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1. J. Gonda, *The Indian Mantra*, in « Oriens », 1963, pp. 244-295.
2. Surendranath Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Cambridge, 1932, Vol. I, p. 211.
3. V. S. Agrawala, *India As Known to Pāṇini*, 2d ed., Banaras, 1963, pp. 319-320, says that for Pāṇini the *mantra* means a sacred formula whether a Vedic stanza (*ṛich*) or in prose (*vajus*), and that the *Brāhmaṇas* are non-*mantra* literature. M. Ganganatha Jha, *The Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā-Sūtras of Jaimini*, Allahabad, 1911, pp. 163-164, cites *Prabhākara* for *mantra* as including « all those Vedic passages to which the learned men apply that name ». The *Sūtras* say that the name « *Brāhmaṇa* » is applied to the rest of the *Veda*. Also, both « *Mantra* » and « *Brāhmaṇa* » are referred to as « *vidhi* ».

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The *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* states [4]:

« Make ye Agni's paths to lead to the gods! » — as the text so the meaning; — « making the parents young again » — the young parents, doubtless, are speech and mind, and these two fires are speech and mind.

But the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* also records a dispute between speech and mind as to which was the better of the two [5]. In agreement with the other passage that these two are paths leading to the gods, they appealed to Prajāpati for a decision. When he picked mind, saying speech was only its imitator, speech, being dismayed, « miscarried » and refused henceforth to be Prajāpati's oblation-bearer. Hence, in the sacrifice for Prajāpati the performer speaks in a low voice, since the Goddess of Speech refuses to speak out on these occasions [6]. The *Anugītā* of the *Mahābhārata* expands upon the story [7]. When Prajāpati chose the mind, speech reminded him that after all, it was she who yielded his desires [8]. Prajāpati mollified the goddes by declaring that there are two kinds of mind, the stationary (*sthāvara*) and the moving (*jaṅgama*). The stationary was his own. The moving, to wit, any *mantra*, or letter (*varṇa*), or sound (*svara*), was in the dominion of the cow-like goddess, from whom comes the twofold flowing. Thus the *Anugītā* says [9]: « It (speech) always proceeds aloud, or noiseless after birth; and of these two, the noiseless one is superior to the one aloud ». These two kinds are apparently the twofold flowing. In the later refinement of the *Agnipurāṇa*, chapter CCXCIII (*Mantraparibhāṣā*, verse 28), there would be a « fourfold flowing » [10]:

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4. J. Eggeling, tr., *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, Part IV, SBE, Vol. XLIII, pp. 123-124, from VIII,6,3,22.

5. J. Eggeling, tr., *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, Part I, SBE, Vol. XII, pp. 130-131, from I,4,5,8-12.

6. Pt. Ganga Prasad Upadhyaya, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇam*, Vol. II, Delhi, 1969, p. 318, mentions for this story particularly *Aum Prajāpataye Svāhā Idam Prājapataye idam na mama*, as on oblation spoken silently. However, the injunction is general in the *yajña*.

7. K. T. Telang, *The Bhagavadgītā with the Sanatsujātīya and the Anugītā*, SBE, Vol. VIII, pp. 263-266. Critical ed., *Aśvamedhaparva*, Section 21.

8. Cf. Arthur Berriedale Keith, *The Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, London, 1969 reprint, p. 180: « Speech yields all desires, for by speech man expresses all desires. Speech yields all desires to him who knows this ». So from I,3,2. Also, *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, VI,1,2, sets forth Prajāpati's union by his mind (*manas*) with speech (*vāc*) to create creatures, to wit the eight Vasus to inhabit the earth, the eleven Rudras to inhabit the intermediate space, the twelve Ādityas to inhabit the sky, and the All-gods to inhabit the quarters. Thus, Vāc yielded Prajāpati's desires.

9. Critical ed., 14,21,16:
ghoṣiṇī jātanirghoṣā nityam eva pravartate /
tayor api ca ghoṣiṇyor nirghoṣaiva garīyasī // 16.

10. Ānandāśrama ed, p. 471:
uccair japād viśiṣṭaḥ syād upāṃśur daśabhir guṇaiḥ /
jihvājape śataguṇaḥ sahasro mānasaḥ smṛtaḥ // 28.

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> The tradition [11] is that one uttered in a low voice is superior in the recitation by tenfold merits that loud ones have. In the case of recitation by tongue, a hundredfold merits (superior), by mind a thousandfold.

The foregoing is instructive of the ancient metaphorical language. Speech was a fire when it was a duly performed sacrifice [12], leading to the gods; and it was a cow when it brought the desired result [13]. Taking the two metaphorical references as a guide, one can separate out the instruction. Thus, when speech is a fire, there is the practice of reciting certain formulas three times, for the gods cannot be contacted by random action. In agreement, Gonda [14] cites the *Maitrāyaṇī-saṃhitā* I,4,8, « because the gods are three times in accordance with truth ». Also, in Buddhist non-tantric as well as tantric practice the vows are repeated three times by the disciple after the preceptor, and this implies that the vow constitutes a sacrificial truth. So also the three times of circumambulation [15]. One recalls here the theory of the « act of truth » (*satya-kriyā*), as has been discussed in several articles by Brown and in one by myself [16]. This act requires the prior surpassing performance of duty (*dharma*) in the Hindu usage, or to have accumulated much merit (*puṇya*) in the Buddhist usage. But in addition the performer must declare his appeal or command to the deity: the fact that the person desires aid from the deity does not suffice. One may observe that in this « act of truth » there is no implication of relative loudness for expected degree of fruit. Thus, even though the « act of truth » traditionally involved an attempt to derive an extra-normal fruit, the emphasis is on communication with the gods, and so it must be included with speech as a fire.

When it is the case of speech as a cow, there is the emphasis on the role of the *guru*. Accordingly we may understand the *Agnipurāṇa*, same chapter, v. 20B-21A: « A mantra heard by chance, by deceit, by

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11. The tradition is alluded to in *Manusmṛti*, ch. II,85.

12. Cf. KEITH, *The Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, from II,4,1: « From the mouth came speech, from speech fire ».

13. K. N. AIYAR, *The Thirty-two Vidyā-s*, Adyar, Madras, 2d ed., 1962, p. 58, points out that there is no Vidyā devoted to Vāk itself, and then cites *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, V,8,1, for the meditation on speech as Dhenu (milch cow). Two of her udders, (the *bīja-s*) Svāhā and Vaṣaṭ, feed the Deva-s; a third Hanta, feeds men; a fourth one, Svadhā, the Pitṛs. Her bull is Prāṇa and calf Manas. This calf, the *manas*, is presumably *Anugītā's* « moving » mind.

14. *The Indian Mantra*, p. 267.

15. Cf. ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH, *Rigveda Brahmanas*, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 25; Delhi reprint, 1971, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, ii,5,5, « Thrice round the sacrifice Agni goeth like a charioteer » (he says), for he like a charioteer goes round the sacrifice ».

16. W. Norman Brown's most recent article on the subject is *Duty as Truth in Ancient India*, in « Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society », Vol. 116, No. 3, June 1972, pp. 252-268. My own article is *The Hindu-Buddhist Rite of Truth-an Interpretation*, in « Studies in Indian Linguistics »; Emeneau sixtieth birthday volume, Poona, 1968, pp. 365-369.

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power (i.e. forcibly), found on a leaf, and in *gāthā* form, one would generate in vain ». Presumably this is because, v. 20A, « the *guru* should bestow the *mantra* ». Hence, getting the *mantra* in any way except from the *guru* renders it worthless. The *guru* is responsible for setting up the ritual circumstances, starting in Vedic times with imparting the celebrated *Gāyatrī* or *Sāvitrī* of the *Veda*, according to P. T. S. Iyengar's eloquent remarks [17]:

> By sacramental use is meant the recitation of a *mantra* for producing a *saṃskāra* conceived as a subtle change in the mind and body of the raciter. A *saṃskāra* renders a man fit to perform some mystic duties... The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇam* (I,i,3) describes the *dīksha* for *yajñas*; in it the candidate for initiation is clothed with a skin to symbolize the foetus being encased in the amniotic membrane. The *Sāvitrī mantra* is the chief one used for bringing about Savitā, the generator.

This is the general implication of *mantras* down the ages, namely, that they involve the freedom to alter destiny, by ushering in a kind of rebirth. Also the initiate of the Buddhist Vajrayāna enters a new and mysterious world, as suggested by the *Guhyasamājatantra* [18]: « The pledge (*samaya*) and vow (*saṃvara*) said to be liberated from worldly conduct, when protected by all the 'diamonds' (*vajra*), is pronounced 'practice of *mantras*' ».

Varieties in Terms of Fruits

These textual statements of *mantra* varieties exemplify speech as the « cow-of-plenty ». The previously mentioned varieties in degrees of loudness of course also belong here.

Turning to the much later Purāṇic classifications, we appeal to the *Agnipurāṇa*, the *Mantraparibhāṣā* chapter, v.14-15 [19]:

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17. P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, *The Gāyatrī*, Madras, 1922, p. 11.

17. B. Bhattacharya, ed., *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, Baroda, reprint, 1967, p. 156.16-17.

19. Ānandāśrama ed., p. 471:
siddhādīn kalpayed evaṃ siddho 'tyantaguṇair api /
siddhe siddho japāt sādhyo japapūjāhutādinā // 14
susiddho dhyānamātreṇa sādhakaṃ nāśayed ariḥ /
duṣṭārṇapracuro yaḥ syān mantraḥ sarvavininditaḥ // 15.

On the occasion of the Second World Sanskrit Conference, Torino, Italy, June 1975, Professor Hélène Brunner informed the writer that these terms, according to various texts, refer to a given disciple. Her position is justified in a valuable work, « *Una tantra du nord: le* Netra Tantra », in BEFEO, Tome LXI, 1974, p. 169. However, in Rasik Vihari Joshi, *Le rituel de la dévotion Kṛṣṇaïte*, Pondichéry, 1959, pp. 20-21, the terms are used for magical squares each containing four smaller squares, which the master evaluates to determine how the incantation will work for the disciple. Even here the terms *siddha*, etc., can be understood as types of mantras in agreement with the *Agnipurāṇa*. There seem to be different traditions for the use of these terms, and so the *Agnipurāṇa's* version is justifiably understood at face value.

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One should imagine them, beginning with the Siddhas, as follows: The Siddha, by reason of surpassing merits. When there is Siddha, the Siddha is through recitation (*japa*). The Sādhya is by way of recitation (*japa*), worship (*pūjā*), oblation (*huta*), etc. The Susiddha by just meditation (*dhyāna*). The Ari would destroy the performer (*sādhaka*). Whatever mantra abounds in bad letters should be completely shunned (*sarva-vinindita*).

Here the varieties called Siddha and Sādhya evidently agree with the Vedic *mantra*, according to Haug's description [20].

The *Agnipurāṇa* chapter (verses 1-3A) starts with the varieties in terms of syllables: « O twice-born one, the 'garland-mantras' (*mālā-mantra*) are said to be mantras with more than twenty syllables. 'Mantras' have more than ten syllables. Less than that (*tadarvāg*), they are called '*bījas*' ». The author thereby clarifies that performance is by way of a variety, and points out that the varieties establish the speed and degree of success, namely enjoyment (*bhukti*) and liberation (*mukti*), with the longer the mantra the shorter the time.

The *Agnipurāṇa* continues (verses 3B-5A) with a well-known division by sex or gender [21]: « The species of *mantras* are of three kinds by way of the female, male, and neuter. The female *mantras* end with the wife (*jāyā*) of Vahni (the Fire God) (i.e. Svāhā). The neuter ones end with *namaḥ*. The remaining ones are the masculine ones, and these are approved in the cases of subduing and ruining (of an adversary). The female ones (approved) in the cases of eradication of disease, and minor acts. The neuter ones (approved) in other situations ». Here the varieties concern the type of *siddhi* aimed at, the female ones for appealing to inimical forces to desist, the male ones for domineering the opposing side, and the neuter ones otherwise, and so for miscellaneous fruits. Tucci in his 1928 article cites the *Śāradātilaka* (Calcutta ed., 2d *paṭala*, 57-58) for a further clarification of the three genders, saying: « ... a *mantra* must end with one of the following words: *huṃ*, *phaṭ*, *svāhā*, *namaḥ*. According as a *mantra* is concluded by the first two syllables or the third or the fourth, it is called masculine, feminine, and neuter » [22]. He points out that the Buddhist *Tantras* have a classification of *mantra* and *vidyā*, but of course Hindu *Tantras*, such as the *Yoginī-*

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20. Martin Haug, *The Aitareya Brahmanam of the Rigveda*, Vol. I, Bombay, 1863, Introduction, p. 2.

21. Ānandāśrama ed., p. 470:
strīpuṃnapuṃsakatvena tridhā syur mantrajātayaḥ // 3
strīmantrā vahnijāyāntā namontāś ca napuṃsakāḥ /
śeṣāḥ pumāṃsas te śastā vaśyoccāṭanakeṣu ca // 4
kṣudrakriyāmayadhvaṃse striyo 'nyatra napuṃsakāḥ /.

22. Giuseppe Tucci, *Notes on the Laṅkāvatāra*, in « Indian Historical Quarterly », IV-3, 1928; he discusses the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra's dhāraṇī-s*, pp. 553-556.

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tantra, also have this [23]. In this case, the *Agnipurāṇa's* « male *mantra* » (*puṃmantra*) is called simply « *mantra* »; and the « female *mantra* » (*strī-mantra*) is called « *vidyā* ».

The Buddhist *Tantra Susiddhikara-mahātantra-sādhanopāyika-paṭala*, extant in Tibetan translation, states [24]:

> Mantras which have few syllables and have *Oṃ* and *Svāhā*, speedily accomplish all propitiatory rites (*śantika-karma*).
> The *mantras* with a plenitude of vowels and consonants and are equipped with *Hūṃ* as well as *Phaṭ*, are used by the wise for harsh rites (*abhicāruka-karma*).
> The wise should apply *mantras* other than the preceding, and which have the field of the supreme (*paramārtha*) word, for prosperity rites (*pauṣṭika-karma*).

In this description, it is a *mantra* useful for prosperity rites that is the logical candidate for equivalence to the neuter one of the other classification. The third verse of the *Susiddhikara's* exposition does not contain the word *namaḥ*, but possibly alludes to it by the terminology « supreme word » since *namaḥ* is used to express homage to a deity or being superior to the human state.

The preceding and further indications of the present paper for the fruits of the *vidyā* permit an immediate comparison with the Upaniṣadic *vidyā-s*. Thus K. N. Aiyar points out three kinds of fruits of those *vidyā-s* according to the *Vedānta-sūtras*: (1) *duritakṣaya*, warding off of calamities; (2) *aiśvaryaprāpti*, gaining the occult powers which render the possessor invincible; (3) *kramamukti*, successive release by way of knowledge, thus reaching the Saguṇa Brahman [25]. These fruits appear to go with the female *mantra* now called *vidyā*, and seem also to illustrate the *Agnipurāṇa's Susiddha* type of *mantra* amounting to meditation (*dhyāna*), especially referred to as *upāsanā-s* or meditative exercises in the Upaniṣadic context. Therefore, the *vidyā-s* of the *Upaniṣads* may be taken as the forerunner of the later tantric « female *mantra* ».

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23. *Yoginītantra*, Venkateśvara Press, Bombay, 1962, p. 401: / *mantrāḥ puṃdevatāḥ proktā vidyāḥ strīdevatāḥ smṛtāḥ* /. See also Raniero Gnoli, *Luce delle Sacre Scritture* (*Tantrāloka*) *di Abhinavagupta*, Torino, 1972, p. 718, but here the *vidyā* is not associated with *SVĀHĀ*; and later (p. 721), when assigning the respective functions or operations of certain *mantras*, *SVĀHĀ is assigned* « l'oblazione » as one would expect for its operation in the old Vedic ritual; and there is no suggestion of its being a female *mantra* as mentioned in the sources which I cite.

24. Because of textual difficulties with the Peking Kanjur version of the Japanese photo edition, Vol. 9, p. 54-5.3, I also consulted the Narthang Kanjur version, from which I adopted the reading *don dam tshig* (*paramārtha-pada*), « supreme word ». Both editions were unsatisfactory for what I translate « vowels and consonants » (the presumed original Sanskrit being *ālikāli*, for which see F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*). There was no difficulty with the remainder of the three verses.

25. *The Thirty-two Vidyās*, pp. 9-10.

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A Tibetan text in my possession with numerous examples of the three kinds of *mantras* (male, female, and neuter), may be cited [26]. This includes the *mantras* of the group called « the four gods of the sublime heart », stressed by Atīśa, the influential Buddhist *paṇḍit* who came to Tibet in 1042:

1. *Oṃ mune mune mahāmune ye svāhā.* This is the *mantra* of Gautama Buddha, but it is also the *vidyā* of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, and so the *svāhā* emphasizes the female side, insight (*prajñā*) of the Buddha.
2. *Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*, the celebrated six-syllabled *mantra* of the male deity Avalokiteśvara.
3. *Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture svāhā*, the ten-syllabled *vidyā* of the goddess Tārā.
4. *Oṃ caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa hūṃ phaṭ*, the ten-syllabled *mantra* of the fierce male deity, the blue Acala.

In further agreement with the classifications, the formula *Gate gate pāragate pārasaṃgate bodhi* [*ya*] *svāhā*, is the *vidyā* of the goddess Prajñāpāramitā since the formula concludes the celebrated Heart-*sūtra* (*Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra*). And when we find the formula for the « Healing Buddha » (*Bhaiṣajya-guru*) to conclude with a *svāhā*, this may be understood as the female healing function, as a fruit of the female formula according to previous citation of the *Agnipurāṇa.*

This same Tibetan text has many illustrations of the *namaḥ* formula, as a third kind. It is intriguing that this so-called « neuter » (*napuṃsaka*) formula was always translated into Tibetan, while the formulas referred to as « male » and « female » were transcribed phonetically. This does show that the fidelity of pronunciation of the « male » and « female » ones is an important issue, while a possible mispronouncing of the « neuter » one seems not to have been an issue. For example, the text includes: « Reciting 'I bow to the Tathāgata Akṣobhya' [completely translated into Tibetan], one purifies all the obscuration of evil *karma* and sin, and is born, by transformation from a lotus, in Akṣobhya's field (*kṣetra*) ». Since this text always specifies a fruit from the recitation of a *namaḥ* formula, and only does so for a few cases of the « male » and « female » formulas, the implication is clear that this text agrees with the *Agnipurāṇa* in assuming a well-defined fruit from the « male » or « female » kind; while the « neuter » kind, standing for all the miscellaneous cases, must have a particular fruit specified in each case, since there would be no way of inferring the fruit from the mere fact that it is a « neuter » kind.

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26. The book is entitled: *Gzuṅs sṅags daṅ / de bzhin gśegs pa'i mtshan / bka' 'gyur sñiṅ po sogs kha 'don byed rgyu zab mo'i rigs phyogs gcig tu bkod pa don gñis lhun grub ces bya ba /.*

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Speaking generally, Abhayākaragupta in his *Munimatālaṃkāra* (extant only in Tibetan translation) states: « Furthermore, *man* is knowledge; *-traiṇa* is protection. This knowledge (which knows) and compassion (which protects) is referred to by the term *mantra*; and the syllables of such affiliation are also called *mantras*. Those for the purpose of eliminating nescience (*avidyā*) and promoting clear vision (*vidyā*) are the *vidyā-s* »[27].

The overlapping with the word *dhāraṇī* can be observed from Jñānavajra's commentary on the *Vajravidāraṇa-dhāraṇī* (a *Tantra* of the Buddhist tantric deity Vajrapāṇi). Again from the Tibetan: « *Dhāraṇī* is of two kinds: *vidyā-dh.* and *mantra-dh.* Of these, the present work is called a *mantra-dh* »[28]. Notice that the varied usage of the word *mantra* resulted in adding the word *dhāraṇī* in this type of classification to indicate the respective evocation of female and male deities, and in the present case, as Jñānavajra mentions, it is a *mantra-dhāraṇī* since the male deity Vajrapāṇi is evoked. An earlier usage of the word *dhāraṇī*, as Tucci mentioned in the 1928 article, was to indicate a long formula made up of a series of *mantras*. Jñānavajra states in agreement, « Besides, because it retains many meanings and terms, it is called *dhāraṇī*. The *Vajraśekhara* states that the *dhāraṇī* both provides a basis for all virtuous *dharmas*, and renders the meaning unforgotten »[29]. Hence, the word *dhāraṇī* practically has the usage of « memory », but more generally I render it « retention »[30]. Among the two kinds, the *mantra-dh.* is obviously the *dhāraṇī* made up of a string of *mantras*, while the *vidyā-dh.* is perforce a *dhāraṇī* made up of a string of *vidyā-s*. If one were to translate the two expressions — granted the hazard — it could be something like « retention of incantations » (*mantra-dh.*) and « retention of charms » (*vidyā-dh.*).

Elsewhere I translated an explanation of three kinds of *mantra*: *mantra*, *vidyā* and *dhāraṇī*. In short, the *mantra* constitutes a non-duality type of recitation, i.e. the non-duality of *insight* upon the void, and *protection* from signs and discusive thought. The *vidyā* opposes nescience (*avidyā*). The *dhāraṇī* holds, i.e. retains, the Buddha-*dharmas*[31]. This classification is consistent with the preceding explanations of this paper,

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27. In the Tibetan translation, *Thub pa'i dgoṅs pa'i rgyan*, Tibetan Tanjur, Photo edition, Vol. 101, p. 241-2.2,3.

28. In the photo ed. of Tibetan Tanjur, Vol. 78, p. 169-4.3.

29. *Ibid.*, Vol. 78, p. 169-5,3,4, and worth giving: / *yaṅ na don tshig maṅ po 'dzin pas gzuṅs so* / *rdo rje rtse mo las dge pa'i chos thams cad kyi rten pa byed pas na yaṅ gzuṅs so* / *yaṅ na mi brjed pa'i don gyis na gzuṅs zhes bya'o* /.

30. This appears also to be the meaning of *dhāraṇī* as in Asaṅga's *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (U. Wogihara ed., pp. 272-274) where four kinds are given and defined: « retention of doctrine » (*dharma-dh.*), « retention of meaning » (*artha-dh.*), « retention of *mantra* » (*mantra-dh.*), and « retention for acquiring patience » (*kṣānti-labhāya dh.*).

31. Alex Wayman, *The Buddhist Tantras; Light on Indo-Tibetan Esotericism*, New York, 1973, pp. 64-65.

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except for having *dhāraṇī* as a third kind. The meaning of a *dhāraṇī* as a separate type from both *mantra* and *vidyā* can be observed as a memorial device. For example, there is the *A-RA-PA-CA-NA* formula of the large Prajñāpāramitā scripture of Buddhism [32]. Thus the scripture states, « The syllable *A* is the gate to all *dharmas*, because of their non-birth from the beginning » (*ādy-anutpannatvād*). Each of the remaining syllables is said to be a gate to all *dharmas*, *RA* « because they are free from dirt (*rajas*) »; *PA* « because of the settling of the supreme meaning (*paramārtha*) »; *CA* « because their decease (*cyavana*) and birth are not the object of consciousness »; *NA* « because they are free from names (*nāma*) ». The syllables stem from the initials of the respective terms. Therefore, *A-RA-PA-CA-NA* is a formula for remembering in the given order the five statements about all *dharmas*, and thus illustrates *dhāraṇī* as a memorial device.

For other ways of referring to varieties, we may resort to the *Agni-purāṇa*. In its *Mantraparibhāṣā* chapter, verses 8-10, it speaks mysteriously [33]:

> A *mantra* which is sleeping, or has merely been awakened, does not attain success. The time of sleep is the great evocation (*mahā-āvāha*). The waking state is the conveyance by way of the right.
> One should ascertain the waking time of the *Āgneya-Manu* from the opposite of that of the *Saumya-mantra*, i.e. the day of both respectively.
> (The *Svara*) should avoid the Manu-s when there are hostile letters, etc., bad asterisms (*ṛkṣa*) and zodiacal signs (*rāśi*), etc. The *Svara* (should avoid) the Kurus when an enemy has intervened to the purpose of attaining the kingdom.

Here, the term « Manu » is known to mean a *mantra*, but also the Manu-s in Purāṇic tradition represent the solar lineage; while the Kuru-s represent the lunar lineage. Hence, the « Kuru » is also employed for a certain kind of formula, and it is evidently the « female » kind in contrast to the *Manu* as the « male » mantra. This is made certain by the end of the above citation, « when an enemy has intervened to the purpose of attaining the kingdom », at which time the *Svara* should be of the Manu-type that subdues the adversary and not of the Kuru-

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32. The following exposition of the *A-RA-PA-CA-NA* formula is based both on Edward Conze, *The Large Sutra on Perfect Wisdom*, Berkeley, 1975, p. 160; and on the *Munimatālaṃkāra*, Tibetan translation (cf. note 27, above), p. 240-5 to p. 241-1.

33. Ānandāśrama ed., p. 470:

suptaḥ prabuddhamātro vā mantraḥ siddhiṃ na yaccohati /
svāpakālo mahāvāho jāgaro dakṣiṇāvahaḥ // 8
āgneyasya manoḥ saumyamantrasyaitadviparyayāt /
prabodhakālaṃ jānīyād ubhayor ubhayor ahaḥ // 9
duṣṭarkṣarāśividveṣivarṇādīn varjayen manūn //
rājyalābhopakārāya prārabhyāriḥ svaraḥ kurūn // 10

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type, which being female, serves for eradication of disease, etc. On the other hand, when the stellar signs are unfavorable, what is needed is the female-*mantra*, or Kuru, to appease the gods, and not the male-*mantra* which would only make matters worse. This interpretation is consistent with the *Śivasvarodaya* (v.100)[34]: « During the flow of the Moon, poison is destroyed; the Sun leads to control over the powerful. During Suṣumnā, there is liberation. One *deva* stands in three forms ». Here the flow of the Moon is equivalent to the female-*mantra*, or Kuru; the flow of the Sun is equivalent to the male-*mantra*, or Manu. The « Manu » and the « Kuru » are respectively the *mantra* and the *vidyā* of the previous terminology. Furthermore, the *Agnipurāṇa* apparently intends the fiery *mantra* (*Āgneya-Manu*) to be taken as the male-*mantra*, and the mild (*Saumya*) one to be understood as the female-*mantra*. Hence, when the male one is awake, the female one is asleep, and vice versa. This terminology of « awake » and « asleep » may amount to a striking way of emphasizing the fact that they cannot be simultaneous, since the fiery or male *mantra* and the mild or female *mantra* serve contrasting purposes. But since both are expressions of the goddes Vāc, the goddess herself is neither awake nor asleep.

The phrase « conveyance by way of the right » for the waking state agrees with my citation elsewhere of the Buddhist *Tantra Saṃvarodaya*: « Having entered by the left, the right is the path of leaving »[35]. Here expiration of the breath is said to be by way of the right; in-breathing by way of the left. The *Anugītā* (Sect. 21, verse 15) says[36]: « Then the *Prāṇa* appeared, strengthening speech. Therefore, it (*prāṇa*), having reached expiration, speech never speaks up ». According to the *Agnipurāṇa*, this is the time when the *mantra* is successful. There must also be what the *Anugītā* calls the « moving » (*jaṅgama*) mind, which is in the dominion of the goddess. In apparent agreement, there is Śrī-Lakṣmī's comment on the Buddhist tantric work *Pañcakrama:* « The cause is *prāṇa*, the effect is *mantra*; and their reality (*tattva*) is the 'reality of *mantra*' »[37].

Now, the *Anugītā* also says (Sect. 21, verse 14): « Verily, the goddess speech always dwells among the *Prāṇa* and *Apāna* » (*prāṇāpānāntare devī vāg vai sma tiṣṭhati*). The *Anugītā* said earlier (verse 7)[38]: « The

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34. The popular edition of Banaras City, Bāhū Ṭhakur Prasād Gupta Bookseller, reads: / *candracāre viṣahate* (*sic.* for *-hatī*) *sūryo balivaśaṃ nayet* /
suṣumnāyāṃ bhaven mokṣa eko devas tridhā sthitaḥ //

35. WAYMAN, *The Buddhist Tantras*, p. 159.

36. Critical ed.:
tataḥ prāṇaḥ prādurabhūd vācam āpyāyayan punaḥ /
tasmād ucchvāsam āsādya na vāg vadati karhicit // 15

37. This passage is in my *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra; the Arcane Lore of Forty Verses*, in press, Delhi, India.

38. Critical ed.:
tām apānaḥ patir bhūtvā tasmāt preṣyaty apānatām /
tām matiṃ manasaḥ prāhur manas tasmād avekṣate // 7

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Apāna, having become lord (*pati*), consequently summons the *apānatā*. That (*apānatā*) (the inhalation) one declares the intelligence (*mati*) of the mind (*manas*). The mind in consequence considers ». Accordingly, this mind must be the « stationary » (*sthāvara*) kind, which being Prajāpati's own, is superior to the goddess.

But what does the *Agnipurāṇa* mean by saying, « The time of sleep is the great evocation »? We suppose that the *ṛṣis* were engaged in the « great evocation » per *Bṛhaddevatā* (i.3): « at the time when the seers had their vision of the *mantras* » (*ṛṣīṇāṃ mantradṛṣṭiṣu*) [39]. The Jaina work *Riṣṭasamuccaya* (verse 113) says: « That dream is a dream told by a god where a *mantra* (sacred formula) is recited ». In an article citing this Jaina passage, I pointed out that the dream level of Vāc is called *madhyamā*, and is the kind of speech dissociated from consciousness; and so the *mantra* by repetition reaches the point where it is objectified as told by a god, as in a dream [40]. Hence, the *mantra* is heard in the normal waking state and is seen (as by the *ṛṣis*) in a *yoga* state of dream. The author of this chapter of the *Agnipurāṇa* apparently wished to reassure the reader that he was not denying that an extraordinary kind of sleep is a « great evocation » (as would also be the message of the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad*) when he stated that « a *mantra* which is sleeping, or has merely been awakened, does not attain success ».

The Meaning of Mantras

The preceding section should have made it clear that when the texts themselves speak of varieties of *mantras*, the intention was to relate them to designated fruits. However, there is another way of classifying *mantras*, and this is in terms of their meaning. The skepticism about the meaning of *mantras* is very ancient in India, but we shall see that the problem involves different species of ritual utterance.

Certain differences of ritual formulas emerge from initial considerations. Thus, there would appear to be an inherent difference between the kind of formulas which abound among the minute details of a ritual,

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39. Various tales of *ṛṣi-s* seeing *mantras* are related in the *Aitareya* and *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas*. There is the celebrated story of Kavaṣa Ailūṣa (the « Śūdra Ṛṣi »), who saw the hymn of fifteen verses called the *Aponaptrīya*. The Gods, because able to see the « silent praise » (*tūṣṇīmśaṃsa*) invisible to the Asuras, were able to defeat their enemy. In the episode of Indra's fight with Vṛtra, when the Gods were frightened away, and Indra's friends, the Maruts, exhorted him saying, « Strike, O Bhagavat! kill (Vṛtra)! show thy prowess! » — according to Martin Haug's translation (*The Aitareya Brahmanam*, Vol. II, Bombay, 1863, p. 192) « This saw a *Rishi*, and recorded it in the verse *vṛtrasya* . . . » KEITH, *Rigveda Brahmanas*, p. 177, agrees but is less clear.

40. WAYMAN, *Significance of Dreams in India and Tibet*, in « History of Religions », Vol. 7, No. 1 (Aug., 1967), pp. 4, 11.

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and the kind of formulas which a candidate cherishes and repeats daily. For example, in Buddhist *tantra* ritual the candidate is drawn into the near retinue of the *maṇḍala* deities as he pronounces the so-called « diamond pledge » (*vajrasamaya*), *ĀH KHAM vīra HŪM* [41], but this does not seem to occur in another ritual circumstance [42]. Among the daily recitation types of formula is of course the *Gāyatrī* of the Hindus and the formula *OM maṇi padme HŪM* of the Buddhists. It can be stated generally that the disciple daily repeats the formula associated with his tutelary deity (*iṣṭadevatā*).

Of a different nature are the three mystical utterances (*vyāhṛti*) which the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* ascribed to Prajāpati [43]. He uttered *Bhūr* which became this earth, subsequently to be described by the layers of Pātāla, the underworld. He uttered *Bhuvaḥ*, which became this firmament, subsequently to be described by the stories of the upon-world, the *bhūmi-s*. He uttered *Svar*, which became that sky, later the pinnacle of existence or heaven (*svarga*). In the Buddhist *Tantras* there is a set of seed syllables, *Oṃ*, *Āḥ*, *Hūṃ*, repeated innumerable times. The three are correlated to the three mysteries of the Buddha and to the numerous threefold groups. There is something in common between the three *vyāhṛti-s* of the Brāhmanic literature and the three seed syllables of the Buddhist *Tantras*. That is, both sets have an element of the memorial device, the *dhāraṇī*. By this I would suggest that in reciting the sets of three one may recall the associations — in the case of the three *vyāhṛti-s*, the contents and deities of the three worlds [44]; in the case of the three seed syllables, the various threefold sets, as with *Oṃ* remembering the night, with *Āḥ* the day, and with *Hūṃ* the juncture of day and night [45]. So understood, the memorial syllables have no meaning in the ordinary sense; their meaning is in what they intend by way of the respective associations.

On the other hand, numerous *mantras*, and the Vedic ones are principally of this nature, consist of, or include words with meaning to those who understand the language (here Sanskrit). Naturally, even allowing for such meaning, there is occasionally some obscurity, with

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41. WAYMAN, *The Ritual in Tantric Buddhism of the Disciple's Entrance into the Maṇḍala*, in « Studia Missionalia », Vol. 23 (1974), p. 45.

42. In Brahmanism probably the most extensive collection of these occasional mantras is now to be found in the *Śrautakośa*, of which the English section has been published in two monumental volumes by the Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, Poona, 1958 and 1962.

43. According to the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, XI, I, 6, 2-4, Prajāpati was born along with the year, and when first he spoke the words *Bhūr*, etc., did so like a child with words of one and two syllables; cf. J. EGGELING, tr., Part V, SBE XLIV, pp. 12-13.

44. To which may be added the three strides of Viṣṇu according to *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* I.9,3,10. Viṣṇu strode on earth by means of the *Gāyatrī* meter, in the air by means of the *Triṣṭubh* meter, and in the sky by means of the *Jagatī* meter.

45. Cf. WAYMAN, *The Buddhist Tantras*, Tables 14 and 15, for a number of threefold sets going with the three seed syllables.

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difficulty of interpretation. In the classification of *mantra* as the male formula and *vidyā* as the female one, there are numerous cases with formulas having standard word meanings, with additional syllables at both ends that are of the memorial type. Since the *Tārā vidyā* (*Oṃ tāre tuttāre ture svāhā)* occurs in the *Guhyasamājatantra*, Chap. XIV, *Ratnākaraśānti* in the *Kusumāñjali-guhyasamāja-nibandha-nāma* has a verse (his own?) [46]:

> Precisely *buddhi* (discrimination) is the root of knowing. It achieves through offering. Hence, at the beginning of the *mantra* is *Oṃ*, and it is made clear at the end with *Svāhā.*

This verse explains the *Oṃ* as associated with *buddhi*, the root of knowing, which comes first; and explains the *Svāhā* as the clarification or revelation at the end [47]. The same work explains the *Tārā vidyā*: *Tāre* (« O Tārā ») because she rescues by bringing to the other side (i.e. is the *pāramitā*). Now *tud-* is pain; *tuttā*, suffering; *Tuttāre* (« O Tārā from suffering »), because she rescues from pain. Then *Ture* (« O Turā, the fast one »), because she is fast, i.e. rescues speedily. Thus *Ratnākaraśānti* explains the *vidyā* as composed of two kinds of elements, the syllables *Oṃ* and *Svāhā* which have a general intention no matter what the *vidyā*, and then the individual words of the particular *vidyā* which have meanings of the lexicons along with grammatically defined inflexions, in this case the vocatives.

But also, even when the words of the *mantra* appear to have the ordinary meanings of words, there can arise an argument over their meaning and their function, just as happens in the case of any other ancient sentence which now can occasion an argument between prospective translators. For example, in the *Nyāya-Mañjarī* (section translated in « The Calcutta Review », Oct. 1955), the opponent had argued that a *mantra* renders its assistance its assistance to a Vedic rite only by its recitation, referring to the case of the *mantra*, « Hear, oh slabs of stone! » (*śṛṇota grāvāṇaḥ*), and observing that stones cannot hear. The author of the *Nyāya-Mañjarī* replied: « *Śṛṇota grāvāṇaḥ* is... a

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46. This is in the Tibetan Tanjur, Japanese photo ed., Vol. 64, p. 168-3: / *blo tsam ñid śes rtsa ba yin / mchod pa las ni rab tu byed / des na sṅags kyi thog mar Oṃ / mthar ni Svā-hā zhes gsal byed /.*

47. For some other explanations of *Oṃ*, see K. V. GAJENDRAGADKAR, *Neo-Upanishadic Philosophy*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1959, pp. 26-29. It should be understood that Ratnākaraśānti's explanation has been specialized for the case of a *vidyā*, as shown by the *Svāhā* at the end. That is, the *Oṃ* is here the seed from which comes the successes attributed to the *vidyā*. Since the preeminent success of a *vidyā* is the divine knowledge leading to liberation, the *Oṃ* is here explained as the root of knowing. The term *buddhi* is here involved, apparently since it is the process leading to the Buddha, who has been enlightened. While the term is employed in various ways in the Indian texts, the usage here seems about the same as in the *Bhagavadgītā*, Chap. II, verse 39, including: « associated with which *buddhi*, O Pārtha, you will get rid of the bondage of *karma* ».

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miraculous act by the influence of which slabs of stone can even hear ». In this case, both sides of the argument have a point. The opponent could argue that this remark just comes up in the course of the ritual, and evocation is more to be ascribed to the daily-recited formula like the *Gāyatrī*. The *Nyāya-Mañjarī* author is also on good ground, because he is emphasizing the role of faith or conviction, that those going through the ritual should believe that events take place as stated (whether or not they do), this firm belief ensuring the success of the whole ritual. In any case, this shows that the insiders of a cult frequently do not agree on the meaning or function of a *mantra*; and so, the meaning or use of *mantras* cannot be established by the criterion that all the followers of the cult agree upon it [48].

Then notice also how some formulas which seem meaningless are ascribed meanings in the commentaries! Once I noticed in a commentary on the Buddhist *dhāraṇī* of Vimaloṣṇīṣa these *vidyā-s*: / *kṣaṇa kṣaṇa* / *kṣiṇi kṣiṇi* / *kṣuṇu kṣuṇu* / [49]. As usual these were transcribed into phonetic Tibetan letters. The explanations were translated; and the three pairs were explained respectively: « Guard, guard! » (*sruṅs śig sruṅs śig*), « Rescue, rescue! » (*skyobs śig skyobs śig*), « Nourish, nourish! » (*tshos śig tshos śig*). Besides, it appears that any *mantra* which is « meaningless » in terms of its constituents might also be considered meaningful in terms of the intended fruits to be derived from the ritual utterance [50].

Still another case is when a *mantra* appears meaningful, and yet the commentary ascribes an unexpected meaning [51]. Thus a work called *Balimālikā* preserved in the Tibetan Tanjur canon, consists of *mantras* transcribed into Tibetan, and a translation into Tibetan is regularly added. Once I noticed therein the *mantra hana hana*, which we would expect to mean « Destroy, destroy! ». But the translator added the Tibetan *snun snun*, which means « Prick, prick! » and seems to preserve a Vedic meaning of the verb *han-*, « to hurl a dart upon » [52].

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48. Cf. JHA, *The Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā-Sūtras*, pp. 43-54, which takes up various arguments by the opponent to the effect that mantras are meaningless and then replies defending the significance of *mantras*.

49. This *dhāraṇī* has a very long title, and the author of its commentary is known in Tibetan as Lhan cig skyes pa'i rol pa (*Sahajalalita); it has No. 2688 in the Tohoku Catalog of the Kanjur-Tanjur; and the passage is in Derge Tanjur, *Rgyud*, Vol. Thu, f. 285b-1,2.

50. JHA, *The Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā-Sūtras*, p. 53, informs us « Examples of the interpretation of apparently meaningless *mantras* are given in the *Tantravārtika* (Translation, pp. 100-101) ».

51. Or, again, as Asaṅga's *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (Wogihara ed., p. 273) puts it: « Precisely this meaning of them (i.e. the *mantra* words) is, to wit, fruitlessness » (*ayam eva caiṣām artho yad uta nirarthatā*).

52. I originally consulted this work in the Derge Tanjur, where it is included in the *Rgyud* (*Tantra* commentary) section but in the Narthang as well as the Peking Tanjur editions it is placed among the miscellaneous works concerned with grammar and lexicography.

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In conclusion, the charge that *mantras* are meaningless is to be grouped with the innumerable other charges of meaninglessness that have been traded back and forth in India in past millenia, and the natural retort is that the opponent has either not been in a position, or has not taken pains to ascertain the meaning. And it is also obvious from the present study that later religious practices of India, such as the Buddhist *Tantra*, have a profound debt to the Vedic religion.

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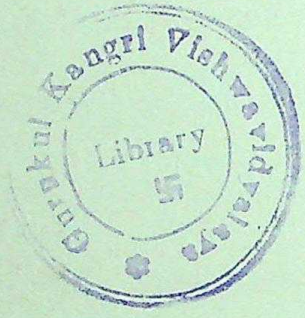

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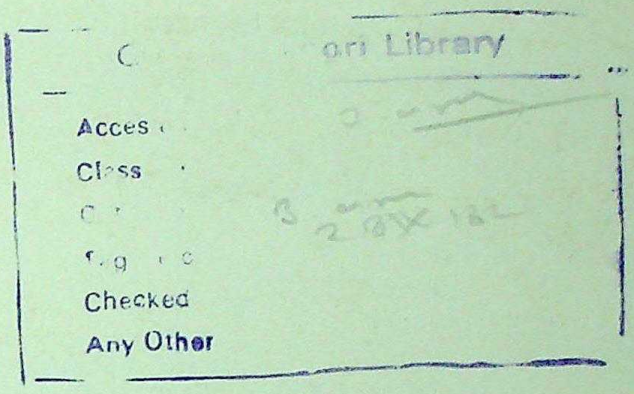

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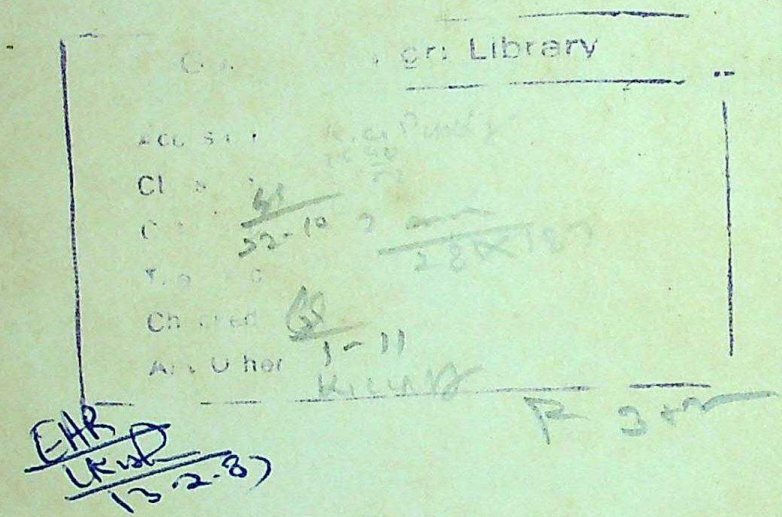

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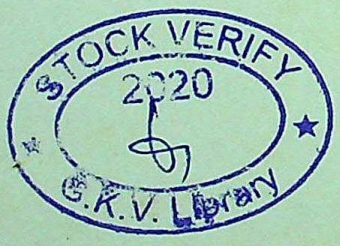

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